

Gal 10 Fh

A

DEMONSTRATION OF THE MESSIAS.

IN WHICH
The TRUTH of the
CHRISTIAN RELIGION

Is Proved, against all the Enemies thereof;

But especially against the

J E W S.

In THREE PARTS.

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
RICHARD late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.
Kiddar

The Second Edition Corrected.

With several large Indexes to the Whole.

AUGUSTIN. Epist. VOLUSIANO.

*Venit CHRISTUS; complentur in ejus ortu, vitâ, diētis, factis, passionibus,
morte, resurrectione, ascensione, omnia praeconia prophetarum.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN OSBORN and THOMAS LONGMAN in Pater-Noster-Row;
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To the Right Reverend Father in GOD
HENRY Lord Bishop of LONDON,
One of the Lords of His MAJESTY's Most
Honourable Privy-Council.

My Lord,

THE following discourse, such as it is, I do with all humility present to your Lordship. The argument it treats of commends it self, and challengeth regard from all the disciples of JESUS. The design of it is to prove our JESUS to be the MESSIAS. This is a truth of the greatest moment, and as such was much insisted upon by the first preachers of the Christian Religion, and deservedly placed in our ancient Creed in the head of the other articles of our Christian Faith, and next after the article in which we own the belief of a GOD. And whatever defects there may be found in the following tract yet, as I am certain that I have chosen a most excellent subject, so I have pursued it with a sincere and honest intention.

IF any should find fault with this *well-meant* discourse, and *condemn* me even for that, for which I am not able so much as to *accuse* my self, it shall be so far from creating me any trouble, that it will not surprize me, as any thing that is *new* and *strange* is wont to do. Whatever my *mistake* or my *faults* may be, I shall be so far from being *pertinacious* in either of them, that no man shall be more welcome to me than he, who shall assist me in discharging me from them. Nor do I desire to live any longer in this world, than whilst I am disposed both to *find out* the truth and to *follow* it.

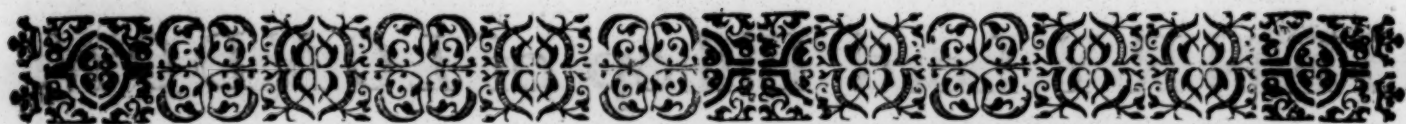
I THINK my self more especially obliged to give your Lordship an account, how I spend my time. And that consideration moved me to prefix your Lordship's name to this following discourse. But that was not the only motive which induced me to it. All that have the honour to know your Lordship, have great cause to bless GOD for you. The Clergy of this great City are very sensible of their happiness. They look upon your Lordship as a great blessing, and a good presage. The Jews have a saying in their books, that *when the shepherd is angry with the sheep, he placeth over them a blind guide*. Those who are under your Lordship's care justly look upon you as bestowed upon them as a token for good; they think themselves favoured greatly, in your Lordship, by the great Bishop and shepherd of their souls. I was willing to take this opportunity of testifying my most unfeigned thankfulness to GOD for your Lordship. That GOD would long preserve your Lordship, and assist and prosper your endeavours for the good of his Church; that he would pour upon you the blessings of this life, and preserve you to the unspeakable glory of the next, is the most hearty prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most dutiful

and obedient Servant,

RICHARD KIDDER.



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N. B. *That the Annotations mark'd thus [*] are added to the works of the Author by another hand, and were not in the former edition.*

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A CATALOGUE of the Authors, who are mentioned in this Book.

English Authors.

Cudworth.
Gregory.
Hammond.
Hornbeck.
Lightfoot.
Lively.
Mede.
More.
Pocock.
Speed's Cloud of Witnesses.

Bellarminus.
L. Brugenfis.
Buxtorfius.
Casaubon.
Cicero.
Cotelerius.
Cyprianus.
Dickenson.
Diodatus.
Edzardus de Shiloh.
Constantinus, L'Empereur.
Fagius.

Hottinger.
Hugo Grotius.
Juvenal.
Vulgar Latin Translation of the Bible.
Johannes à Lent.
Limborch.
Lipmannus.
Livius.
Nicolaus de Lyrâ.
Maij Synopsis.
Petrus de Marcâ.
Martialis.
Mills.
L. de Modenâ.
Munster.
Noldius.
Outram.
Paræus.
Petirus.

Latin Authors.

Abricius.
Allix.
Altingius.
P. Amelot.
Augustinus.
Baronius.

Fortalitium Fidei.
Fuller.
Petrus Galatinus.
Gentius.
Glossa ordinaria.
Hackspan.
Heinsius.
Hieronymus.

Pliny's

A Catalogue of Authors.

Pliny's *Epistles*.

Pocock.

Pontanus.

Possinus.

Prudentius.

Raimundi pugio fidei.

Salmeron.

J. Scaliger.

Selden.

Seneca.

Father Simon.

Spizelius.

Suetonius.

Sulpitius Severus.

Cornelius Tacitus.

Tertullian.

Tractatus Theologiæ Politicæ.

Valerius Maximus.

Victor Antiochenus

Virgilius.

Voisin.

Vorstius.

Vossius.

Usseri Chronologia.

Wagenfelsius.

Greek Authors.

Ælius Spartianus.

Marcus Antoninus.

Apuleius.

Arianus.

Barnabas's *Epistles*.

Basilus.

Berosus.

Clemens Alexandr.

Chrysostomus.

Epictetus.

Epiphanius.

Eusebius.

Herodotus.

Irenæus.

Justin Martyr.

Nicetas.

Nonnus.

Numenius.

Origenes.

Philostatus.

Photius.

Plato.

Plutarchus.

Procopius Gazæus.

Septuagint Translation of the Bible.

Socrates's *History*.

Theodoret.

Theophylact.

Theophilus Antiochenus.

Hebrew, Jewish, and Oriental Authors.

Abchath Rochelim. *Heb.*

Aben Amram. *Heb.*

Aben Ezra. *Heb.*

Abravenel. *Heb.*

Abu'l Pharagius. *Arab.*

J. Albo Ikkarim. *Heb.*

Baba Kama. *Heb.*

R. Bechai. *Heb.*

Benjamini Itinerarium. *H.*

Bereshith Rabba. *Heb.*

Bilibra Veritatis. *Heb.*

Liber Cosri. *Heb.*

Elias Levita. *Heb.*

Rabbi David Gantz. *Heb.*

Jacchides. *Heb.*

Jalkut. *Heb.*

Flavius Josephus. *Greek.*

Josephus Ben Gorion. *Heb.*

R. Solomon Jarchi. *Heb.*

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Juchasin. *Heb.*

Rabbi David Kimchi. *Heb.*

Lipmanni Nizachon. *H.*

Maimonides. *Heb.*

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Menasseh Ben Israel. *Lat.*

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Nizachon Lipmanni. *Heb.*

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Philo Judæus. *Greek.*

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Rittangel. *Heb.*

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Seder Olam Rabba. *Heb.*

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Sepher Hamitsvot. *Heb.*

Shebet Jehuda by Gentius. *Heb.*

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Syriack *Translation of the Bible.*

Talmud Babylonicum. *Chald.*

Talmud Hierosolymitan. *Chald.*

Targum Hierosolymitan. *Chald.*

Targum Jonathanis Ben Uzziel. *Chald.*

Targum Onkelosi. *Chald.*

Toldoth Jesu. *Heb.*

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T H E
P R E F A C E.



*T*is said of our Blessed Saviour, upon his healing a withered hand (when the Jews watched him, whether he would heal on the sabbath-day, that they might accuse him) that he looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts. *Mark iii. 5.*

He looked on them with anger, and with compassion at the same time. Thus have all the sincere disciples of Jesus been affected towards that people ever since our Saviour's time, and very fit it is that they should imitate their great lord and master. He that loves his lord, and his holy religion, cannot but be moved with some degree of anger when he considers how that people persecuted Jesus and his followers, and have ever shewed an un placable hatred against the incomparable religion, which they planted in the world. They do in their books, which we have in our hands, reproach our Blessed Saviour; and with great bitterness disparage and calumniate those holy writers, which give us an account of our Saviour's birth, of his life and doctrine; and these practices of theirs have been an occasion of many evils which have befallen them, and have drawn upon them the anger of the christian states or kingdoms where they have lived. Nor is it strange at all that christians should be moved with some degree of indignation against those men who scoff at that Jesus whom they worship.

BUT how excusable soever this indignation be, yet it ought to be attended with pity and compassion. This we may learn from the example of Jesus, who was grieved for the hardness of their heart, and did to the last breath pray for these men who had no pity or compassion upon him. And the apostle of the Gentiles, who had been greatly persecuted by the Jews, was so far from being unconcerned for them, that he most solemnly professeth that he had great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart upon their account. And so great was his charity that he could wish himself accursed from Christ for their sakes. *Rom. ix. 1, 2, 3.*

AND whatever opinion christians may have entertained, concerning the conversion of the nation of the Jews; it must be granted that it is our

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duty

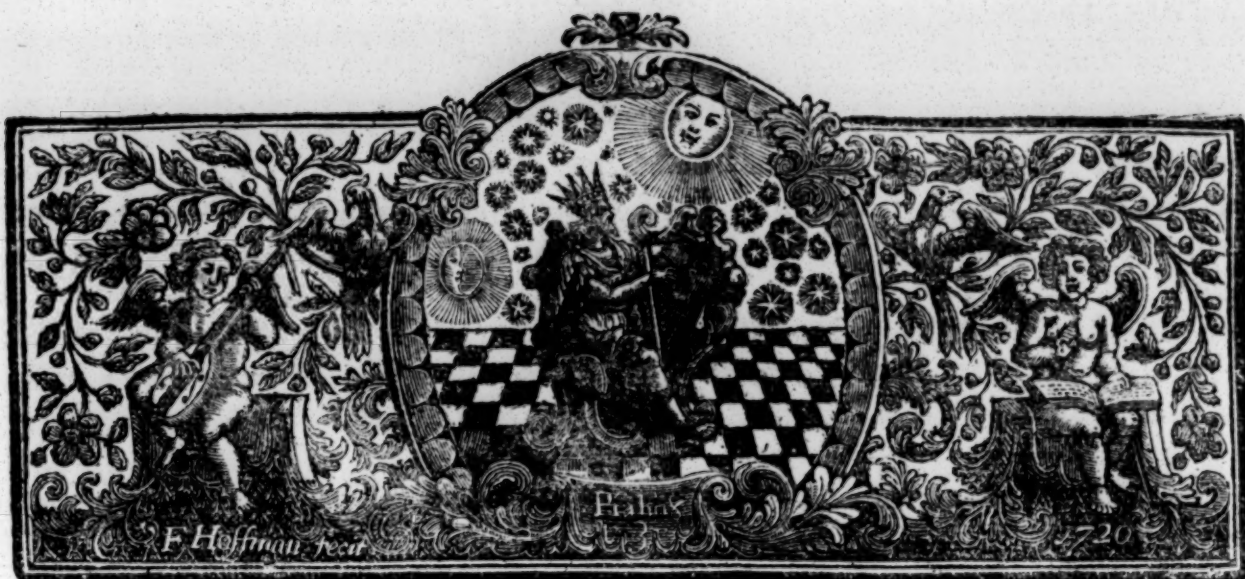
duty to do all we can toward the gaining so good an end. And whatever is done to this purpose, by any christian states, or particular persons, however it may miss of its desired effect, will not fail of a reward. It is very well known where the Jews are obliged to hear the sermons or lectures of the christians: And there are those charitable persons in the church who would much rejoice to find them under the same obligation in other states and christian kingdoms also. A lecture for this very end and purpose might have good effects: For though it be not effectual where it is used, yet it is no hard thing to assign very considerable reasons how that comes to pass. Thus much is certain, that if we would gain the Jews it will become us to do all in our power to that purpose: and though some men have other obligations, yet every christian is obliged, in his dealings with them, to use them with great humanity, to trade with them with exact justice and simplicity, and to adorn our religion by an exemplary life and conversation.

FOR the following discourse, I am to acquaint the reader that I do not send it abroad as a just tract designed only against the Jews. Had this been my design I should have taken other methods. I intended the advantage of the christian reader also; and hope that the younger among them may receive some benefit thereby. It is our common christianity which I here defend; and I have attempted to explain some difficult places of the holy writ which have been perverted by some men, and scoffed at by others. In all that I have done I have sincerely pursued after truth; if I have any where mistaken I shall most readily and thankfully hearken to him who shall shew me my error.

I do intend a second part, in which I design to examine the objections which we find in the Jewish writers against the truth which I have defended in this first, and against the religion which Jesus taught. I shall in that particularly consider their pretences for their unbelief: and they are such as these, viz. That their law is of perpetual obligation; that the promise of the Messias was conditional; and the time of his coming not fixed; that there are some prophecies relating to the Messias and his times not fulfill'd in Jesus, &c.

I do very well know that there are in the church of England a great number of men who are better fitted for such an undertaking than I am: I should be so far from esteeming it a disappointment if any of them would prevent me, in what I design farther, that it would be matter of rejoicing to me. And if what I have done already may be but an occasion to excite some other person to do better, I shall think my time well spent, and be very well content that what I have here offered should be laid aside or overlooked.

T H E



THE INTRODUCTION.



DO intend with God's assistance, in the ensuing discourse, to prove that our *Jesus* is the *Christ*: and shall by way of introduction to this weighty argument reflect something upon the words of *St. Peter* to the *Jews*, *Act. ii. 36.* And for the better understanding those words it is to be remembered that our *Jesus*, before he left his disciples, promised them the presence and the aid of the Holy Ghost; and a little before his ascension into heaven, *he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which (saith he) ye have heard of me. Act. ii. 4.*

NOR did our Saviour fail to make good his promise; but when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they are filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake with divers tongues as the spirit gave them utterance. This happened at *Jerusalem* at a great solemnity, and at a time when the devout and religious of several nations were together in the city, who heard the apostles speak in the language of their several countries, the wonderful works of God. *And they were all amazed, and were in a doubt, saying one to another, what meaneth this? ver. 12.* And there were among the rest very evil men that were so malicious as to mock and say, *these men are full of new wine. ver. 13.*

THIS calumny *St. Peter* disproves, and lets them know that they spake by the power of the Holy Ghost. And then he preaches to them the resurrection and ascension of *Jesus*, who was approved of God by miracles, and wonders and signs: And he gives them to understand, that as this *Jesus* had received of the father the promise of the Holy Ghost, so he had also now bestowed this Holy Ghost upon them, the effect of which gift they saw and heard: and thereupon concludes (as well he might) that he

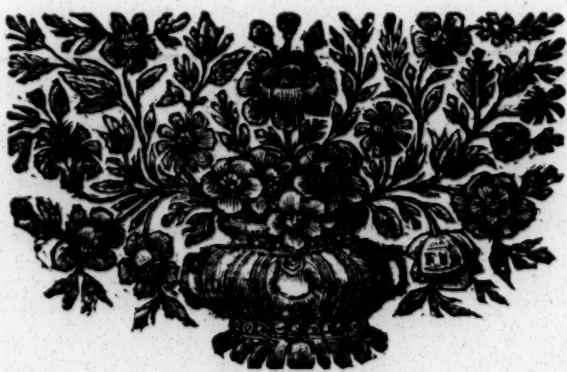
is the *Messias* that was promised. *Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ, Aët. xi. 36.*

BEFORE I proceed I shall take notice of the word ἐποίησε: God hath *made* that same *Jesus*: That is, says *Chrysostome* κατέστησεν, he hath ordained or appointed *Jesus* to be Lord and Christ. And the Greek word will well bear this sense as well as the Hebrew עָשָׂה: Thus it is said of our Saviour, *Mar. iii. 14.* ἐποίησε δώδεκα, i. e. he *made* twelve, or, *ordained* twelve, as we translate it well. He chose twelve says the *Syriac* version. Again *Gen. xli. 34.* "עָשָׂה פָּרַעֲוֹ וְנָ" Καὶ ποιήσειτω Φαραὼ καὶ καταστήσειτω, as the *lxxii.* render it. That is, let *Pharaoh make and appoint officers*; and not as we have rendered it, *let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint.* Again, *It is the Lord that advanced Moses and Aaron (or made)* as it is in the margin of *1 Sam. xii. 6.*

AND we usually speak after this manner: when men are advanced to dignity and office they are said to be *made* what they are afterwards called. To make a *consul*, a *captain*, or *general*, signifies no more than to appoint them and raise them to those dignities and offices.

So that the meaning of these words is as if the apostle had said, let all the *Israelites* therefore be assured of this great and very evident truth, that that *Jesus*, whom the Jews have crucified, is by God the Father (who hath raised him from the dead, and taken him up to his right hand) constituted and appointed head of the church. and instated in the kingly office of the *Messiah*.

THAT *Jesus* is the Christ, or *Messiah*, that was foretold, is that which the apostle would have the Jews be assured of: and this was the doctrine, which the first preachers of christian religion did mainly insist upon: It being not only an article of the christian faith, but such an one as is the foundation of the rest. *Who is a liar*, says St. John, *but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?* *1 Joh. ii. 22.* We read that *Saul confounded the Jews which were at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ, Aët. ix. 22.* He preacheth the same doctrine at *Thessalonica, Aët. xvii. 3.* And at *Corinth, Aët. xviii. 5.* And of *Apollos* we read, that he *mightily convinced the Jews*, and that *publickly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ, ver. 28.*





A
DEMONSTRATION
OF THE
MESSIAS.



CHAP. I.

Of the name Jesus: That this name by which our Saviour was called, and distinguished from other men, is no objection against the prediction, Isa. vii. 14. The importance of the name Jesus. In what sense our Lord is said to be a Saviour. His salvation compared with the deliverances mentioned in the old testament. Of the word Christ. Of anointing things and persons, and the design of it. Of the anointing of Jesus. Some account of the Jewish constitutions about anointing with their holy oil.



BEFORE I proceed to shew that *Jesus* is the *Christ*, I shall shew what is meant by *Jesus*, what by *Christ*. *Jesus* was the name by which our Lord was commonly known among men; the name which *Joseph* his reputed father gave him, *Matth. i. 25.* And it was given him at his circumcision, *Luk. ii. 21.* And that too not without the particular command of the angel of God. This was the name by which he was called commonly by those that spake of him. Thus he that was restored to sight said, *a man that is called Jesus made clay, &c. Joh. ix. 11.* This was a name in use among the Jewish people, and a name which others had as well as our *Jesus*; and
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we have mention of several men to whom that name was given; *Col.* iv. 11. *Heb.* iv. 8. And the Jewish writers mention him by the name *Jesus*; indeed they call him by the word יֵשׁוּ but not יֵשׁוּעַ; They cut off the last letter, as *Elias Levita*^a tells us, because they do not acknowledge him to be a saviour. But yet they do not deny that he was known and commonly called by the name *Jesus* which he received at his circumcision.

It is true indeed it was foretold that a virgin should bring forth a son, and 'tis said *they shall call his name Emmanuel*, *Matth.* i. 23. That these words are meant of our Saviour is also undeniable. And though the Jews object against us from this place, that either the words were never meant of our Saviour, as the evangelist will have them, or that they were never verified in him; because he was called by the name *Jesus*, and not *Emmanuel*; though, I say, they may thus object, yet they do but trifle in it.

For, if they look into their Prophets, they will find^b, that being *called*, or *called* by such a *name*, does not infer that the thing or person so to be called shall be commonly known by that name, as a man is by the name by which he is known and distinguished from other men. 'Tis enough that they shall be that which they are called, and that what is foretold shall truly belong to them; as will appear from the following places, *Isa.* i. 26. *lx.* 14. *lxii.* 4. *Jer.* iii. 17. *Ezek.* xlvi. 35. *Zech.* viii. 3. There are many things said of our Saviour which serve to describe his office, and acquaint us with his perfections and relation, and were never intended for his name, by which he was to be known among men. *His name shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting father, the prince of peace*, *Isa.* ix. 6. That is, the *Messiah* shall be all this, though not commonly known and *called* by these names^c.

For the word *Jesus*, if we consider its Hebrew original, it signifies a saviour; and for that reason this name was given to our Lord because he was to *save his people from their sins*, *Matth.* i. 21. And the angel tells the shepherds, *unto you is born this day in the city of David a saviour*, *Luk.* ii. 11. And the Apostle says no less when he says, *God hath raised up unto Israel a saviour Jesus*, *Act.* xiii. 23. This word saviour imports very much, and is very agreeable to the great design of our Lord's appearing. *Lactantius*^d observes that the name *Jupiter*, that the heathens gave their God, was unbecoming a deity. For *Jupiter* being no more but *Juvans pater, an helping father*, it was a term of diminution. For one man may help another: And 'tis no great matter to help; but to save and deliver imports much. *Non intelligit beneficia divina, qui se tantummodo à Deo juvari putat*; He hath too mean and low an apprehension of the divine benefits that thinks God does only help him. This is to attribute too much to our selves and too little to God. He that helps me adds his strength to mine, but he that saves shews his own power only. We were without all help and hope too: our Lord rescued us, and saved us, we contributed nothing toward our deliverance. He is the saviour of mankind: our intire deliverance is to be ascribed to him: and 'twill well become us to consider, how justly this name of *Jesus* belongs to him, and to meditate a while upon the greatness of that salvation and deliverance which our Lord hath wrought for us.

^a Eli. Levit. Thisbit. p. 151.

^b Orig. contra. Cels. l. 1.

^c Theophylact. in *Matth.* i. 23.

^d Lactan. institut. l. 1. c. xi.

Now our Lord might well be called *Jesus*, a saviour.

1. As he hath published and made known to us the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation: our Lord hath brought life and immortality to light, and hath shewed us the way to eternal life. There was no express promise of eternal life in the law of *Moses*: temporal blessings were promised to the obedient, but they had no assurances given them of a glorious immortality. The way to this our Lord hath revealed plainly.

2. HE procured this for us also, he bought it with no less price than his precious blood. And now we stand *reconciled to God by the death of his son*, and then we may justly expect to be *saved by his life*. Rom. v. 10.

3. HE confers this salvation upon us: he is set down at God's right hand, and hath received all power in heaven and earth. God hath exalted him *with his right hand to be a prince and a saviour, to give repentance unto Israel, and forgiveness of sins*, Act. v. 31. We receive from him the power of his grace here, and justly expect from him the glorifying of our souls and bodies hereafter.

AND it will well be worth our while to enter into a meditation of this salvation and deliverance which our Lord hath wrought for us. And to that purpose let us compare it with those deliverances which were wrought of old for the people of the Jews. For those deliverances may well be called salvations, and those men that were the instruments of them may be called saviours; for so they are called in the holy scripture. 2 King. xiii. 5. *Neh.* ix. 27. with the lxxii. *Judg.* iii. 9, 15.

AMONG those saviours there was one who was not only an eminent type of our blessed saviour, but who had the same name that was given our Saviour at his circumcision; And that was *Joshua* the son of *Nun*: For *Joshua* and *Jesus* are the same name, and *Joshua* is called *Jesus*, Heb. iv. 8. and יֵשׁוּעַ *Neh.* viii. 17. 'Tis true indeed his name was *Hoshea*, and so he is called; but upon his being chosen to spy out or search the land of *Canaan*, *Moses* changed his name from *Hoshea* to *Joshua*; Num. xxiii. 16. i. e. he made an honourable alteration of his name (as *Philo*^e observes) when he added to the name he had the first letter of the *Tetragrammaton*: and he made this addition to his name, by putting to it the first letter of the name of God, when he sent him to search the land of *Canaan*; so that for the future he is a saviour, and by God's appointment was set apart to introduce the *Israelites* into the land of promise: *Moses* the law-giver did not bring the *Israelites* into the promised land; this was left for *Joshua* to do. Now that land was a type of heaven; and *Joshua*, of our *Jesus*; and what the law did not, that the gospel does: It hath brought life and immortality to light. And though *Moses*, who brought the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, and *Joshua*, who introduced them into the good land, and others who afterward fought their battels, were great deliverers of their people, yet all these deliverances put together come greatly short of that which our Lord hath wrought.

I. FOR these deliverances were but *temporal*, our Saviour's is *eternal*. Those worthies fell asleep, and then the *Israelites* fell under the malice and power of their enemies, and ill neighbours; then were they liable to the impressions of their enemies, who did enslave their people, and sack

^e Οὕτω μεταλλάχθη καὶ τὸ τῆς λεχθέντος νόμισμα πρὸς ἰδὲαν Βελτίονα. Philo Judæ de mutat. Nominum.

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their city, and burn their temple, and carry them away to a strange land. Their enemies were not dismayed with the great names of *Moses* and *Joshua*, *Gideon* and *Sampson*. These great men were dead and could yield no succours to the oppressed *Israelites*: and, whatever terrors these men impressed upon their enemies while they lived, their names will strike none now. The *Chaldeans* are not over-awed by the rod of *Moses*, or the strength of *Sampson*: these deliverers can afford no relief or help: 'tis otherwise with us. Our Lord is the author of *eternal salvation*, *Heb. v. 9*. And hath obtained an *eternal redemption* for us, *Heb. ix. 12*. Those saviours died and left their enemies behind them: but *Jesus* ever lives to make *intercession* for us, *Heb. vii. 25*. Our Lord arose from the dead, and is gone before us into heaven, and is there concerned on our behalf. And this is unspeakably to our comfort and advantage. Old *Jacob* in his last words to his sons, tells them what shall befall them in the last days. Of *Dan* he foretells that he shall be *a serpent in the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels, so that his rider shall fall backward*, *Gen. xlix. 17*. These words seem to refer to *Sampson*, who delivered his people from the *Philistines*; but then 'tis worth our observing what follows; where the good man's soul sallies out into another and greater contemplation: *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord, ver. 18*. that is, as the *Jews*^f expound it, as if he had said; *I do not expect the deliverance of Gideon and Sampson, which will be but a temporal deliverance; but thy salvation O Lord is that which I expect, for thine is an eternal salvation*. These words seem to refer to the salvation of the *Messias*, and do very well deserve to be considered farther^g: 'Tis agreed that in the foregoing words *Jacob* speaks of *Sampson*: He was a *Nazarite*, and a great deliverer of his people. And besides what he did for his people in their life-time, he destroyed their enemies at his death. In several respects we may suppose him a *type* of our blessed Saviour: And we may very well suppose him so to be, even as he is considered here as a serpent by the way. For *Philo* the Jew^h hath directed us to understand that expression of a serpent, not with reference to the serpent which beguiled *Eve*, or *voluptuousness*: but with respect to the brazen serpent of *Moses*, a symbol of *temperance* and *fortitude*, and (as I shall shew afterwards) a very remarkable type of the *Messias*. And *Jacob* looks farther than *Sampson*; he looks off from that *Nazarite*, to our *Nazaren*, from that temporal deliverer to our *Jesus*, who is the author of eternal salvation. I shall give you the sense of these words in the words of one of the ancients, who brings in *Jacob* speaking thus; ⁱ *Nunc videns in spiritu comam, &c. i. c. I foreseeing in the spirit Sampson the Nazarite nourishing his hair, and triumphing over his slaughtered enemies, that like a serpent and adder in the way he suffered none to pass through the land of Israel; and if any were so hardy, confiding in the swiftness of an horse, as to adventure like a robber to spoil it, he should not be able to escape—I foreseeing this Nazarite so valiant, and that he dyed for the sake of an harlot, and dying destroyed our enemies. I thought, O God, that he was the Christ thy son: but because he dyed and rose not again, and Israel was afterward carried away captive, I must expect another saviour of the world*

^e Vid. Targum Hierosol. & Jonath. in locum.

^h Phil. Jud. de agricultura.

^g Vid. Hieronym. adversus Jovinianum. l. 1.

ⁱ Hieronym. Quæst. Hebr. in Genes.

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and of my posterity; that Shilo should come, to whom the gathering of the people shall be.

AGREEABLE to what hath been said are these words of *Zacharias*, who said of the Lord God of *Israel* that he had raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant *David*, Luk. i. 69. By horn of salvation for us, is denoted the kingdom and power of our blessed Saviour: and for the better understanding of this expression, it is to be remembered that dominion and power is expressed by *horn* among the Hebrew writers. Thus in the prophet *Daniel* the ten horns are said to be ten kings, chap. vii. 24. Again, *I will make the horn of David to bud*, Ps. cxxxii. 17. Instead of *horn* the *Chaldee* paraphrast^k hath מלך יקר a glorious king. And one of the learned *Jews*, and a bitter enemy to christianity, confesses that that verse speaks of the *Messias* that was to come. So that the horn of salvation does intimate to us the greatness of that deliverance which our Lord hath wrought.

BESIDES 'tis said of *Simeon*, that when he took *Jesus* into his arms, and blessed God, he said, *Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation*, Luk. ii. 29, 30. which agrees well with the words of *Jacob*; *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord*.

INDEED *Aben Ezra*^l tells us from *R. Isaac*, that *Jacob* having likened *Dan* to an adder by the path, did thereupon fall into a fear, and then (as fearful men are apt to call for help and deliverance) he added, *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord*: and another of the Jewish commentators^m would have those words to contain the prediction that *Sampson's* eyes should be put out by the *Philistines*, and then that they imply that prayer of *Sampson* at the last. *O Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me, I pray thee, only this once, O God, that I may be at once avenged of the Philistines for my two eyes*, Judg. xvi. 28. It is enough that I have named these opinions, I shall not need refute them, for besides that their authority is not great, who are the authors of them, they are not backed with any reasons at all. But to return; as those deliverances of *Joshua* and the other worthies were but temporal, whereas our Lord's was eternal; So,

II. THEY were but carnal, but our Lord's is spiritual. They delivered their people from thralldom and bondage, the yoke of a tyrant, the tribute of an oppressor, the chains and fetters of some potent prince. But our *Jesus* saves his people from their sins, Matth. i. 21. He was manifested to take away our sins, 1 Joh. iii. 5. And to destroy the works of the Devil, ver. 8. Or as *Zacharias* expresses it, we are delivered out of the hands of our enemies, that we might serve God without fear: *In holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life*, Luk. i. 74. 75. This is the deliverance that our Lord hath wrought. He sets us free from our sins, and hath redeemed us from the wrath to come. This *Jesus* does for all them that will obey him. He destroyed the Devil's kingdom, stopt his mouth in his oracles, overturned his temples, dispossessed him of his idols; destroyed his worship, and baffled him in all his designs. He cast him out not

^k Kimchi in Psal. cxxxii. 17.

^l Aben Ezra in Gen. xlix. 13.

^m R. Solom. in loc.

of the *bodies* only, but of the *souls* and *hearts* of men, and wrested from him that kingdom which he had so long and so unjustly got the possession of.

THE world was over-run with idolatry and superstition, with violence and oppression, with ignorance and prophaneness; men were proud and covetous, unchast and intemperate, full of envy and malice: but our Lord came, and by his life and doctrine, by his death and divine grace, he sent away that darkness that overspread the world; he knocked off those chains in which men were shackled, and restored mankind to the worship of the true God, and to his image and likeness. Let's hear the excellent words by which the apostle expresseth all this. *For we our selves* (says he) *also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward mankind appeared. Not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost: which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, Tit. iii. 3.*-----Such was the deliverance which our Jesus wrought; *For the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ: who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works, Tit. ii. 11.*

MOSES delivered the *Israelites* from the *Egyptians*, he brought them from the bondage of those *Infidels*, but he did not save them from their *infidelity*. *For we see they could not enter into the promised land, because of their unbelief, Heb. iii. 19.* *Joshua* brought them into *Canaan*, but left them on this side *heaven*. Others delivered them from the men of *Midian* and the *Philistines*, but none of them delivered them from the *evil men themselves*. They were saved from their *enemies* frequently, but not from their *sins*. They fell into their *folly* and their *misery* again.

BUT our blessed Redeemer saves us from our sin. *He gives repentance and forgiveness of sins, Act. v. 31. And turns us from our iniquities, Act. iii. 26.* This exalts him above *Moses* and *Joshua*; this speaks him the great redeemer and shepherd of our souls. The *Jews* expected a *temporal Messiah*, one that would restore them their kingdom, and advance them to worldly splendor and greatness: but our Lord came to erect a spiritual kingdom in the hearts and minds of men: he came to vanquish our lusts, and destroy the power of sin in the hearts of men. This was a design worthy of God, and becoming our Lord Jesus; and that which the greatest kings and princes were never able to do. Our Lord hath wrought the greatest deliverance.

OTHERS have *conquered* their *enemies*; our Lord hath done more, he hath *reconciled* them and made them *friends*. Others have killed the *bodies* of men; our Lord hath done more, he has *saved* their *souls*. Others have gotten wealth and worldly greatness; our Lord does more, when he enables his followers to despise these things. Others have saved their followers from dying; our Lord delivers us from the fear of death. He *kills* our *pride*, *destroys* our *covetousness*, *purges* away our *lust*, *plants* in us the *love of God*, and the *contempt* of the *world*.

BUT

BUT if you say, Where are these conquests of our LORD's to be seen? Shew us the men, that are thus redeemed from their crimes and follies?

I ANSWER, That there are, and ever were such men in the world since the Gospel appeared; but that their number is small, is not from the Religion they profess, but because it is not entertained. It is because they are false *Christians*; not because their Religion is not able to make them better. If we would receive our LORD's precepts, and beg his aids, and use his assistances and helps, we should find a mighty change in the minds of men. One of the Ancients tells us, That there were daily experiments in his time, how far the *precepts* of Religion did prevail upon the minds of men. And I cannot but take notice of his words to this purpose. *Da mihi virum qui sit iracundus, &c. Give me a man* (says heⁿ) *that is given to wrath, to evil speaking, and who is unruly; with a very few words of GOD, I will render him as tame as a sheep. Give me one that is craving, covetous, tenacious; I will render him liberal and bountiful. Give me one that is fearful of grief and death; he shall soon despise crosses, and flames, and the torments of a tyrant. Give me one that is lustful, adulterous and gluttonous; and you shall soon see him sober, chaste and continent. Give me one that is cruel and blood-thirsty; and that fury shall soon be changed into an unfeigned clemency. Give me one that is unjust, foolish, and sinful; and he shall presently become just, and prudent, and inoffensive.* This was the effect of Religion in those times, when it was considered and entertained.

III. THOSE deliverances under the law of *Moses* were more particular, and restrained to the people of the *Jews*; but our JESUS is the SAVIOUR of mankind. *He is the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him,* Heb. v. 9. And he that saves the world is preferable to him that delivered the *Israelites* only. The time was, when Religion and all the more eminent dignations and favours of GOD, seemed to be inclosed and confined within the narrow compass of the land and people of the *Jews*. There had GOD his temple, and dwelt among them; to them he gave his responses from heaven; there were his prophets, and they had his law for their guide. *He had not dealt so with any nation; and for his judgments they had not known them,* Ps. cxlvii. 20. *In Judah was GOD known; his name was great in Israel; in Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling place in Zion. There brake he the arrows of the bow, the sheild, and the sword, and the battle,* Psal. lxxvi. 1.—And, *what one nation in the earth was there like that people?* 2 Sam. vii. 23. Among them he wrought his wonders; and the *Gentiles* were so far from being bettered by those wonders, that they grew worse and worse. They were strangers to the commonwealth, and to the mercies of *Israel*. Their land was the glorious land, and the valley of vision, when others sat in darkness. Nay, which is more still, the MESSIAS was promised to them, and to be of their seed. The Apostle in few, but very comprehensive words, reckons up their prerogatives. *To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of GOD, and the promises; Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh CHRIST came, who is over all, GOD blessed for ever,* Rom. ix. 4. The deliverances that were wrought by *Moses* and *Joshua*, &c. were for the sake of them, and they were but the saviours of the *Israelites*.

ⁿ Lactant. Institut. l. 3. c. 26.

BUT our LORD is the SAVIOUR of *mankind*; of the *Gentile* as well as *Jew*. He is that light, which lighteth every man that comes into the world; that sun of righteousness, whose light and influence is not confined to any one nation or kindred, but displays it self upon all the nations of the Earth. The partition wall is taken down, and the difference between man and man is taken away; and whoever comes to our JESUS shall in no-wise be cast out. Now all the faithful are the children of *Abraham*; and GOD is *no respecter of persons*; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him, Act. x. 34. Upon the birth of JESUS the Angel tells the shepherds: *Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people*, Luk. ii. 10. And the heavenly host praised GOD and said, *Glory to GOD in the highest, and on earth peace, and good will towards men*, ver. 14. Our LORD came not to save the *Jews* only; but all that believe. And 'tis worth our observing after what manner the love of GOD in sending his Son is expressed; not as confined to the *Jews* any longer, but as reaching to the race of mankind. GOD so loved the world (not the Jewish people only) that he gave his only begotten Son, &c. Job. iii. 16. After the same manner the Apostle speaks of this love of GOD, *After that the kindness and love of GOD our SAVIOUR toward man appeared*, Tit. iii. 4. Our SAVIOUR is a light to lighten the *Gentiles*, as well as the glory of the people of *Israel*, Luk. ii. 32.

OUR LORD hath delivered *mankind*; *Moses* and *Joshua* delivered the *Israelites* only. *Sampson* died, and by his death destroyed the enemies of the *Hebrews*; our LORD by his death destroyed the enemies of mankind. The sacrifices of the law, at the most, atoned for the whole congregation of *Israel*: but CHRIST gave himself a ransom for all, 1 Tim. ii. 6. He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world, 1 Joh. ii. 2. Our LORD tasted of death for every man, Heb. ii. 9. And would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, 1 Tim. ii. 4. And what the men of *Dan* said to *Micha's* Levite, that it was better for him to be a priest to a tribe, than to be a priest to one man, is accommodable to my present purpose: He is the great deliverer, that rescues *mankind* rather than one people: And such a one is our JESUS, the SAVIOUR of the world.

IV. BY the Religion of CHRIST JESUS we may be justified, and acquitted from that guilt, which admitted no atonement from the law of *Moses*. Though in the law of *Moses* several oblations were prescribed and allowed to expiate for sins of *ignorance*; yet there was no expiation allowed for him that sinned *presumptuously*, but such a sinner was to be cut off from among GOD's people, Numb. xv. 30, 31. There were many sins of this high nature, that the law was not furnished with an atonement for, as may be seen, Levit. xx. Among these, *wilful murder* was to be reckoned, as a sin that admitted no sacrifice of atonement. And to this sense are the words of the Psalmist understood; when he prays to be delivered from *blood guiltiness*: For (says he) *thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it thee*, Psal. li. 16. i. e. Thou hast allowed no sacrifice for such an high offence as mine is. This agrees well with the Text, the ancient Versions, and the Jewish Expositors. One of the Jewish

• Εἰ ἠθέλησας θυσίαν, ἔδωκα ἄν. LXXII. Si voluisses sacrificium, dedissem utique V. L.

Commentators^p upon this place expresses himself thus "על פי שצוה: וכו'" That is, *And although GOD (says he) commanded obligations, together with confession and repentance, the blessed GOD did not command oblations, unless it were for him who sinned ignorantly: But he (the Psalmist) was a presumptuous sinner; and for this sin there was no oblation, but only repentance with a broken and contrite heart.* But the Gospel of JESUS CHRIST offers a pardon for all sins upon the sinners faith and repentance. No sinner is excluded from hope, that does not by his impenitence exclude himself. This seems to be the meaning of these words of St. Paul; *Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that though this man is preached to you the forgiveness of sins: And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses,* Act. xiii. 38, 39.

I COME now to explain what is meant by CHRIST. Now so it is, that the word CHRIST does denote our Saviour's office, *Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis, & regni.* Says Lactantius^q, CHRIST is as much as *anointed*, it being but the Greek of MESSIAS. Andrew telleth Simon Peter, *we have found the MESSIAS, which is being interpreted, the CHRIST,* Joh. iv. 41.^r And the woman of Samaria said: *I know that MESSIAS cometh which is called CHRIST,* Joh. iv. 25. Thus our LORD is called, *Pf. ii. 2. Dan. ix. 25.*

Now for the better understanding of the importance of this word CHRIST, or *anointed*, we shall do well to reflect upon the usage that obtained among the Jewish people, where we shall find frequent mention of the ceremony of *Anointing*: That which was anointed, was thereby separated to some particular and special use, whether it had relation to *things* or *persons*. Thus was the pillar anointed, *Gen. xxviii, 18. 22.* And the tabernacle and all its utensils; they being by that means set apart to the service of GOD. But this ceremony of *anointing* had relation to persons also. Thus the most publick persons and ministers among the *Jews*, were by this ceremony set apart to their publick offices and dignities: As for example,

KINGS were *anointed*. Hence it is that a king is expressed in the sacred dialect by *the LORD's anointed*. Thus were *Saul* and *David* anointed by *Samuel* according to the divine appointment, *1 Sam, x. 1. xv. 1. xvi. 3. 13.* And *Zadok* anoints *Solomon*, that there might be no dispute who should succeed *David*, *1 King. i. 39.*^r And these kings when they were thus anointed were then GOD's vice-gerents over the *Jewish* people, who were under a *theocracy*: and when the prophets did by anointing them make them kings, they made them *typical* CHRISTs, as one of the Ancients does express it. And so indeed they were. They did typifie the MESSIAS, who was to be lord and governor of the church, as these kings were of the *Jews*.

PRIESTS were *anointed* also. *Aaron* and his sons were thus consecrated, *that they might minister unto GOD in the priest's office.* *Exod. xl. 13. 15.*

As for Prophets the like cannot be said. We have not that express law, nor the practice upon record which we have for the other. 'Tis true indeed that *Elijah* is commanded to anoint *Elisba* to be a prophet in his room, *1 King. xix. 16.* And at the same time he is commanded to anoint *Hazael* to be king over *Syria*, and *Jehu* over *Israel*. 'Tis probable that no more is meant by that expression than this, that he should constitute

^p R. David Kimchi in *Pf. li. 16.* In eundem sensum R. Solom. & Aben Ezra in loc. ^q Lactant. Institut. l. 4. c. 7. ^r Heb. מָשִׁיחַ Chald. מְשִׁיחָא ^s Εἰς οὐκὶνους τινος Χριστός. Euseb. Hist. l. 1. c. 3.

Elisba to be a Prophet in his room: And because men were set apart to great offices by the ceremony of Anointing; therefore that expression is used there. And that person, who is constituted and appointed by GOD to some great office or employment, is said to be the LORD's anointed, though he were not set apart with material Oyl to that office; because these publick persons were wont by the holy Oyl to be set apart to their dignities and employments: Thus *Cyrus* is said to be the LORD's anointed, Isa. xlv. 1. He being appointed by GOD for the destruction of *Babylon*, and the return of the *Israelites*. And all, that we read, which *Elijah* did, when he came to *Elisba* to perform what he was commanded, was, that he passed by him, and cast his mantle upon him, 1 *King*. xix. 19. ^t Upon which *Elisba* arose and minister'd to *Elijah*, ver. 21. For Kings and Priests the precept is plain, and the practice unquestionable.

I SHALL from the *Jewish* writers give you a more particular account of the right of anointing Kings and Priests, as well as of the reasons of it. Now the reasons of it are said to be these two.

FIRST, This was to be a sign of the divine election and choice. He that was thus set apart was to be received as chosen of GOD. *I have exalted one chosen out of the people. I have found David my servant; with my holy oyl have I anointed him*, Psal. lxxxix. 19, 20. This holy Oyl was a composition of GOD's prescribing, wherewith certain things and persons were to be set apart, and separated to holy uses; and 'tis expressly said, *Whosoever compoundeth any like it, or whosoever putteth any of it upon a stranger, shall even be cut off from his people*, Exod. xxx. 33.

SECONDLY, That he that was thus anointed might thereby be prepared to receive השפעת האלהי the *divine influx*. And thus we read of *Saul*, that when *Samuel* had anointed him, and told him that the Spirit of the LORD would come upon him, and that he should be turned into another man; the Spirit of GOD came upon him accordingly, and he prophesied, 1 Sam. vi. 10.

WE are moreover told from the *Jewish* writers ^u, that those that were anointed were anointed on their heads; Kings with the figure of a crown, Priests with the figure of the Hebrew כ or the Greek χ. The sign of a crown denoting the regal dignity; and the Hebrew כ being the first letter of כהן (which signifies a priest) denoting the priesthood. That the high priest was anointed, but not the inferior priests. That a son succeeding his father in the kingdom was not anointed. Indeed *Solomon* was; but that was because there was a competitor in the case, namely his brother *Adonijah*. And in that case the Anointing of *Solomon* decided the difference.

^x But the Priest that succeeded his father was always anointed. The high-priesthood being not successive as the kingdom of *David* was. ^y The kings of *Israel* were not anointed with the holy Oyl. *Jehu* indeed was anointed, but not with the holy Oyl of *Moses*, but with a certain balsam. ^z That during the second temple the high priests were not anointed, the holy Oyl having been hid and lost, and that the sacerdotal garments serve instead thereof. That the Kings of the house of *David* were to be anointed by a fountain of water, (for which they ground themselves upon 1 *Kin*. i. 38.) and in the day time, *Lev*. vi. 20.

לפי שמנוי המלכה והגדול על ידי משיחה בדב נאמר למנוי אפ על פי שאני על ידי

Vid. S. B. Mel. Michal Jophi in 1 Reg. xix. 8. R. D. Kimchi in Isa. xlv. 1. משיח: וכו'.

^u Vid. Maimon. H. Melach. Abravenel. in Exod. xxx. 23. ^x Buxtorf. Lexic. Rabbin in משה.

^y Rabboth fol. 176.

^z Pefikta fol. 10. c. 1. & Maimon. H. Kele Hammikdash c. 1. Siphra. fol. 17. c. 3.

THUS

THUS had the Jews under the law of *Moses* the shadow of good things to come, but these excellent things which they had in *type*, we have in *substance*. *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* Joh. i. 17. Our Blessed Saviour is both prophet, priest and king. He is the great prophet who hath taught us the will of God. Our great high priest who made atonement for us, and is entered into the holy of holies. He is our king to rule and govern us, and from him we expect the great and unspeakable blessing of eternal life. And as the priests and kings of old were set apart to their offices and dignities by a certain oil prescribed in the law of *Moses*: so was our Blessed Saviour by a better anointing, (of which that oil was but a shadow) namely, by the Holy Ghost; which did not only design him and set him apart to these great and important offices, but also enable him for the performance of them. Thus the apostle tells us, that *God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power*, Act. x. 38. Now our Saviour was anointed with the Holy Ghost,

FIRST, at his conception. Thus the angel tells the blessed virgin, *the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the son of God*, Luk. i. 35.

SECONDLY, at his baptism, at the river *Jordan*, Matth. iii. 13. Mar. i. 9. *Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus also being baptiz'd, and praying, the heaven was opened: and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven which said, thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased.* Luk. iii. 21, 22. Then did the Holy Ghost descend visibly upon *Jesus*; and as of old (as I said before) anointing was used among the Jews as a sign of God's election and choice of the person anointed, so was it now. And for the greater assurance of it a voice came from heaven, saying, *thou art my beloved son*, &c. Thus was *Jesus* declared to be chosen of God by the descent of the Holy Ghost, And to this I may add the words of the prophet to the same purpose, *behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him*, &c. Isa. xlii. 1. And St. *Luke* tells presently upon the baptism of *Jesus*, that, *he bring full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, and was led by the spirit into the wilderness*, Luk. iv. 1. And after he was tempted in the wilderness, he tells us that *Jesus* returned in the *power of the spirit* into *Galilee*, ver. 14. And when he was in the synagogue at *Nazareth*, he opened the book which was delivered him and found that place where 'twas written, *the spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor*, &c. And said unto them, *this day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears*, ver. 21.

OUR Blessed Saviour though he were sanctified from the womb, and was anointed by the Holy Ghost, yet when he was baptized in *Jordan*, and about thirty years of age, he was again anointed by the divine same spirit more publickly and openly than before: he was now entering on his great ministry, and about to be tempted by the Devil, and is now filled by the Holy Ghost, and thereby enabled and prepared for that work which he was going about. In a word, he who was at his conception anointed with the Holy Ghost, was also at his Baptism^a, when he was entering upon his

^a Matth. iii. 16, 17.

ministry, not only by a voice from heaven proclaimed the beloved son of God, but declared to be so by the descending of the spirit of God like a dove, and lighting upon him. ^b It is observed of *Aaron* the first high priest, and type of the *Messias*, that he was also *twice anointed* with the holy oil. And for *David* (who was a most eminent type of the *Messias*) he is said to be twice anointed also. Once at *Bethlehem* during the life of *Saul* by the hands of *Samuel*, upon which it is said ^c, *and the spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward*: after this he is said ^d to have been anointed at *Hebron* by the men of *Judah*. ^e I do grant, and it cannot be denied, that *David* was but once anointed with the holy oil, and that where it is said afterward that the men of *Judah* anointed him, the meaning is only this, that they *chose* him and openly owned and acknowledged him for their king, as appears by comparing 2 *Sam.* ii. 4. with chap. iv. 3, 17. It is enough to my present purpose that *David* who was more privately anointed at *Bethlehem*, was afterward so *publickly owned* and *acknowledged* to be the king that he is said again to have been *anointed*: for in this he was eminently a type of our Lord *Christ*, who was from his conception anointed with the Holy Ghost, and when he was, upon his baptism, entering upon his administration, was *publickly* declared to be the son of God by a voice from heaven, and by the descent of the Holy Ghost.

AMONG the Jewish constitutions this was one, that the kings of the house of *David* were to be anointed by a fountain of water. This was a tradition from their Elders grounded upon what we read of *Solomon*, that when he was to be anointed king, *Zadok* and *Nathan*, and the rest that attended upon him, brought him unto *Gihon*, 1 *King.* i. 38. This *Gihon* was a place of waters, as appears, 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 30. Let this tradition be as old as you will; suppose it came from *Moses* and was delivered from mount *Sinai*, as the Jews say their oral law was: so it came to pass that our *Jesus*, the great king of the house of *David*, was anointed by the waters of *Jordan* when the Holy Ghost at his baptism descended upon him.

'T WILL be easie now to understand what *Christ* imports: for that word denotes the offices of our Blessed Saviour to which he was appointed by God, and enabled to discharge by the Holy Ghost, which was plentifully poured out upon him. And as of old publick persons were set apart to their respective offices and dignities, by being first anointed with a certain oil prescribed for that purpose, so was our Lord sanctified and fitted to teach and govern the church of God; to be the great mediator between God and man, and the redeemer of mankind, by the Holy Ghost which he plentifully received, *Joh.* iii. 34. And he that confesses that *Jesus* is the *Christ* does thereby acknowledge him to be his prophet, priest, and king: and is consequently obliged, by virtue of that profession, to obey his laws, and give himself up to his government, as well as to hope for pardon from his blood. God hath made it very plain that our *Jesus* is the *Messias* that was promised. *Who is a liar* (says St. *John*) *but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ*, 1 *Joh.* ii. 22. This was that great truth that the Jews opposed vehemently. They agreed that if any man confessed him to be *Christ* he should be put out of the synagogue.

^b Vid. Exod. xxviii. 41. xxix. 21. Lev. viii. 12. with 30. See also Abravanel on Exod. xxix. 21.

^c 1 Sam. xvi. 13.

^d 2 Sam. ii. 4.

^e Το ὅ χρίσιν αὐτὸν ὁ χριστογενὲς τὸ πνεῦμα. Theodoret. in 2 Reg. Quæst. 8.

WHAT hath been said will be of use to the better understanding the words of St. *John*; *Ye have an unction from the holy one, and ye know all things*, 1 Joh. ii. 20. He puts *Christians* in mind of that Affusion of the HOLY GHOST (which he calls the *unction from the holy one*) which God hath bestowed on them according to CHRIST's promise. This HOLY GHOST did lead them into all truth, and the plentiful effusion of this Spirit did bear a clear testimony, that JESUS was the true MESSIAS, and that the doctrine which he taught came from GOD. This holy Spirit was the defence, which those *Christians* had against being seduced. As it follows, *These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you. But the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him*, 1 Joh. ii. 26, 27.

I SHALL only add, that from CHRIST we are all called *Christians*, and that blessed name ought to influence our practice. 'Tis a great thing to be a *Christian*: 'Tis a dignity and honour to the greatest among us, and the best of all our titles. We may well glory in this blessed name, and value it above all our other titles and properties. But then we must remember, what this name requires at our hands: When we name the name of CHRIST we are obliged to depart from all iniquity. Let us consider how well this name becomes us. Are we like our blessed SAVIOUR? Have we that unction from the holy one? Doth the Spirit of JESUS dwell in us? If that holy Spirit be not in us, we have a name to live and are dead. We may fondly conceit what we please of our selves; *but if any man have not the spirit of CHRIST, he is none of his*, Rom. viii. 9.



CHAP. II.

It is agreed between *Jews* and *Christians*, I. That there was a MESSIAS promised; and II. That there was such a person as our JESUS; and III. That there was at that time, when JESUS lived, a general expectation of the MESSIAS. That hence it was, that there appeared so many impostors about that time. An account of some of them from *Josephus*. and IV. That the MESSIAS was particularly promised in the old Testament. Of the promises of the MESSIAS, and the gradual revealing of them. A passage in *Maimonides*, concerning the *Afternoon-Prayer* misrepresented by a late learned writer. Several particulars relating to the MESSIAS predicted.

THUS having shewed, what is meant by JESUS, and what by CHRIST; I come next to shew you; that our JESUS whom the *Jews* crucified, is the CHRIST or MESSIAS. And before I proceed to consider the several arguments, that do confirm this truth, I shall premise the following particulars.

C

FIRST,

FIRST, That there was a MESSIAS promised in the old Testament. This is not only affirmed by the *Christians*; but granted by the *Jews*. There is no dispute about this matter.

SECONDLY, That there was such a person as JESUS; that he lived at such a time as we say he did, and died as the *Gospels* report, is not denied by the *Jews*. They often mention him in their writings, though with scorn and disdain; they speak of the time and manner of his death, and the names of his Disciples; and they are far from denying the matter of fact.

THIRDLY, That when JESUS did appear in the world, there was a great expectation of the MESSIAS among the *Jews*. Thus we read of *Simeon's waiting for the consolation of Israel*, Luk. ii. 25. And this *Simeon* was no mean person; he was the son of *Hillel* the great, and a man of great place among the *Jews*. Again, one *Anna* a prophetess, a devout and aged widow, *who served GOD with fastings and prayers night and day, and she speak of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem*, ver. 38. The woman of *Samaria* had heard of this fame, and general expectation of the MESSIAS among the *Jews* at that time; and that he should be a great prophet. *I know*, says she, *that MESSIAS cometh, which is called CHRIST: when he is come he will tell us all things*, Joh. iv. 25. Hence the *Jews* at that time, being under a general expectation of the MESSIAS, were very prone to take others for him that did then appear. And because *John the Baptist* was a man of great virtue and fame, and one who was greatly followed by the people, in this very time when the MESSIAS was expected, *they sent priests and levites to know who he was*, Joh. i. 19. ^f That is, to know whether or no he were the MESSIAS, as appears from what follows. *And he confessed, and denied not, but confessed, I am not the CHRIST*, ver. 20. And there have been those that have thought, that *Herod* was by some taken for the MESSIAS also, even by them, who upon that score are called the *Herodians* in the Gospel. I shall not need to dispute that; so much is certain, that the *Jews* did expect the MESSIAS at that time. And I shall afterwards shew, what ground they had for this their expectation.

It shall be enough at present to add, That as there was a general expectation of the MESSIAS about that time; so there were a great number of Impostors, that took that occasion to delude the people, and draw followers after them. *Gamaliel* names two, *Theudas*, and *Judas of Galilee*, Act. v. 36, 37. *Josephus* gives us a farther account of these men. He tells us, ^g that under the government of *Fadus*, a certain magician called *Theudas* persuaded a great number to follow him to the river *Jordan*; pretending himself to be a prophet, and that he would divide the river, and give them the advantage of passing over it. This the Impostor did to the destruction of himself, and many of his followers. He tells us ^h afterwards, that under the government of *Felix* there were certain Magicians and Impostors, that persuaded the people to follow them into the wilderness, promising them to shew them signs and wonders not without the hand of GOD, whom some believed to their own hurt. He tells us in the same Chapter, that at that time there came a certain man from *Egypt* to *Jerusalem*, pretending himself to be a prophet, and advising the people to follow him to mount *Olivet*, making them a promise, that there they should see the walls of *Jerusalem* to fall down at his command, and that he would give them by this

^f Casaubon, exercit. ad apparat. Baronii annal. n. 5.

^h ibid. c. 6.

^g Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 2.

means a free passage to the city: And this happened also to the destruction of many of his followers.

HE tells usⁱ of another magician in the time of *Festus*, who promised to save his followers, and to deliver them from their evils, if they would follow him into the wilderness. And that thereupon both the deceiver and the deceived were destroyed.

HE tells us^k of another, whose name was *Jonathan*, by trade a *Weaver*, who pretended to signs and wonders.

THE *Jews*, who had rejected our blessed SAVIOUR, the true MESSIAS and SAVIOUR of the world, were very prone to believe false Prophets. And this continued for some time. And indeed there being so great expectation of a SAVIOUR, it is the less to be wondered at, that they, who had rejected the SAVIOUR whom GOD sent, should entertain those that came without his authority. Our SAVIOUR had said, *I am come in my father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive*, Joh. v. 43. The *Jews* verified our SAVIOUR's words: and have been from time to time miserably baffled in their expectations, and imposed upon by cheats and impostors; as I may have a farther occasion to represent afterwards.

INDEED so it is, that in the first beginning of Christianity they had the greater temptation to give credit to false prophets; because as they had rejected the true Prophet, so they continued still in expectation of one that should save them. It is very remarkable, which *Josephus* in his book of the *Jewish Wars*, tells us^l to my present purpose: viz. That that which chiefly excited the *Jews* to war with the *Romans* was *Χρησιμὸς ἀμφιβολία*, a prophecy (though of doubtful signification, as he is pleased to call it, yet) contained in the Holy Scripture, Ως καὶ τὸ γράβον ἐκεῖνον, ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τῆς αὐτῶν ἀξίως τὸ οἰκεμενός. i. e. *That at that time one of their own country should have dominion over the world.*

THESE things are no more, than what our SAVIOUR foretold; and do shew us, what need there was of our SAVIOUR's words. He tells the *Jews*. *There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect*, Matth. xxiv. 24. Evil men took hold of that occasion to deceive the people, who being in a great expectation of a SAVIOUR at that time, were the more prone to hearken to those deceivers, that did arise. And the *Jews* being in expectation of a SAVIOUR, that should erect a temporal kingdom among them, and give them dominion and power, *Luk. xvii. 20. Act. i. 6.* were by that means very forward to listen to them, that pretended to give them the upper hand of their enemies, and to set them free from the bondage, which they were under at that time.

FOURTHLY, That in the old testament the MESSIAS is so particularly described, that it might be known, by comparing those descriptions with the event, who was the MESSIAS.

I GRANT, that the promises of a MESSIAS, and the descriptions of him were not given out all at once: But these things were dispensed in the several ages of the world, in such measure and after such a manner, as seemed fit to the wisdom of GOD: And it cannot be denied, that the first discoveries were more general, and less determinate: And as the time drew

ⁱ Joseph ^{Antiq.} 1. 7. c. 12.

^k De Bello Judaic. 1. 7. c. 31.

^l *ibid.* 1. 7. c. 12. near,

near, in which the MESSIAS was to be manifested ; so these discoveries were more particular, and more plain. GOD did not reveal these things all at once, but at sundry times and after divers manners.

THE same method, as the *Jews* tell us^m, GOD did take in revealing his law : Those precepts, which the *Jews* were obliged to, they say, were not delivered all at once : For they tell us, that thus it was, *viz.* That *Adam* received six precepts (that is, six of those which the *Jews* call the precepts of the sons of *Noah*) and they were, that against *idolatry*, against *blasphemy*, against *shedding of blood*, against *fornication*, and *rapine*, and that concerning *judicatories*. But then *Noah* received the seventh, which forbids him *flesh* with the *life* or *blood* thereof, *Gen.* ix. 4. Thus things stood until *Abraham's* time : But he received, besides what were named before, the precept of *circumcision*, and practised that of *morning-prayer* : After him *Isaac* did set asides *tithes*, and from him they had their *afternoon-prayer*ⁿ. *Jacob* added the precept, which forbids the eating the *sinew* that *sbrank*, and he appointed the *evening-prayer* : *Amram* in *Egypt* received other precepts, till *Moses* came, by whom the law was completed.

I AM not much concerned to enquire, how far this account, that the *Jews* give of the gradual dispensing of their law, is true. I shall shew you, that GOD took this method in promising the MESSIAS, and giving the *Jews* notice of his coming ; and that however the first promises were more obscure, being more general and indeterminate ; yet afterwards GOD gave the *Jews* a more particular, and a more clear and express notice of him, that they might, and we also, by a diligent comparing of events with predictions, know him when he came. And to that purpose I shall lay before you, what GOD did in the several ages of the world.

The first promise of the MESSIAS was presently upon *Adam's* transgression : And he is promised as the *seed* of the *woman*, that should *break the serpent's head*, *Gen.* iii. 15. And this was done just upon man's fall : GOD took care betimes to give notice of the means of our recovery. This only insinuates, that he should appear in our nature, and overcome our enemy ; but it does not tell us of what family or lineage he shall be. But then in the time of *Abraham* the MESSIAS is promised again, and it will be worth our while to consider with what variety the promise is made. The promise in one place runs thus, *In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed*, *Gen.* xii. 3. This was the first promise, which was made to *Abraham* : But then we find this promise renewed afterward, but yet differently expressed, *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*, *Gen.* xxii. 18. The reason of which variety seems to be this : That when the first promise of the MESSIAS was made to *Abram*, *Isaac* was not born ; and therefore it was said, *In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed*. But after this *Abram's* name is changed, and *Isaac*, the son of the promise is born, and *Abraham* had in obedience to GOD offered up this son ; and now GOD renews to him the promise of the MESSIAS : *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*. GOD had just before promised *Abraham* to multiply his posterity, *ver.* 17 ; but then what follows, *ver.* 18. is to be understood with a particular reference to *Isaac*, and therewithal

^m Miamon. H. Melachim. c. 9. Cofri. l. 1. fol. 38.

ⁿ This Afternoon-prayer is called by the author of Juchasin fol. 8. חפלה לפנות היום which Maimonides, calls חפלה לפנות היום and signifies the prayer of the ninth hour, or time of offering the continual or daily sacrifice, and there Hornbeck mistakes greatly when he renders it by Precatio antelucana. l. 7. c. 1. pro Conv. Judæis. Vid Abraham in Gen. xxiv. 63. & Pirke R. Eliezer. c. 16.

as containing a precise and particular promise of the MESSIAS, Gal. iii. 16. For those words, *in thy seed*, ver. 18. are not to be understood in the latitude, that the same words, *thy seed* ver. 17. are to be understood in; but in a particular and restrained sense, as they are only applied to *Isaac*, and in him to the MESSIAS. And this observation, by the way, may serve for the better understanding those words, Gal. iii. 16. Nor is this all the variety in these several promises of the MESSIAS. For, Gen. xii. 3. 'tis said *נברכו they shall be blessed*. But, Gen. xxii. 18. 'tis said *התברכו they shall bless themselves*. And after the same manner is the promise renewed to *Isaac*, Gen. xxvi. 4. That is, they shall think themselves blessed in the MESSIAS the source and fountain of blessing. And thus, as the MESSIAS was promised at first, as the *seed of the woman*, and a conqueror of the serpent; so he was promised to *Abraham* and to *Isaac*, as the *fountain of blessing*: And then if we proceed, we shall find, that *Isaac* in his blessing to *Jacob* does not forget to transmit the blessing of *Abraham* to him, and to his seed with him, Gen. xxviii. 4. which was confirmed by GOD, ver. 14. This blessing *Jacob* does not forget, at such time as he blessed his children; but mentions it in the blessing of *Judah*; and withal gives some account of the time of the appearance of the MESSIAS (under the name of *Shiloh*) and of the obedience that should be yielded to him, Gen. xlix. 10. After this we have a prediction from the mouth of *Balaam*, who was sent for indeed to curse the *Israelites*, yet does he bless them, and predict the great blessing of the MESSIAS: *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth*, Numb. xxiv. 17. Again, we have still a more particular account that the MESSIAS should be a great Prophet; and that we have from *Moses* the greatest Prophet. *The LORD thy GOD will raise up unto thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren like unto me*, Deut. xviii. 15. And it follows, *And will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him*, ver. 18, 19. After this the MESSIAS is promised under the character of a king, 1 Sam. ii. 10. And a king of the house of *David*, 2 Sam. vii. 1 Chron. xvii. Psal. lxxii. and cxxxii. So that now we have some account of the office and of the lineage and family of the MESSIAS. He is promised as a prophet by *Moses*, as a king to *David*, and as a priest too in the book of psalms, Psal. cx. 4. His offices, and his tribe and lineage being thus predicted, we shall find afterwards, and especially as the time of his appearance drew near, many particulars predicted, and sometimes very minute ones also relating to his birth, and to his life, to his miracles, and the place of his converse, to his death and sufferings, to his resurrection and ascension, and the great success of his undertaking upon the Gentile world. That he should be born in *Bethlehem*, the prophet *Micah* tells us, Mic. v. 2. And of a virgin the prophet *Isaiah*, Isa. vii. 14. That he should come before the Jewish polity was quite destroyed, *Jacob* had predicted, Gen. xlix. 10. And that he should come while the second temple stood, *Haggai* assures us, Hag. ii. 7, 9. And that the time of his appearing was to be about the time, when our SAVIOUR JESUS appeared, we may learn from the prophet *Daniel*, Dan. ix. 24, 25, 26. And that he should come suddenly into his temple, the prophet *Malachi* assures us, Mal. iii. 1. We have a prediction of

of his *forerunner*, Isa. xl. 3. Of his coming *back from Egypt*, Hof. xi. 1. And of the slaughter of the *innocents*, Jer. xxxi. 15.

THAT the MESSIAS should converse much in *Galilee*, is foretold, Isa. ix. 1. What *works* the MESSIAS should do, is predicted, Isa. xlii. 7. xxxv. 5, 6. That he should be a great prophet, Deut. xviii. 15. That he should be a *prince of peace*, Isa. ix. 6. A most *righteous person*, Isa. xi. 5. That he *should not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets*, Isa. xlii. 2. That he should be *lowly* is foretold, Zech. ix. 9.

THAT the MESSIAS should be despised and rejected by his own people, that he should appear in a *low, servile and despicable* condition, is also foretold, Isa. lii. 14. liii. 2, 3. And his *death* is not only foretold; but the manner and minutest circumstances of it also. That he should be *crucified*, Zech. xii. 10. Psal. xxii. 16. That he should be *betrayed* by his disciple and familiar acquaintance. Psal. xli. 9. That he should be sold for *thirty pieces of silver*, Zech. xi. 12. And *crucified* among *thieves*, Isa. liii. 12. That on the cross they should give him *vinegar to drink*, Psal. lxix. 21. That his *garments* should be *parted*, and that *lots should be cast* upon his *vesture*, Psal. xxii. 18. That he should be *derided* and *scoffed at*, even when he was under his sufferings. Psal. xxii. 7, 8. That he should *intercede* for *transgressors*, Isa. liii. 12. That he should suffer with a *lamb-like meekness*, Isa. liii. 7. And that notwithstanding all the malice of his enemies; yet his *bones should not be broken*, Exod. xii. 46.

THAT the MESSIAS should be *buried* is also foretold, Psal. xvi. 10. And *honourably* interred also, Isa. liii. 9. And that he should *rise* again, Psal. ii, 7. xvi. 10. And *ascend* into heaven. Psal. lxxviii. 18. And that the *Gentiles* should serve and acknowledge him, Isa. xlix. 6.

THESE things are predicted of the MESSIAS in the old Testament; we are now to consider, whether we can find them fulfilled in our JESUS. And if we do, we may very safely conclude, that this JESUS is the CHRIST.

I DOUBT not (with GOD's assistance) to shew, that these things were fulfilled in JESUS, and also that they were fulfilled by a most stupendous providence of GOD; So that we must be forced to say, *This was the LORD's doing, and it may well be wonderful in our eyes.*





CHAP. III.

Of the Birth of JESUS. Of his Lineage and Kindred. Of the place of his birth. The seeming difference in the account of Bethlehem by the prophet Micah and St. Matthew reconciled. Of his being born of a Virgin. A particular explication of 1 Tim. ii. 15. She shall be saved in child-bearing. The time of his birth agreed with the predictions, and general expectation of some great person. Several testimonies to this purpose. The miserable shifts and evasions of the Jews.

I SHALL first of all consider the Birth of JESUS, and see, whether in that particular the predictions of old concerning the MESSIAS were fulfilled in him, or not. And under this head I shall consider the following particulars.

° FIRST, His *Lineage and Kindred*, or the family of which he was born. The MESSIAS was to be of the house and family of *David*. Thus he is called *a root of Jesse*, Isa. xi. 10. A righteous branch raised up to *David*, Jer. xxiii. 5. And *David* also, Ezek. xxxiv. 23. And no wonder then, that he should be said to be of the *tribe of Judah*, Mic. v. 2. GOD had made a solemn and unalterable promise of the MESSIAS unto *David*, and that he should be of his seed. *I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant: Thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations*, Psal. lxxxix. 3, 4. These words are too great to have their completion in *Solomon*, and the succeeding kings of *Judah*, who were of *David's* Family and Lineage. And it is not hard to discern (what a learned man hath observed) that the *Psalmist* does distinguish between *David's seed*, and *David's sons*: By his *seed* the MESSIAS is to be meant; and what is said of his *seed* is to be understood of CHRIST, having a precise reference to him; but what is said of his *sons*, and *children*, hath a reference to his descendants and his successors; and the promises made to them are *conditional*; that of the MESSIAS, who was to be of his family, was *absolute*. Thus 'tis said, *His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven*, ver. 29. The kingdom of the *Messias* shall never fail, and nothing shall hinder his being exhibited to the world. But then for *David's sons*, viz. *Solomon* and his other off-spring it follows, *If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes and keep not my commandments, then will I visit their transgression with a rod, and their iniquity with stripes*, ver. 30, 31, 32. This will GOD do with the sons of *David*, to whom his promises, which referred to them, were but conditional; but

° The Targum on Isa. xi. 10. Jer. xxiii. 5. and Mic. v. 2. understands those places of the Messias, and of him doth Kimchi expound Ezek. xxxiv. 23.

then

then it follows, *Nevertheless my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing, that is gone out of my lips. Once have sworn by my holiness, that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven,* v. 33,—37. Now for our JESUS it is evident, and not denied by the *Jews*, that he was of the seed of David. When Gabriel went to the blessed Virgin, it is said that he went to a Virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David, Luk. i. 27. And Zacharias does bless God for raising up an horn of salvation in the house of his servant David, ver. 69. The Gospel begins, *The book of the generation of JESUS CHRIST the son of David*, Matth. i. 1. By this name JESUS was frequently called: *Thou son of David, have mercy upon us*, say the blind men, Matth. ix. 27. And the people said of him, *Is not this the son of David?* Matth. xii. 23. The multitude cried out, *Hosanna to the son of David*, Matth. xxi. 9. See also chap. xv. 20. chap. xx. 30, 31. The *Jews* knew very well, that the MESSIAS was to be the son of David; and the priests and scribes were displeased, when they heard JESUS called the son of David, Matth. xxi. 15. When JESUS asked the Pharisees. Whose son CHRIST? is they say unto him, *The son of David*, Matth. xxii. 42. And when there arose a question about JESUS, the *Jews* said, *Hath not the scripture said, that CHRIST cometh of the seed of David?* Joh. vii. 42. And our SAVIOUR therefore might well be called, *The lion of the tribe of Judah*: and, *the root of David*, Rev. v. 5. and the off-spring of David, chap. xxii. 16. And the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, even in that epistle which he writes to the *Jews*, says, *It is evident, that our LORD sprang out of Judah*, Heb. vii. 14.

I GRANT, that there is some difficulty in the account, which we have of the genealogy of JESUS, as it is delivered to us by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But they are very unreasonable men, who will upon that score now reject Christianity. For we do not find, that the *Jews* of old denied our JESUS to be of the family of David, or that they accused the Christians for affirming him to be of the tribe of Judah: and yet it is not to be imagined, that they would have omitted to have charged the first Christians of forgery, had there been any ground for such a charge. And sure I am, that if the *Jews* could not charge the Christians upon this score, (and that they did not is an argument that they could not do it) they are very unreasonable, who now make the objection.

SECONDLY, I consider the place of his birth. Of the MESSIAS it is foretold, that he should be born not only of the family; but in the city or town of David also. Thus the prophet tells us, that *Out of Bethlehem he should come forth, that was to be ruler in Israel*, Mic. v. 2. Now it is certain, that the ancient *Jews* understood that prophecy of the MESSIAS, whatever artifices the later *Jews* have used to evade the force of that divine testimony, of which we have very good evidences to this day. For the Chaldee Paraphrast on the place speaks plain enough in this argument, when he paraphraseth upon those words, *Out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel*; thus, *Out of thee, before me, shall come MESSIAS (or CHRIST) that he may rule, &c.* and to the same purpose doth Jonathan the Targumist speak on Gen. xxxv. 21. where 'tis said that *Israel journeyed and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar*. To which he adds these words,

words, "אֶתֶרָא דְּמַתְמֵן : וְכוּ" that is, *The place from whence the king MESSIAS shall be revealed in the last days.* We find *Jacob* at that time about *Ephrath*, which is *Bethlehem*, in the way to which place *Rachel* died, and was buried there, *ver.* 19. The Tower of *Edar* is the *Tower of the flock*, and thought to be the same which the prophet mentions, *Micah.* iv. 8. and one of the Ancients^p tells us, that the tower of *Edar* is the place of the shepherds near unto *Bethlehem* (where the company of *Angels* declared the nativity of our SAVIOUR) and that thence it had its name; or, from *Jacob's* feeding his cattle there; *vel, quod verius est, quodam vaticinio futurum jam tunc mysterium monstrabatur.* He tells us elsewhere expressly, that the tower of *Edar* was the place, where *Jacob* fed his flocks, and where the shepherds, that watched by night, at the time of our SAVIOUR's birth, *Luk.* ii. 8, 14. heard the heavenly host saying, *Glory to GOD in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*

HENCE it appears, that the *Jews* expected their MESSIAS from *Bethlehem*. And when *Herod* demanded of the priests and scribes, Where CHRIST was to be born? *They said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea: For thus it is written by the prophet, And thou Bethlehem, &c.* *Matth.* ii. 5, 6. And at another time we find the *Jews* said, *Hath not the Scripture said, that CHRIST cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?* *Joh.* vii. 42. And there was our SAVIOUR born; though it was unlikely it should have been so. For he was conceived in *Nazareth*, there his Mother lived, and there one would have thought she should have been delivered: But GOD had otherwise decreed, and he by his wise providence brought it to pass. For so it was, that *Augustus* made a decree for the enrolling or taking the names of his subjects and tributaries; upon which account *Joseph* and *Mary* removed from *Nazareth*, where they lived, unto *Bethlehem* a town of their own tribe, and there was *Mary* delivered; there was our SAVIOUR born, *Luk.* ii. 1, 7. And thus did GOD make *Augustus Caesar* an instrument to fulfil his decree, when he himself knew it not; and to accomplish a prophecy by this means, which he had not heard of.

BUT this providence of GOD is still the more remarkable, if we consider farther, what hath been observed concerning the decree of *Augustus Caesar* to this purpose. You are therefore to know, that *Augustus* had decreed, that 27 years before the birth of CHRIST there should have been an enrolling of the whole Empire, and proclaimed it in *Tarracon* a city of *Spain*, after the *Cantabri* had been conquered and reduced by him; for he conceived that to be a fit time, when the *Roman* Empire was at quiet: But finding afterwards a breaking out of some stirs, he deferred it to this time, when our SAVIOUR was born. Had it been done before, there might have been no need of it now. And then *Joseph* and *Mary* had not had the occasion of going up to *Bethlehem*. But what shall we say? *This was the LORD's doing, and it may well be wonderful in our eyes.*

BEFORE I consider the stupendous manner of the birth of JESUS, I shall defend St. *Matthew's* quotation of the prophet *Micah* against the *Jews*.

IT is very true, that there is some variety in the text (as they are laid before us by St. *Matthew*) both from the words, as they are read in the *He-*

^p Hieron. Quæst. in Genes. Id. ad Eustochium Epitaph. Paul.

brew copy in the prophet, as also from the Greek interpreters. But the difference between them seems greater than it is: And I shall account for the difference, before I pass to another matter.

AND to my present purpose it will be needful only to observe these two particulars.

FIRST, What in the prophet is called *Bethlehem Ephratah*, St. Matthew calls *Bethlehem* in the land of *Judah*.

BUT this is of little moment: *Ephratah* and *Bethlehem* were but two names of the same place, as appears from *Gen.* xxxv. 19. *Ruth* iv. 11. And though *Ephratah* were an ancient name of *Bethlehem* before the captivity; yet it is to be considered, that it might not be so well known to *Herod*, who is upon the inquiry after the place of CHRIST's birth; and for his certain information he is told, that it was to be in *Bethlehem* of *Judea*. And when instead of *Bethlehem Ephratah*, as it is in *Micah*, St. Matthew calls it *Bethlehem* in the land of *Judah*, he speaks of the same place more distinctly, than the prophet had formerly mentioned. There was another *Bethlehem* in the tribe of *Zabulon*, *Josh.* xix. 15. In distinction from which this is called *Bethlehem Judah*, *Judg.* xvii. 7. xix. 1. And since the enquiry was concerning the place of CHRIST's birth (who was to be born of the tribe of *Judah*, *Gen.* xlix. 10.) it is no wonder that St. Matthew should express it thus.

SECONDLY, The place, which in *Micah* is called *little*, in St. Matthew is called *not the least*. And though there appears not so great a difference between these two expressions, as we render them; yet as the words lie in the *Hebrew* in the prophet, and especially as they are translated by the *Greek* interpreters compared with the text of St. Matthew, there seems to be a contradiction. 'Tis *ὀλιγὸς* in the LXXII. and *μικρομὲς ἐλαχίστη* in St. Matthew.

FOR the removing this difficulty I shall not repeat all the various ways, which learned men have taken: I shall only mention two, which bid the fairest.

FIRST, By rendering the words in *Micah*, which we translate, *Though thou be little among the thousands*, &c. thus, *It is little, that thou shouldest be* (i. e. be reckoned) *among the thousands*, &c. q. d. This is too mean a thing for thee, *Bethlehem*, from whom shall spring the ruler of *Israel*. This makes the sense the same with St. Matthew without any violence to the text.

SECONDLY, I rather chuse another way, and I shall deliver it in my author's own words. *The plainest way of reconciling them* (says he ^q) *seems to be that, which a learned Jew, who probably never knew what is written in St. Matthew, and would certainly never have strained to say, what should make for justifying the gospel, or advantage of Christians, gives us; which is this, That the word רַבִּי signifies little and great, or, of great note and esteem; and in this latter sense it is to be understood in this place. That the word hath both these significations, he proves by instancing in other places, in which, though it frequently signifies little, it is to be rendered great, or chief, or prince. The same is affirmed by others of good authority, and among the chief masters of their language.*

To which nothing shall need to be added, but what the same author subjoins presently afterward. *With great emphasis* (says he) *seems that*

^q Dr. Pocock on *Micah* v. 2.

word here put, which signifies at once both little and great, or of great renown, to shew that, as some other things, which are little in bulk or quantity; yet in other regards are of more esteem and value above others in sight greater; so it was with Bethlehem, though perhaps otherwise little in number, bigness, or account, among the thousands of Judah, or as St. Matthew saith, among the princes of Judah. Which in sense is all one, alluding to the custom of the Israelites of dividing their tribes into thousands (as among us the shires are divided into hundreds) over every one of which thousands was a prince or chief.

THUS is the difficulty of reconciling St. Matthew and Micah abundantly removed, by a way, against which the Jews themselves cannot reasonably object. *

THIRDLY, I consider the stupendous manner of his birth. For this was also fortold of the MESSIAS, that he should be born of a virgin. This God had promised long before to the house of David. I say, to the house of David, for that is to be very well heeded: 'Twas to the house of David, not to Ahaz that this promise was made. Indeed God, said unto Ahaz, Ask thee a sign of the LORD thy God, &c. But this Ahaz refused to do, and said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the LORD. And then follows the promise, not to Ahaz, but to the house of David. And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David, Is it a small thing for you to weary men? But will ye weary my GOD also? Therefore the LORD himself will give [לכם] you a sign, Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name

* This latter exposition of this Right Reverend Prelate is not only confirmed by the learned Dr. Pocock in his comment on the text; but also more at large in his Notæ Miscellanæ added to his Porta Mosis, in a set discourse on this subject from the 12th to the 29th page; and Dr. Whitby agrees with it also in these words, The Hebrew word צעיר, which is rendered little, Mic. v. 2. signifies also great, or of great note or esteem. Hence Rabbi Tanshum renders the place thus, Thou shalt be chief, prince or ruler, among the thousands of Judah. So קרן מצעירה the little horn. Dan. viii. 9. is rendered by the Septuagint κέρας ἰσχυρόν, and by the Arabick قرن قوي cornu forte, a strong horn. So Jer. xlviii. 4. צעירה her little ones is in the Chaldee שולטניהן their rulers. And Zech. xiii. 7. הצעירים is rendered by the Septuagint παῖδες. See MSS. Alex. and by the Syriack, superiors. But forasmuch as this learned Prelate doth not absolutely agree with this interpretation, but only as it seemed probable to him to be the best; so I presume, it will not be unacceptable to the Reader to enlarge upon the first.

As the Arabick Version of all the prophets is but a translation of the Septuagint, without once consulting the Hebrew; so it is of no more authority in such cases as these, than the Septuagint alone. As the word צעיר is in all the abovenamed instances rendered in our Translation by little: As no other instances can be alledged in the Hebrew Bible to support this notion: As the verb צער is used but twice, viz. Jer. xxx. 19. and Hab. iii. 12. and is in both places translated in the Septuagint by ἐλαττω and ἐλιγω to diminish: As Buxtorf in his Lexicon Talmudicum could find no other sense of the word צעיר among all those authors, but parvus and exiguus: And as it is translated in the Septuagint eleven times by μικρός parvus, once by μικρόν parvum, eleven times by νωτὴν minor natu, three times by ὀλίγον paucus, and twice by ἐλιγνός paucissimus: So the retaining our English word little both in Micah and St. Matthew, will be most agreeable to the nature of the oriental languages. And then the adjective small or little may agree either with Bethlehem expressed, or with דבר a thing understood. If the adjective צעיר agrees with the word Bethlehem; then the Septuagint hath expressed the sense of the prophet Micah as it is in our translation: But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, tho' thou be little among the thousands of Judah; yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel. But if the adjective צעיר agrees with the word דבר understood; then the sense will be the same as St. Matthew hath expressed it. And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה It is a small matter for thee to be reckoned among the thousands of Judah. And then these expressions are so far from contradicting each other, that they may be thus added together in the same sentence. And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, tho' thou art but a little City; yet it is a little thing for thee to be reckoned among the thousands of Judah; or as St. Matthew expresseth it: Thou art not the least in honour and dignity among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a governour, that shall rule my people Israel.

To this may also be added another difference, that what the prophet Micah calls thousands, that St. Matthew calls princes. But tho' these differ in words; yet in sense they are the same: For thousands are mentioned in allusion to the custom of the Israelites of dividing their tribes into thousands, over every one of which thousands was a prince, or chief, Exod. xviii. 25. 1 Sam. x. 19. So that to say among the thousands or princes is all one. Whitby in loc. But this our Right Reverend Prelate did not insist upon as a third difference, because he had accidentally touch'd upon it in his second.

Immanuel, Isa. vii. 11—14. By which words it is very evident, as one of the Ancients^r hath observed well, that what is said here, is said to the house of *David*. Now the virgin *Mary*, though she was indeed espoused to *Joseph*; yet *before they came together, she was found with child of the HOLY GHOST*, *Matth. i. 18*. And the same Evangelist tells us expressly, *All this was done, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken of the LORD by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child, &c. ver. 22, 23*. It was under the character of the *seed of the woman* that the first promise of the *MESSIAS* was made, *Gen. iii. 15*. And this was made good in the birth of *JESUS* of a *virgin*; who was in the strictest sense the seed of the woman: For though the virgin *Mary* was espoused to *Joseph*; yet *before they came together, she was found with child of the HOLY GHOST*. Thus as *sin* entered by a *woman*, so did *salvation* also. And *GOD* made a woman the instrument of the greatest good, as the first woman was the occasion of the greatest evil. The woman was then first in the transgression, and now she is also made of *GOD* an instrument of the greatest blessing to mankind: We are saved by the fruit of a woman's womb, as we were made miserable at first by a woman's rebellion. And thus the Apostle tells us, that the woman shall be saved in *child-bearing*: And there being a difficulty in that expression, I shall offer something upon this occasion towards its explication. The Apostle requires, that the woman should *learn in silence with all subjection*, 1 Tim. ii. 11. and adds; *But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence*, ver. 12. This may seem hard on the woman's side, and therefore the Apostle, to shew, that what he required of the woman was not arbitrarily done, gives the reasons, why he enjoins the woman this silence and subjection; which are two: The first is, that woman by *GOD* was made subject to man, and was so even by the very law of her creation, and would have so continued, had mankind continued in innocence. *For Adam was first formed, then Eve*, ver. 13. The second reason for this injunction of silence and subjection is the woman's transgression: This rendered her condition more mean and worse, than it was by the law of her creation. She is now subjected for her fault, and depressed lower than she was, upon the score of her transgression: *GOD* said to the woman upon her fall, *Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee*, Gen. iii. 16. Thus saith the Apostle, *And Adam was not deceived; but the woman being deceived was in the transgression*, ver. 14. By all which it appears, that the woman's condition since the fall is very bad, and upon some accounts worse than that of the man's. But yet though it be much depressed, 'tis not deplorable and hopeless: * It follows, *Notwithstanding*

^r Δηλονότι τὸ τῷ Ἀρχαῷ ἐξημῖνον τῷ οἴκῳ ἐξήται Δαβὶδ. Orig. contra Cels. l. 1.

* Tho' this interpretation is the best which was publicly extant in this Right Reverend Bishop's time, and agrees with the learned Dr. Hammond, and others of the best commentators; yet the reader is desired to consider also this which follows. The late learned Dr. Busby in his *Greek Grammar*, printed for the use of *Westminster School*, page 99. lays down this rule. Denique Personalia fere omnia passiva & passive significantia formam impersonalium induere possunt, ut *φωσκαὶ* apparet, γίγνεται scriptum est, βροτῶ τὸ πατ, ἀστράπη fulgurat, νίφει ningit, &c. To these examples he might have added the word *σωθήσεται*, in the before cited text, if the antient translations had favoured such an interpretation. According to this rule, the first word might have been translated thus, *nevertheless there shall be salvation*. And then the sense of the difficult part will be thus, *Nevertheless there shall be salvation to all mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, male and female by and through CHRIST JESUS, the only begotten son of GOD, who was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, and so was truly and properly her son*. The Preposition *διὰ*, which we render *in*, when it governs a genitive case, usually signifies *by* or *through*. Thus it is used *Rom. v. 12*. *wherefore as διὰ ἑνὸς by or through one man sin entered into the world, and death διὰ ἁμαρτίας by or through sin; even so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned*. Thus we were in

withstanding she shall be saved in child bearing, if they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness with sobriety, v. 15. She shall be saved in child-bearing; not that the woman's bearing of children were either a means or condition of her being saved; this would be small comfort to those who bear none. But she shall be saved by this SAVIOUR, who was born of a woman, and is the promised seed. 'Tis διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας, by this son born of the virgin Mary; this promised seed, who is the foundation of our faith and hope. And then what follows, *If they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness with sobriety*, does but insinuate the condition required on the woman's part. The principal object of faith is the τεκνογονία, or promised seed; this is the means of our salvation, and the foundation of our hope; but *faith* and *charity* are required as *conditions* on our part.

FOURTHLY, I consider the time, in which the MESSIAS was to come according to the promises and predictions of the old Testament. And here I shall consider, what the time predicted was; and then shew you that 'tis past long since; and, that our JESUS did appear at that time, according to the general expectation.

I SHALL begin, and shew what the time was, in which the MESSIAS was to come according to the predictions of the old Testament. And to that purpose commend to your consideration those places of Scripture, which give us an account of that time. And I shall begin with the words of Jacob: *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come*, Gen. xlix. 10. That those words are to be understood of the MESSIAS, the ancient writers of the Jews do confess, and the modern Jews know this very well: And several of them

in a miserable condition through our first parents. But if we add the words before cited, we shall find the means of our recovery. *Sin came to all di' inds, through one, nevertheless there shall be salvation to all, διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας thro' the birth of a son.*

But secondly, This interpretation of the verb σωθήσεται will be evident from the remaining part of the verse. If we take it in the other sense, it will be difficult to give a good reason why the two verbs σωθήσεται and μίμνησκει are in different numbers, when speaking of the same person. *She shall be saved, if they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness with sobriety.* Whereas it ought to be, *She shall be saved if she continues, or, they shall be saved, if they continue.* And the figure Enallage in Rhetorick will not excuse such a variation from the rules of Grammar. But if we take the first verb to be a verb impersonal, the sense will be clear and plain, thus. *Nevertheless there shall be salvation to mankind through the birth of a son; not if they continue to live as they think fit; but if they continue in faith, and charity, or love, and holiness with sobriety.*

And thirdly, This interpretation will be more evident, if we consider the design and scope of the Apostle, from the eighth verse to the end of the chapter. In the eighth verse he tells them the duty of men, and what he would have them to do. *I will therefore, that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting.* In the ninth and tenth verses he tells us the duty of women. *In like manner also I will, that the women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array. But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works.* In the eleventh and twelfth verses, he speaks of the duties of women in reference to men. *Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man; but to be in silence.* In the two following verses he gives two reasons for these injunctions. *For Adam was first formed, then Eve. GOD first made man of the dust of the earth, and he afterward made the woman of the rib of a man. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. The serpent beguiled Eve; she did first eat of the forbidden fruit, and she afterwards gave of it to Adam, and he did eat; and thus they both fell from the state of innocency in which they were created. These two things place the woman in a state of inferiority to the man; and seem to make her condition much the worse. But to comfort her under this dejection the apostle mentions a prerogative of the woman much greater than the two former. CHRIST was born of her. He is called the seed of the woman, who was to bruise the serpent's head. As by the woman came our sin; so by the woman came our recovery. And Gal. iv. 4, 5. When the fulness of time was come, GOD sent forth his son made of a woman, and made under the law, to redeem those which were under the law; that we might receive the adoption of sons. So that the sense of the whole verse runs thus. Notwithstanding all which hath been said concerning the creation and fall of our first parents, there is this peculiar privilege of the woman, that there shall be salvation to mankind by or through the birth of CHRIST JESUS, who took our nature upon him, and was made man for this reason. And thus through the woman came salvation to all mankind; if they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness with sobriety.*

have

have also interpreted the place of the MESSIAS. Though there have been some among them, who have used their wits to elude the force of that divine testimony. The meaning of those words of *Jacob* is, as if he had said, The *Jews* (who near the time of, and after their return from their captivity of *Babylon*, received their denomination from *Judah*) shall not cease to be a people, nor be quite deprived of the use of their laws and religion, until the MESSIAS shall come among them. This is the natural and unforced sense of these words: Now we know, that forty years after the death of *JESUS* the *Jews* were overcome by the *Romans*, and their city and temple were burnt; since which time they have been dispersed and scattered, and are not this at day, nor have they been for many ages any distinct Polity or Commonwealth. Let them in this confute us, if they can: Let them tell us, where their nation dwells, where it is that they are either a *kingdom* or a *republick*, or a *body politick*: Let them shew us their sceptre, their marks and ensigns of government and authority. We know, that they are a scatter'd people, that their city and land are in the possessions of strangers, and that they live under the laws and government of the several countries, in which they are. The prophet *Daniel* is more particular and precise in this affair, *Dan. ix.* and him *Gabriel* informs of the time of the MESSIAS: For there we shall not need to be beholden to the *Jews* to grant us, that *Gabriel* speaks of the MESSIAS; for he calls him MESSIAS, and MESSIAS the prince. His words to *Daniel* are these, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision, and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the MESSIAS the prince, shall be seven weeks: And threescore and two weeks the streets shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall MESSIAS be cut off, but not for himself: And the people of the prince shall come, and shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the wars desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate, vcr. 24, 25, 26, 27.* That the time mentioned by *Gabriel* hath a particular reference to *CHRIST* must be granted it being express. And then let men but compute the time, and they will soon find that *Gabriel's* words give an account of a time that is long since past; and that they are words, that give such a description of time, as must have its expiration about that time, when our *JESUS* was come in the flesh. Another testimony we have from the prophet *Haggai*, chap. ii. It is well known, that the *second temple* came very much short of the glory of the *first*; and yet there we find a promise, that the glory of that *second temple* should be greater than that of *Solomon's*; which could not be otherwise true; than that the MESSIAS (a greater than *Solomon*) was to come into it, and honour it with his presence. Let us consider the words. *I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts. The*
glory

glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts, and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts, ver. 7, 8, 9. This glory must be with reference to the MESSIAS, or upon some other account: Upon other accounts this house was so far from exceeding the glory of the first temple, that the Jews mention several particulars, in which this second temple fell short of the first. And therefore the promised glory must refer to the coming and presence of the MESSIAS. And thus we read in *Malachi*, chap. iii. — The LORD, whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple; even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in, behold he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts, ver. 1. It will therefore appear by what hath been said, that the time is lapsed long ago, in which the MESSIAS was to come. As for *Daniel's* weeks, they are expired, whatever *Epocha* we frame for their beginning: And the people of the Jews have been vanquished and dispersed; and their city, and that very temple into which the MESSIAS was to come, hath been committed to the flames above sixteen hundred years ago.

BUT then our JESUS lived, when the Jews were a *Polity*, and whilst they lived by their own laws and in their own land. He went into that temple, which the prophet mentions, and did appear among the Jews before their sceptre was departed; and at an age and time, when there was a great expectation of the MESSIAS among the Jews, and of some great person among the *Gentile world*.

That there was at that time, when JESUS appeared, a great expectation of the MESSIAS among the Jews, I have shewed already: And I shall now observe farther still, that there was even among the *Heathens* an expectation of some great person, that should appear in that age, in which our JESUS lived. And of the truth of this we have very good testimonies from sundry authors. I shall not insist upon the predictions of the *Sybils*, which were among the heathen people. Thus much is certain, that there was in that age a great expectation of some extraordinary person. When *Augustus* (in whose time our SAVIOUR was born) sent to the Oracle to know, who should reign after him, he received an answer to this purpose. That an Hebrew child had commanded him, (whom *Augustus* consulted) to depart from his seat, and remitted him to his sad doom; and that therefore he should forbear making any farther addressees to him. I will not lay any great stress upon this testimony: There have been those that think, that *Virgil* hath some passages, that insinuate the perfections of this person, that was expected in that age, and that his words point at our SAVIOUR, however they were applied by him or others to the son of *Pollio*: And indeed, there are some parts of his poem, that seem to look that way, viz.

*Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.
Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.*

BUT be all this as it will, we have other testimonies from approved authors among the Heathens of the truth of what I have said. *Suetonius* tells us ⁿ, in the life of *Vespasian*, of a great expectation of some eminent person from *Judea*, about that time, that should come into the govern-

^e Virg. Eclog. 4.

ⁿ Sueton. in vita Vespasiani.

ment and administration of affairs. His words are these. *Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.* This agrees very well with what I mentioned before out of *Josephus* ^u, who tells us of a prophecy, that at that time *one of their own country should have dominion over the world.* And this expectation of the *Jews* did excite them to war with the *Romans*, as both *Josephus* and *Suetonius* observe. Another *Roman Historian* ^x gives us the same account of this great expectation of some extraordinary person, that should about this time arise out of *Judæa.* *Pluribus persuasio inerat, says he, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.* These testimonies do sufficiently prove what I bring them for, that there was a general expectation of some more than ordinary person to arise from the *Jewish* people at that time. And upon the whole it seems very plain, that the ground of this expectation was to be fetched from the predictions in the old Testament, concerning the time when the *MESSIAS* was to be born. These prophecies were so plain, that they raised in the *Jews* a general expectation of their *MESSIAS* at that time; and they did withal signifie the hope, which they had of his appearance, and hence the fame of that expectation was spread abroad in the *Gentile* world.

WE see that the birth of our *JESUS* agrees very well with what was predicted of the *MESSIAS*: I shall therefore now proceed to some other particulars.

BUT before I do that, I cannot but take notice, how the *Jews* shuffle, when they are urged with the Scriptures above mentioned, which predicted the coming of the *MESSIAS*.

FROM the words of *Jacob* Gen. xlix. 10. it is evident, that the *MESSIAS* was to come, while the *Jews* were a people, and before they were dispersed. Their ancient doctors expound those words of the *MESSIAS* with one consent. The time is elapsed, and for sixteen hundred years they have been driven out of their own land, and (many of their laws being annexed to that land) they have been forced to live, where they could not put in practice the laws of *Moses*. And now they ^y have found out art and tricks to elude the force of that place, which their ancient writers understood of the *MESSIAS*; which are so vain and weak, that I will not reckon them up, but refer the reader to one of their late writers on this argument.

IT is infinitely plain, that the *MESSIAS* was to come during the *second temple*, according to *Haggai* and *Malachi*. It is certain, that the glory of that latter house was to be greater than that of the former. And there can be no other account given, how this could be; but that it should be from the presence of the *MESSIAS*, who was to appear in this temple. For otherwise this temple came short of *Solomon's*, and they who knew *Solomon's* wept, when they saw the foundation of this, *Ezra* iii. 3, 12. Nay, the *Jewish* writers ^z tell us (and fancy that they learn it from the defect of the letter *ן* in the text of *Haggai*, chap. i. ver. 8.) that there were five things in *Solomon's* temple, which were wanting in this second temple: viz. the *Ark*, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *Fire* from *Heaven*, the *Shechinah*, and the *HOLY GHOST*. These things lessen the glory of this se-

^u Joseph. de Bello Judaic. l. 7. c. 12.
Israel Conciliator. p. 88.
f. 59. col. 4.

^x Cornel. Tacit. Histor. l. 5.
^z R. Kimchi & R. Solom. in Hag. i. 8. & R. Bechai in legem,

^y Menasseh Ben

cond house, which yet (as is foretold) should be greater than that of *Solomon's*. And what do the *Jews* say to all this?

THEY answer, ^a that the second temple stood longer than the first, and so in respect of its duration it was more glorious than the first. For whereas the first temple stood but 410, the second continued 420 years. As if the standing ten years longer were a thing in it self of so great moment, and so great a comfort to those who saw its foundation. Doth GOD say, that he will shake the heaven and earth, and all nations, and fill this house with glory, and send the desire of all nations thither? And is this all that he means, that this house shall continue ten years longer than that of *Solomon's*? Supposing the account to be true, that it stood ten years longer than that of *Solomon's*; yet does not this infer the glory, which is here promised: Is this all that is meant by those words, *I will fill this house with glory*? The tabernacle of *Moses*, according to the account of *Maimonides* ^b, continued longer than 410 years: And was it therefore more glorious than *Solomon's* temple?

AT other times they tell you, that the second temple was beautified by *Herod*, and enriched by other kings of the earth: As if GOD, who values not silver and gold, did magnific here the magnificence of an *Idumean*, and the munificence of some *heathen princes*; or as if this could afford the *Jews* any great comfort, who under this second temple met with severe afflictions from the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

———*Credat Judeus apella.*

I ONCE met with a *Jew*, who seemed to be a person of considerable rank: Discoursing with him about religion, I pressed him with the words in *Haggai*, chap. ii. ver. 9. and shewed him the vanity of those evasions, which their writers had found out. I found him as vain as any of them, when he insisted upon this, that the house spoken of in *Haggai* was meant of a third house yet to be built: *For that is meant* (says he) *by the בית האחרון* i. e. *the latter house in the prophet*: Whereas it is evident, that the words are to be understood of that *second house* built on their return from the Captivity, as appears from ver. 3. and 'tis called ^c *this latter house*, ver. 9. which the *Jew* concealed.

THE time of the coming of the MESSIAS is so punctually set down in *Daniel*, and so clearly revealed in other Scriptures, that the *Jews* themselves are in great confusion, when they are put upon this argument of computing the time, when the MESSIAS was to come into the world. And as a clear proof of this, *Maimonides* ^d in that book, where he treats of the MESSIAS, lays down this rule (which tends greatly to keep the *Jews* in their most astonishing unbelief) that *No man ought to compute the time of the coming of the MESSIAS*; and to this purpose he cites a known saying of their wise men, viz. *Let them, who compute times be extinguished, or, perish.*

^a Kimchi & R. Solom. in *Haggai* ii. & Lipmanni Nizachon. pag. 141. ^b *Maimonides* Beth Habbechirah. cap. 1.

^c בית הוה האחרון

^d *Maimonides*, H. Melachim. c. 12.



C H A P. IV.

That the MESSIAS was to be a Prophet, Deut. xviii. 18. considered. That our JESUS was a prophet like unto Moses, shewed in sundry particulars. That the MESSIAS was to converse much in Galilee according to the prediction, Isa. ix. 1, 2, 3. That place more particularly considered. That our JESUS did so. That the MESSIAS should come to his temple. That he should be meek and just. And that the MESSIAS, as was predicted, was to do stupendous works.

I SHALL now pass on to the life of JESUS; and see, Whether that agrees with what was predicted of the MESSIAS. And under this head I shall insist upon the following particulars.

FIRST, That the MESSIAS was to be a *prophet* like unto *Moses*. To this purpose we read what GOD said unto *Moses*. *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him,* Deut. xviii. 18. This promise is deservedly applied unto JESUS, *Act. iii. 22. vii. 37.* *Maimonides*^e lays it down as a rule, That the prophet, of whom another prophet hath testified, is to be presumed a prophet, and needs not to be examined. And then this testimony of *Moses*, their greatest prophet, must needs be very worthy of regard, since it can belong to none (as will appear, afterwards) so peculiarly as to our blessed SAVIOUR; who made it evident, that he was that prophet, which was promised in those words: And we find our SAVIOUR appealing to the writings of *Moses*, when he preached the things concerning himself, *Luk. xxiv. 27, 44.* And he lets the *Jews* know, that the writings of *Moses* will condemn them. *Do not think* (says he) *that I will accuse you to the Father, there is one that accuseth you, even Moses in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?* Joh. v. 45, 46, 47. It is very evident, that the *Jews* looked for a prophet at that time, *Joh. i. 21.* And the woman of *Samaria* intimates no less, *Joh. iv. 25.* And the *Jews* confess, that he *was of a truth that prophet, that should come into the world,* Joh. vi. 14. And this general expectation^f of a *Prophet* at that time must be grounded upon the promise of GOD; for so it was (as the *Jewish* writers confess) that after the death of *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, prophecy ceased: And that it should revive again among them they had no ground to believe, but what they had from the divine promise. And these words *Deut. xviii. 18.* are a very express promise of it; that when prophecy had ceased so long a time; yet they are assured that GOD would *raise them up a prophet.*

^e Maimonides, fundam. leg. c. 10. sect. 9.

^f Juchasin fol. 14.

NOW our SAVIOUR was that *prophet*: And he gave great proofs, that he was a prophet: He taught the will of GOD, and spake as never man spake, and did mightily exceed the *Scribes* in his discourses, who were a sort of men; that came the nearest to the *prophets*, Matth. vii. 29: We find our LORD preaching his sermon on the mount, *Matth. v. 6, 7.* declaring the acceptable year of the LORD. *Luk. iv. 19.* He spake to the wonder of his hearers, with great authority and assurance; with a mighty power and strong conviction. And whereas the *prophets* were wont to say, *Thus saith the LORD*, Our SAVIOUR expresseth himself thus, *I say unto you*; not like an ordinary *prophet*, but like the *great shepherd and bishop of our souls*, 1 Pet. v. 4. Heb. xiii. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 25. He farther shewed himself a *prophet*, as he foretold things to come. This he did frequently, and the things came to pass, which declared him to be a true *prophet*. Thus he foretold the denial of *Peter*, Matth. xxvi. 75. the treachery of *Judas*, Joh. vi. 70, 71. his own *death* and *resurrection*, Matth. xvi. 21. and after that, the destruction of the *temple* and the *Jewish nation*, with the calamities that should go before it, Matth. xxiv. 4. &c. And the false *Christs* that should arise, of which there have been considerable numbers from time to time. He tells the *Jews*, that though they did not receive him, who came in his Father's name; yet, says he, *If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive*, Joh. v. 43. The poor *Jews* have wofully experimented the truth of those words of our SAVIOUR, having been imposed upon by impostors from time to time to their great loss and mischief, as I shall have occasion to shew more at large afterwards. Thus did our SAVIOUR make it appear, that he was a true *prophet*, because his predictions were answered by the event of things. And *Maimonides* ^e himself lays this down, as the test of a true prophet, that what he foretells comes to pass.

BUT he was not only a *prophet*, but a *prophet like unto Moses* also; whose great antitype he was. *Moses* is greatly magnified by the *Jewish* writers ^h, and placed above the other prophets. And it is expressly said, *That there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face*, Deut. xxxiv. 10. And therefore it is a vain thing to look for this prophet, that was to be like unto *Moses*, among the prophets that succeeded *Moses*, while the spirit of prophecy continued in *Israel*.

BUT our blessed SAVIOUR was like unto *Moses* in very many particulars. If *Moses* was to be put to death, as soon as he was born, by the command of *Pharaoh*; so was our SAVIOUR by the command of *Herod*. If he was forced to fly his country to save his life; so was *JESUS* also. If *Moses* fasted *forty days and nights*; so did *JESUS* also. If *he* was meek; *JESUS* was meek and lowly in heart. If *Moses* appeared when the *Israelites* were under the *bondage of Egypt*; so did *JESUS* when they were under the *Roman power*. If *Moses* gave his law from a *mountain*; our SAVIOUR preached his sermon on a *mount*. If *Moses* had his *seventy elders*; *JESUS* had his *seventy disciples*. If *Moses* was rejected and murmured at by his own people; our SAVIOUR came unto his own, and his own received him not. If *Moses* trampled on *Pharaoh's crown*, and despised the pleasures of his court; our SAVIOUR refused to be made a king, and despised all the

^e Maimonides, fundam. leg. c. 10. sect. 2.

^h Maimonides, fundam. leg. c. 7.

glory of this world. As the face of *Moses* did shine; so did the face of *JESUS*. (compare *Exod.* xxxiv. 35. with *Matth.* xvii. 2.) And as *Pharaoh* designed the death of the *males* among the *Hebrews*, that he might destroy the deliverer of that people; so did *Herod* destroy them about *Beth-lehem*. As *Moses* returns into *Egypt* upon the death of those, who fought his life; so does *JESUS* into his country upon the death of *Herod*. But there are other things, in which our *JESUS* was like unto *Moses*. viz.

IN his more clear and open converse with the divine Majesty. Thus one of the *Jewish* writersⁱ tells us, that *Moses* saw clearly *אלהים* not parabolically and enigmatically. And *GOD* tells the *Israelites* thus. *If there be a prophet among you, I the LORD will make my self known to him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream—My servant Moses is not so; with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the LORD shall he behold*, Num. xii. 6, 7, 8. Our blessed SAVIOUR was in this the great *anti-type* of *Moses*. No man hath seen *GOD* at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosome of the Father, he hath declared him, Joh. i. 18.

IN his Mediatorship. Thus *Moses* tells the *Israelites*, *I stood between the LORD and you at that time to shew you the word of the LORD*, Deut. v. 5. And in this he was but the type of our blessed SAVIOUR, who exceeded him greatly, inasmuch as he is the mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises, Heb. viii. 6.

I MAY add, that *Moses* was a type of our blessed SAVIOUR in the deliverance which he wrought. He delivered his people from *Egypt*; but *JESUS* saves us from our sins. He saved the *Israelites*; *JESUS* is the SAVIOUR of the world. He wrought miracles, but not so many and so great works as those which *JESUS* did; as I shall shew at large afterwards.

WHAT hath been said is sufficient to convince us, that those words *Deut.* xviii. 18. belong to the MESSIAS, and were fulfilled in our blessed SAVIOUR. I know very well, that the *Jewish* writers expound those words to another sense, and by the prophet there they understand the whole order and succession of prophets after *Moses*, or else *Joshua*, or *Jeremiah*. But there is no ground for such an interpretation of the text. For the words speak plainly of one certain prophet, that *GOD* would raise up; and, for *Joshua*, he was no prophet, nor is he justly reckoned among that order of men. And that the words cannot be meant of *Jeremiah*, or of any other prophet succeeding *Moses*, is plain from this, that they contain a promise not only of a prophet, but a prophet like unto *Moses*; which, according to the *Jews* concession, neither *Jeremiah*, nor any of the other prophets were: For *Moses* was a prophet of an higher form and rank, than any of those that did succeed him till our SAVIOUR's time. And that this prophet, *Deut.* xviii. 18. is not to be found among any of the prophets of the old Testament, will appear from these words, where it is said, *There arose not a prophet since in Israel, like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face*, Deut. xxxiv. 10. The succeeding prophets did but repeat, what *Moses* had taught. His law was their rule, till *CHRIST* came, who spake what *GOD* had commanded him.

SECONDLY, The place where the MESSIAS was to converse, when he came into the world, is also predicted; and we shall find our SAVIOUR

ⁱ Vid. Abravanel in legem, fol. 417. col. 3.

did converse in that place. Though he was born in *Bethlehem*; yet he lived in *Galilee*, as was predicted by the prophet *Isaiah*. I shall take the liberty to translate those words, as a learned man^k hath done, and to begin where he doth also. *As the first time he made vile (or debased) the land of Zabulon, and the land of Naphtali; so in the latter time he made it (or shall make it) glorious.* (If you ask How? It follows) *The way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; The people that walked in the darkness (namely of affliction) have seen a great light, they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.* (If you ask, How comes this? It follows) *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder,* Isa. ix. 1, 2, 3. For the better understanding of these words, we may remember what the Scripture tells us, of the early affliction and captivity of this people, even in the days of *Pekah* by *Tiglath-Pileser* king of *Assyria*, 2 King. xv. 29. Now as it were in recompence of these early sufferings, they are promised here by the prophet a glorious dignation from the presence, and conversation, and preaching, and mighty works of our blessed SAVIOUR. As the second temple, which fell short of the first in glory, was to be more glorious than that by the presence of the MESSIAS; so *Galilee*, though an obscure country, and remote from *Jerusalem* the principal city of the nation, and a country that had been early and very severely afflicted, should yet be dignified with the presence and works of CHRIST.

WE are next to enquire, Whether this prediction was fulfilled in our blessed SAVIOUR? And to that purpose we read, that the angel *Gabriel* was sent unto a city of *Galilee* named *Nazareth*, to the virgin *Mary*, who dwelt there, to acquaint her, that she should conceive and bring forth a son, and call his name JESUS, Luk. i. 31. And though JESUS was born at *Bethlehem*, yet he was conceived in *Galilee*; and from thence *Joseph* and *Mary* went up to *Bethlehem* upon occasion of the decree of *Augustus Caesar*, Luk. ii. 1. And again he lived in *Galilee*, when he was a young child: For after he was brought up out of *Egypt* by *Joseph*, he was afraid to go into *Judea*, and being warned of GOD in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of *Galilee*, and he came and dwelt in a city called *Nazareth*, Matth. ii. 22, 23. From thence he came to be baptized by *John*, Matth. iii. 13. Mark i. 9. And after his temptation and *John's* imprisonment, we find him in *Galilee* preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of GOD, Mark i. 14. Or, as St. *Matthew* hath it, *In the borders of Zabulon and Naphtalim, That it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by Isaiahs the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon and the land of Naphtalim, by the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles, The people, which sate in darkness, saw great light*—Matth. iv. 14, 15, 16.^l As there he had been brought up; Luk. ii. 39. iv. 16. so there he preached, Luk. iv. 14. Matth. iv. 23. At the sea of *Galilee* he calls *Simon* and *Andrew*; and a little way from thence two other disciples, *James* and *John*, Mark i. 16, 19. And thereupon, as he himself is called a *Galilean*; Matth. xxvi. 69. so are his disciples called *Galileans*, Act. i. 11. ii. 7. The first miracle, which he wrought, was in *Cana* of *Galilee*, Joh. ii. 11. He went indeed to *Jerusalem* at the feast, Joh. ii. 13. but after that returns to *Galilee*, Joh. iv. 3, 43. And there he cures the nobleman's son, ver. 46. And

^k Mr. Mede on Mar. i. 14, 15.

^l Euseb. Demonstr. l. 9. c. 8.

this was the second miracle, which he did, when he was come out of *Judæa into Galilee*, ver. 54. And he promises his disciples, that after his resurrection he will go before them into *Galilee*, Matth. xxvi. 32. So that though he was at *Jerusalem* at the feasts, and died there; yet he was conceived in *Galilee*: There he *lived*, and *preached*, there he called his *disciples*, there he did his *miracles*, and there he *appeared* to his disciples after his resurrection.

BUT it is not fit, that we should dismiss this excellent prophecy, which doth not only foretel the great happiness of *Galilee* by reason of the presence of the MESSIAS, but seems very particularly to point out those places in *Galilee*, that should be thus dignified and honoured. The prophet doth not only in general foretel the glory and honour, that should be done to *Galilee*, by the general name of *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*; but he is more particular^m in naming the places of *Galilee*, which should be thus dignified. As particularly the *land of Zabulon*, which is first named our SAVIOUR, he having his first abode in *Nazareth*, which belonged to that tribe. And secondly the land of *Naphthali*; for our SAVIOUR lived afterwards in *Capernaum*, a great city in that tribe, where he dwelt after he left *Nazareth*; that this prophecy might be fulfilled, as St. *Matthew* tells us, chap. iv. ver. 13, 14. Now this *Capernaum* was situated upon the coast of the sea of *Galilee*, or *Tiberias*, and on the borders of *Zabulon*: and both this city and *Nazareth* were beyond *Jordan*: And this agrees exactly, with what the prophet expresses by *Zabulon* and *Naphthali*, the way of the sea beyond *Jordan*: Thus was *Capernaum* exalted unto heaven, *Luk. x. 15*. And this prophecy was fulfilled in our blessed SAVIOUR.

THIRDLY, It is foretold of the MESSIAS, *Mal. iii. 1*. that after the appearance of his forerunner, he shall *suddenly come into his temple*. And the appearance of the MESSIAS in that temple was to be the glory of it. *The desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory*, Hag. ii. 7, 9. It is very evident, as I have proved before, that the glory of the second house above the first, which is promised by GOD in this prophet, can be understood of nothing less, than of the glory which that house should receive from the presence of the MESSIAS; who was not only to come during the standing of that temple, but was also to be present in it. I shall therefore at this time only shew, that this was fulfilled in our JESUS. As this was predicted; so was it understood by the *Jews*: The wise and the devout among them waited for the MESSIAS there. *Simeon* (the son of *Hillel*, and the father of *Gamaliel*) is an instance of this. *He came by the spirit into the temple* with this expectation, *Luk. ii. 27*. And *Anna* the prophetess was another, who *departed not from the temple*, ver. 36, 37. And as this was foretold and expected; so it was fulfilled in our JESUS. He was presented at the temple forty days after his birth, *Luk. ii. 22*. And from the infancy of JESUS till about thirty years old, we read nothing of him, only this, that at twelve years of age he was found in the temple discoursing with the doctors, ver. 46. and when he was questioned for it by his parents, who sought him sorrowing, *He said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be* ἐν τοῖς τοῖς πατρὶς μου (we render it *about my Father's business*, but it is by the *Syriack* truly rendered) *In my Father's*

^m L'Empereur annotat. in Grammat. Mos. Kimchi. p. 148.

house? q. d. Do ye not consider, that according to the predictions of the prophets, I was to have been in the temple? In the temple we find JESUS driving out the sellers and money-changers, *Joh. ii. 14.* He taught in the temple, and for that end came again into the temple, *Joh. vii. 14.* with chap. viii. 2. In the day-time he was teaching in the temple, and in the morning all the people came to hear him in the temple, *Luk. xxi. 37, 38.* JESUS tells the Jews, that he was *daily with them in the temple*, *Luk. xxii. 53.* And when the high priest asked him of his disciples and doctrine, he said, *I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews alway resort, and in secret have I said nothing*, *Joh. xviii. 20.*

FOURTHLY, We have in the old Testament several characters of the MESSIAS, that do exactly agree with our JESUS. We find the MESSIAS described of old, as to his temper and the manner of his conversation with men, and we find that our JESUS was such a person. There never appeared in the world any person, to whom those characters did so peculiarly and manifestly belong, as they did to our blessed SAVIOUR. As for example; Whoever remembers the peaceable conversation of our blessed SAVIOUR, his great innocence and inoffensiveness; and the great blessing, which he pronounceth upon them that make peace, *Matth. v. 9.* will find, that he is, as the prophet calls the MESSIAS, the *prince of peace*, *Isa. ix. 6.* The great holiness and righteousness of his life agreed well with the prophet's character of the MESSIAS; *Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins*, *Isa. xi. 5.* He that considers the great calmness of our SAVIOUR's temper, and how he avoided popular fame and breath, will apply that to him, which is said of the MESSIAS. *He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets*, *Isa. xlii. 2.* with *Matth. xii. 18.* When we remember the great meanness of JESUS, we find it agree with the prophet's character of *lowly*, which he gave of the MESSIAS, *Matth. xi. 29.* with *Zechar. ix. 9.* What was there ever said of the MESSIAS of old, which was not fulfilled in our JESUS? Well might Philip say to Nathanael of JESUS, *We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write*. *Joh. i. 45.*

FIFTHLY, It was foretold of the MESSIAS, that he should do many great and wonderful works. The works which he should do are set down; and our JESUS did those very works; and this is another argument, that he is that CHRIST who was promised. Of the MESSIAS it was foretold, that he should *open the blind eyes*, *Isa. xlii. 7.* *unstop the ears of the deaf*, and *untie the tongue of the dumb*, *Isa. xxxv. 5, 6.* That he should *preach good things unto the meek*ⁿ, or which seems to be all one, *preach the gospel to the poor, and give liberty to the captives; and restore joy to the mourners; giving the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; and that he should proclaim the acceptable year of the LORD*, *Isa. lxi. 2, 3.* Our JESUS did these things, and by doing these works he made it appear, that he was the CHRIST, the son of GOD: And we find him often referring the Jews to the works which he did. When the Jews would know of him, whether he were the CHRIST or not, he tells them, *The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me*, *Joh. x. 24, 25.*

ⁿ Εὐαγγελίστας πτωχοῖς LXXII.

Again, *If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not: But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works*, ver. 37, 38. Again, *Believe me for the very works sake*, Joh. xiv. 11. His works proclaimed him to be the CHRIST the son of GOD, Joh. iii. 2. vii. 31. When *John the Baptist* sent some of his disciples to JESUS to know, whether or no he was the MESSIAS, that was to come; we find he returned this answer. *Go (says JESUS) and shew John those things, which ye do hear and see; The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them*, Matth. xi. 4, 5. He did such works, as none could do without the divine assistance, and those very works also, which the MESSIAS was to do (according to the predictions of him) when he came into the world. But this argument requires a more particular consideration.



C H A P. V.

The works of JESUS, Matth. xi. 4, 5. considered. Of the miracles which JESUS did. The vanity of the Jews in attempting to disparage them. The opinion of Maimonides, that the MESSIAS would not work miracles, considered; And the Author of Tractatus Theologiæ Politicæ. What a Miracle imports. That the MESSIAS was to work miracles proved against Maimonides. That they are a good argument of the truth of a doctrine. That JESUS did work true miracles. This proved at large.

THE words, which I named before *Matth. xi. 4, 5.* deserve a farther consideration, as they do very much confirm the truth, which I am now insisting upon. And to that purpose it will be well worth our while to consider the occasion of those words, as well as the design of our SAVIOUR in speaking them at that time.

We find, that *John the Baptist* (the forerunner of our blessed SAVIOUR) who was himself confined to a prison, sent two of his disciples, when he heard of the works of CHRIST, to know whether or no he was the MESSIAS, who was to come, or whether they were to expect some other. *Art thou he that should come? Or do we look for another?* ver. 3.

It is not to be supposed^o, that *John the Baptist* was ignorant whether JESUS was the CHRIST or not; for he knew him before this time, and knew him to be the MESSIAS also. He had seen the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and abiding on him. He saw and bare record, that he was the Son of GOD, *Joh. i. 32, 34.* He baptized JESUS in *Jordan*, Matth. iii. 15. And it is expressly said, *Joh. iii. 24. that John was not yet cast into prison.* And we find him presently after those words testi-

^o Hieron. Epist. Algasia Quæst. 1.

fyng of CHRIST, *ver.* 18. *John* the Baptist knew him well, even before he baptized him, *Joh.* iii. 14. It could be no new thing to hear of the fame of JESUS; he himself having foretold that his fame would spread, *Joh.* iii. 30. He had been questioned who he was, and had confessed that he was not the CHRIST, but his forerunner, *Joh.* i. 20, 23. And when he saw JESUS walking, he called him the *Lamb of God*, *Joh.* i. 36. From all which it is abundantly evident, that *John* the Baptist did not send to inform himself, but upon the score, and for the sake of his disciples. His disciples wanted confirmation in that truth, which their master was well assured of. There was among the *Jews* a fond expectation, that their MESSIAS^p would appear like a temporal prince, and deliver the *Jews* from servitude and slavery; they expected to be great men, and no longer in bondage to any foreign power. That their MESSIAS should fight their battles, and vanquish their enemies round about them. This was the expectation of the *Jews* then, and the later *Jews*^q have been of the same belief.

Now was *John* the Baptist, the forerunner of CHRIST, in prison, and would shortly be beheaded there. His disciples might hereupon be tempted to doubt, whether JESUS was the CHRIST or not; for they that expected a temporal prince, would hardly believe, that he would suffer his chief minister and forerunner to be, not only detained in prison, but cut off by the hands of violence. Hence *John* the Baptist sends his disciples, when he himself was in prison, *ver.* 2. He sends them, when they most needed to be confirmed in the faith; for the imprisonment and following death of their master would be apt to make them question, whether JESUS were the MESSIAS, or they not still to look for another.

It is likewise to be considered, that *John* the Baptist lays hold of the fittest opportunity of sending his disciples for their greatest satisfaction: His being in prison implies, that they needed a confirmation in the faith; but then the tidings of the *Works*, which CHRIST did, seems to be the occasion of sending the disciples at that time, when they were like to receive the utmost satisfaction, which could be desired.

AND no less seems to be implied in the second verse of this chapter: *Now when John had heard in the prison the works of CHRIST, he sent two of his disciples.*

AND as for the message he sent them on, it was of the greatest moment: *Art thou he which should come? Or do we look for another?* *ver.* 3. *i. e.* Art thou the MESSIAS that was promised to come among us? Or must we expect him to come still? It is very usual to express the MESSIAS by *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, he that was to come. For he was promised long before under this expression of one, that should in due time come among them. *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, untill Shiloh come*, Gen. xlix. 10. Again, *Be strong, fear not, behold, your GOD will come*, Isa. xxxv. 4. Again, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the LORD*, Matth. xxi. 9. *Joh.* xii. 13. *Heb.* x. 37. And agreeably hereunto the time of the MESSIAS is called the *kingdom*, and the *world to come*, Mark xi. 10. *Heb.* ii. 5. vi. 5. CHRIST was the great hope and expectation of *Israel*. They promised themselves very justly glorious things from his manifestation. The woman of *Samaria* could say, *I know that MESSIAS cometh,*

^p Act. i. 6.

^q Maimonides H. Melach. c. 11.

which is called CHRIST; when he is come, he will tell us all things, Joh. iv. 25.

LET US now consider the answer, which JESUS returned unto this question of *John the Baptist's* disciples: He refers them to his works for satisfaction. It was upon the occasion of the *works* which JESUS did, that *John the Baptist* sent his disciples, *ver. 2.* and when they come, we find that JESUS refers them to the *works*, which he did. JESUS answered and said unto them, *Go and shew John again those things, which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them,* *ver. 4, 5.*

JOHN the Baptist had born witness of CHRIST before; he does not send them back to their Master, but refers them to his works. *Ye sent unto John* (says our SAVIOUR to the Jews) *and he bare witness unto the truth,* Joh. v. 33. but then our SAVIOUR adds, *ver. 36. But I have greater witness than that of John; for the works, which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.*

HIS works then were a good proof, that he was, what he professed himself to be, the CHRIST, the son of GOD. Nicodemus could not but confess, that no man could do the *miracles* which he did, *except GOD were with him,* Joh. iii. 2. And many of the Jews could not but say, *When CHRIST cometh, will he do more miracles than these, which this man hath done?* Joh. vii. 31. The works which he did, speak who he was; for such they were as did plainly proclaim a divine power.

BUT besides; the works which our SAVIOUR did, and to which he refers the disciples of *John*, were those very works, which the MESSIAS was to do according to the prediction of the prophet: And these works here mentioned are those very works: When our SAVIOUR tells them that the *blind receive their sight, the lame walk*; it is no more but what the prophet had foretold should come to pass in the days of the MESSIAS, *Isa. xxxv. 3, 6.*

IT may indeed be asked, Why our SAVIOUR should use these words, *And the poor have the gospel preached unto them?* For why should this be reckoned as a miracle? Or where was this foretold of the MESSIAS? But the answer is very easy to this. And

FIRST, This was foretold of the MESSIAS, that he should *preach the gospel to the poor*: For *preaching good tidings to the meek,* *Isa. lxi. 1.* is the same thing with *preaching the gospel to the poor.* And the same words are used by the *Septuagint* in the prophet, which are used by the Evangelist here.

SECONDLY, That though *preaching the gospel to the poor* be not a miracle (nor is it reckoned so here) yet it is a particular that is very remarkable, and very pertinent to our SAVIOUR's purpose. We must know, that poverty was very much contemned by the Jews: Poor men were esteemed evil also. And they have a saying among them, that *The spirit of GOD does not rest upon a poor man.* Hence the poor and common people were slighted, and reckoned as children of the earth: Their prophets of old were generally sent to kings, their scribes and doctors taught the rich: They expected a princely MESSIAS that would lord it over poor men. But our SAVIOUR puts them in mind here, that it was foretold, that

that the MESSIAS should preach to the *meek* or *poor*. And that when he did so (as we know he did to poor fishermen and publicans) they ought to consider, that he did that, which was predicted of the CHRIST. For that those words *Isa. lxi. 1.* belong to the MESSIAS, our SAVIOUR elsewhere gives the *Jews* to understand, *Luk. iv. 18, 21.* Nor do we find, that they had any contest with him about that matter: No; they were so far from it, that we are told, they *All bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words, which proceeded out of his mouth,* ver. 22.

NOR could any thing have been said more seasonably to the disciples of *John the Baptist* than this, (after our LORD had referred them to the works which he did) that he *preached the gospel to the poor*; because this would set them right as to the MESSIAS, whom they were to receive. For they may not now look for a temporal prince to conquer and captivate their powerful enemies, but a meek, and lowly, and merciful person, that would converse with, and instruct the poor and the needy. So that those words, *and the poor have the gospel preached, &c.* tend to instruct them aright concerning the MESSIAS, whom they were to expect, and the nature of his kingdom: For had he been such a temporal prince, as the *Jews* were ready to expect, he would rather have employed his arms against the powerful enemies of his people, than to take upon himself the care of preaching the gospel, and that not to the *wealthy* and *honourable*, but to the *poor* also.

BUT not to insist any longer upon this matter; I shall only consider that our SAVIOUR refers the disciples of *John the Baptist* to the works which he did, as a proof, that he was the CHRIST, that was to come into the world. So then the works, which JESUS did, are a good proof that he was the CHRIST; and do very much confirm the doctrine which he taught. This was the great end for which they were done, and for which they are recorded also. *These are written, that ye might believe, that JESUS is the CHRIST, the son of GOD, and that believing ye might have life through his name,* Joh. xx. 31.

BY the works of JESUS must be meant the miracles which he wrought, and to which he appeals upon all occasions, as well as in these words of *St. Matthew*. These miracles are a good argument of the truth of what JESUS professed, and of what he taught. And I shall make this appear to those who are unprejudiced, and the sincere enquirers after truth.

THIS is a matter of great moment, and that which tends very much to beget faith in us, and to dispose us to the receiving the truth. These miracles, that were wrought, do not only speak the *truth* of our SAVIOUR's doctrine, but the *great moment* of it also: And so they do tend toward not only the begetting in us a *belief*, but a great *veneration* also of these divine truths. And he that goes about to deny, or to disparage our SAVIOUR's miracles, does at the same time endeavour to overthrow a main ground of the *Christian Religion*, and one great motive of its credibility.

I SHALL the rather enlarge upon this argument, both because of its great weight and usefulness, and also because there have not been wanting in all ages those, who have denied or disparaged the miracles which JESUS did; and by so doing have hindered, what in them lay, the propagation of the *Christian Faith*.

IN our SAVIOUR's time we find those that endeavoured to overthrow the credit of his miracles. When JESUS had restored one, that was possessed with a devil, and who was blind and dumb, insomuch that all the people were amazed, and said, *Is not this the son of David?* There wanted not then among the *Pharisees*, who durst affirm ^r *that he cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils.* Our SAVIOUR does indeed sufficiently refute this suggestion, and shew the inconsistency thereof; and does lay before us the greatness of the sin of these men, who imputed a work of the HOLY GHOST to the prince of devils: And assures us, that *Whosoever speaketh against the HOLY GHOST, ^r it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.* These evil men were not able to deny the matter of fact, it was confessed that the blind saw, and the dumb spake: But then they were guilty of speaking against the HOLY GHOST when they imputed this work of his to the power of the devil.

THE *Jews* in after-times could not deny, that JESUS had done great works among their forefathers; but then these wretched men run into fables, and make lies their refuge, and give such an account of the whole matter, as carries its confutation along with it. The account which they give is this,

^r THAT *in the time of Helena the queen, JESUS of Nazareth came to Jerusalem, and that in the temple he found a stone (on which the ark of GOD was wont to rest) whereon was written the Tetragrammaton, or, more peculiar name of GOD. That whosoever should get that name into his possession, and be skilled in it, would be able to do what he pleased. That their wise-men, fearing lest any of the Israelites should get that name, and destroy the world, made two dogs of brass, and placed them at the door of the sanctuary: That whenever any had gone in and learnt that name, these dogs were wont at their coming out to bark so terribly, that they forgot the name, and the letters which they had newly learnt. But (say they) JESUS of Nazareth went in, and did not only learn the letters of this name, but wrote them in a parchment, and hid it as he came out in an incision, which he had made in his flesh. And though through the barking of the dogs he had forgot the name, yet he learnt it afterwards from his parchment. By virtue of this name (say they) JESUS restored the lame, healed the leprous, raised the dead, walked himself upon the sea.* By this account it appears, that the *Jews* did not deny the matter of fact; but that JESUS did the works is confessed on all hands; and so much we may gain from this fabulous narration: There is nothing else in it worthy the notice of a wise-man.

BUT still there is another opinion to be found among the *Jews* of after-times, and it was this; That the MESSIAS when he came was not to work miracles, and that therefore the working miracles was not to be any mark and character of the true MESSIAS. Nor is it strange, that when the *Jews* were not able to deny the matter of fact, they should betake themselves to these fond opinions. *Maimonides* tells us ^u that we must not think, that the MESSIAS shall work signs and miracles, that he shall innovate in the things of this world, or raise the dead: But that the law of *Moses* should endure for ever, and that the MESSIAS shall meditate in that law, and compel the *Israelites* to observe it; and that he shall manage

^r Matth. xii. 22. ^s *ibid.* 32. ^t Pug. Fidei par. 2. cap. 8. sect. 6. ^u *Maimonides*, H. Melac. & Milch. c. 11.

the LORD's battels, and overcome the people that are round about him. The truth of this doctrine of his shall be considered in its due place. I only produce this to shew, how unwilling the *Jews* are to allow of this argument, which we draw from the works that JESUS did, and how unable they are in the mean time to deny the matter of fact.

BESIDES these fond and evil opinions, there is still another advanced by a late author *, and directly levelled against the force of our SAVIOUR's garment; and 'tis this: That nothing happens in nature that is repugnant to its universal laws, nor any thing which doth not agree with them, or follow from them: He hath also the confidence to affirm, That the name of a miracle can only be understood with respect to mens opinions, and that it signifies nothing more than a work, the natural cause of which we are not able to explain, *exemplo alterius rei solitæ*; or at least, he is not able to explain it, that writes or reports the miracle. And that therefore a miracle is a mere absurdity. And that those things, which the scriptures truly report to have happened, fell out according to the laws of nature; and if any thing else evidently repugnant to the laws of nature be reported, or which cannot follow from them, that it is to be believed, that these things were added to the scripture by sacrilegious men.

THIS wicked principle is sufficiently refuted by our SAVIOUR's words, who makes the works, which he did, an argument of the truth of what he said. And sure if he did no work, but what other men did or might do, and what agreed with the laws of nature, his works would have been a very mean proof of his coming from GOD. He that believes GOD to be, cannot think him confined by the laws of nature: However these laws conclude the creature, they do not bind the hands of the great creator of the universe. No man can believe what the above-named author affirms, unless he be an atheist, or an apostate. He must be a man forsaken by his reason, that discourses at this rate, or given over for his wickedness to believe a lie. What do such abhorred principles aim at, but at the subversion of Christianity? And if they were guilty of the unpardonable sin against the HOLY GHOST, who affirmed our SAVIOUR's miracles to have been wrought by the power of the devil, what shall we think of them, who dare affirm that he wrought none at all?

HAVING premised these things I shall now proceed to shew, that our SAVIOUR's miracles were a good proof of his doctrine, and that he was the MESSIAS, who was to come into the world. And for my better proceeding,

FIRST, I shall shew, what I mean by miracles.

SECONDLY, I shall prove, that the MESSIAS was to do miracles.

THIRDLY, That they are a good argument of the truth of a doctrine.

FOURTHLY, That our SAVIOUR's were true and unexceptionable miracles.

FIFTHLY, I shall consider what may objected, against what I shall offer upon this weighty argument.

I SHALL shew what I mean by miracles: For there are cheats and impostures, and every thing is not a miracle, that passeth for such. We may

* Tractat. Theolog. Politic. c. 6.

be imposed upon by our ignorance and credulity, and by the craft of others. There are many things, which are admired, and are very strange and infrequent, but they are not miracles: Our admiration many times speaks only our own ignorance: And many things there are, which are but the effect, of natural causes; and yet we have been apt to think them the effect of a supernatural one. It does by no means hence follow, that a miracle is a mere absurdity, and that there can be no such thing. We are obliged to take care, that we be not imposed upon, and well to consider, what is required to a *miracle*, and to convince us of it. For unless we know it so to be, it cannot be expected, that it should ever convince us. And in this case not to appear is the same thing as not to be at all. To this purpose it is necessary to a miracle

1. THAT it be a work above the power of nature, and above the reach of any creature whatsoever. It must be supernatural, or else it cannot be strictly a miracle. This power must come from GOD, he being able only to alter the course of nature who is the great author of it. But then whether this effect be brought to pass by the immediate power of GOD (without the intervening of any natural cause) or by making use of some instrument, 'tis one and the same thing. It is an omnipotent arm, that brings the effect to pass: And a miracle is a work, that none but GOD can do. ^y This is the essence of a miracle, and it cannot be truly called one unless it be such a work, as is above the force of nature, and the combined power of all second causes. And upon this account we may presume, that these works are called *δυνάμεις* in the new Testament, and our SAVIOUR said to be declared the Son of GOD with power, *ἐν δυνάμει*.

2. THAT the effect be visible and discernable. Without this they can be of no effect to us at all. And where miracles are brought as a proof of something else, there is great need they should be very evident and apparent. Our SAVIOUR's words to *John's* disciples imply no less. They came to know, whether he were the CHRIST or not: † *JESUS answered and said unto them, Go and shew John again these things, which ye do hear and see; The blind, &c.* Our SAVIOUR dealt sincerely with them, and appeals to their senses in the case. *Shew John those things, which ye do hear and see,* A miracle, which is brought to prove a doctrine or doubtful question, had need to be more clear than the question is, which it is brought to prove. And therefore when it is considered as a proof of something else, it is necessary, that it should be itself very evident and plain. For that cannot be judged a good *Medium* to prove the question by, which is not more evident than the question itself. Our SAVIOUR's works are brought by him as a proof of the truth of his doctrine: Miracles would in this case signify nothing, if they were not very evident: The *Jews* have a proverb to this purpose ‖, they say of a man that brings an insufficient proof, that *His surety wants a surety*. He that is surety for another, had need to be of good credit himself.

HENCE it is, that these miraculous works in the new Testament are so frequently called *σημεῖα*, i. e. *signs*. And those things, which are *signs* of something, had need be more plain and discernable than the things, which they signify and represent, and which they are brought to prove. Thus are these works frequently called in the new Testament ‡: And in the old

^y Matth. xi. 20, 21. Luk. iv. 36. 17. ix. 1. Matth. vii. 22. Luk. x. 13. Rom. i. 4.
† Matth. xi. 4, 5. ‖ Buxtorf. Lexicon. Rabbin. ערר ‡ Joh. ii. 11, 23, iii. 2. xx. 30.

Testament they are expressed by the words of the same import; and though ^z those words of themselves do not imply a *miracle*; yet they are to be considered according to the subject matter: And when they are applied to this purpose, they do imply, that the miracle must be very evident and clear. For the effect can carry no conviction with it, if it be not discernable. They would have had no reason to believe our SAVIOUR upon the account of his works, had they not been visible in their effects. He may be presumed to be raised from the dead, who by the actions of a living man is able to convince the standers by. 'Tis a vain thing to pretend, that a miracle is wrought, when no man is able to discern the change of things. JESUS turned water into wine. ^a *This beginning of miracles did JESUS in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory, and his disciples believed on him.* But had the water retained the taste and colour of water, and not of wine, he had neither manifested his glory, nor would his disciples have been moved upon this account to have believed on him: But the change was so discernable, that the governor of the feast ^b perceived it by its taste. Indeed the church of *Rome* pretends in the doctrine of transubstantiation, that the bread and wine in the sacrament are substantially changed after consecration: and yet no man living can discern any such change at all; ^c *Durandus* tells us, that there are in that change no less than eleven miracles, of which no express reason can be given. I do not think it worth my while to reckon them up after him. Sure I am, we have no reason to believe any such thing. And 'tis a vain and foolish thing to vaunt of so many miracles, when there is no appearance of any one: And 'tis also a very unreasonable thing, that the church of *Rome* should oblige us to believe a miracle, which we are not able to discern.

A MIRACLE, which convinceth us of the truth of a doctrine, must be the object of sense; it must be seen or felt, or discernable some such way: And 'tis a vain thing to call upon us to believe that, which is the motive and ground, upon which we believe something else. I shall as soon believe a dead man raised to life, who lies in his grave, without either breath or motion, as much as the earth in which he lies; or that a blind man is perfectly cured, who yet hath recovered no sight at all; as to believe that to be flesh and blood, which all my senses tell me are bread and wine. The miracles, which CHRIST did, were wrought *that men might believe* (not the miracles, for them they saw, but) *that he was the CHRIST the Son of GOD.* He requires men to believe him and his doctrine, for the sake of his works.

BUT the church of *Rome* would have us believe not only a doctrine, which is not revealed; but a miracle also (not to say more than one) which is not discernable by any of our senses. We must believe a miracle, though we do not see it, and be condemned for *Hereticks*, if we believe it not. Such a *faith so catholick and large* an one does the church of *Rome* require. A faith which, I am sure, we shall never attain unto, till that time come (which GOD of his mercy prevent) that we are given up to believe a lie. In the mean while we have just reason to believe the doctrine false, when we find the miracle a mere pretence. And 'twill be time enough to believe this doctrine of transubstantiation, when we are able to discern a substantial change.

^z Such among the Hebrews are אור & מופת of which see Abravenel on the Pentate fol. 138: col. 4. ^a Joh. ii. 11. ^b ibid. 9. ^c Durand. Rational. Divin. Offic. l. 4. c. 21.

II. I SHALL prove, that the MESSIAS was to work miracles, when he came into the world. And this I am obliged to do, because our SAVIOUR appeals to his works, as a good proof, that he was the CHRIST the Son of GOD.

INDEED *Maimonides*, as I intimated before, denies that the MESSIAS was to work miracles: But this is not the sense of the *Jewish* nation, but an opinion that the *Jews* fly to for refuge. For when they are not able to deny the matter of fact, they are forced to say, that the MESSIAS was not to do any miracles at all. That JESUS lived, and that he did wonderful works, they are not able to deny; but then the obstinate *Jew*, that cannot deny the works of JESUS, yet will affirm, that the doing of such works was not a sign or character of the MESSIAS, in whose time we are not to look for miracles. I shall consider the truth of this pretence. And

1. 'TIS very certain, that this is not the sense of all the *Jewish* nation: ^d *Abravenel* mentions a saying out of the *Vaikra Rabba*, viz. *That all feasts should cease, besides the feast of Purim, and the day of Expiation.* The meaning of which he tells us is this; that whereas the other feasts were ordained in memory of the deliverance out of *Egypt*, therefore the *Israelites* should not in the time of the MESSIAS apply themselves to the remembrance of the prodigies and miracles, which GOD wrought for them, when he delivered them from thence; because they should then see eximious miracles in the days of the MESSIAS, in comparison whereof the others were not worth the remembering.

I FIND the same ^e author in another place speaking to the same purpose, "דמשורר וכו' *The Psalmist* (says he) *complains that the Israelites in the time of their captivity lost three glorious gifts, which they had before. viz. Prophecy, Miracles, and the Knowledge of GOD; For so it is written,* ^f *We see not our signs, there is no more any prophet, neither is there any that knoweth how long.* Therefore (says he) the prophet makes a promise of restoring these three benefits to the people in those words: *I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, &c.* So that the return of miracles was justly expected according to him upon the appearance of the MESSIAS: For that he understood the prophecy of the times of the MESSIAS, is evident from his following words; and that it belongs to that time, and was in great measure fulfilled, will be granted by him, who considers these words, *But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel, And it shall come to pass in the last days, (saith GOD) I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.* Act. ii. 16, 17.

BUT as the same ^g author in another place is very express to my present purpose. There he lays down the several characters and conditions of the MESSIAS, no less than ten in number. I am not concerned now to reckon them up; The power of working miracles is one; and that was to be attended with the spirit of prophecy again revived, to which purpose he quotes the before mentioned words of the prophet *Joel*, which words are also applied by the Apostle, to the times of the MESSIAS.

2. WE find it particularly prophesied of the MESSIAS, that he should work miracles, and those very miracles, which JESUS did. *Then the eyes*

^d *Abravenel* Cap. Fidei. c. 13.
^e *Abravenel* in Isa. xii.

^f *Abravenel* in Joel ii. 28.

^g Psal. lxxiv. 9.

of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing, Isa. xxxv. 5, 6. ^h Again, *The spirit of the LORD is upon me, because the LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek: which is the same thing with preaching the gospel to the poor, as I observed before.* And therefore our SAVIOUR did return a most apposite answer to the disciples of *John the Baptist*, when he bid them shew their master the things, which they saw and heard.

3. AGREEABLE hereunto we find among the people in our SAVIOUR'S time a general expectation, that the MESSIAS, when he came, would work miracles; and they were forward to demand a sign of our blessed SAVIOUR. Their law was this way confirmed, and *Moses* their great lawgiver wrought many miracles, and they therefore demanded the same signs of our LORD as his credentials. ⁱ *The Jews require a sign*, says the Apostle: and we find certain of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* saying, *Master, we would see a sign from thee.* And *JESUS* tells the *Jews*, *Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe.* And though they did not believe, when they had seen signs; yet they were forward to demand them: And that there was an expectation among the *Jews* of that time, that the MESSIAS, when he came, would work wonders, is evident from those words of the people. ^k *When CHRIST cometh (say they) will he do more miracles than these, which this man hath done?*

JOHN the *Baptist* was the forerunner of *CHRIST*; he was born a little before our SAVIOUR; and he appearing at that time, when the MESSIAS was expected, and being very much famed for his virtue, and followed by the people, they were prone to take him for the MESSIAS; and *Herod* himself feared him, as one that might easily draw away the people, as *Josephus* ^l tells us. The people upon his appearance among them were in great expectation and suspense, and ^m *All men mused in their hearts of John, whether he was the CHRIST or not.* He was not only born about the time, in which the MESSIAS was expected; but the passages relating to his birth were very strange and surprizing, and much discoursed of among the *Jews*, who knew his father and mother, and had heard of what the ⁿ Angel had foretold, and what happened to his father *Zechariah*: Besides, he was a person of great sanctity, and great fame among the people; nor had there been a greater person born among women at that time: No wonder ^o then, that the *Jews* should send priests and levites from *Jerusalem* to *John the Baptist* to know who he was, and whether he were the *CHRIST* or not. But then it is confessed of ^p *John the Baptist*, that *he did no miracle.* It was so ordered by the divine providence, that *John the Baptist* should want this character of the true MESSIAS, viz. the working of miracles. But I shall proceed to shew,

III. THAT miracles are a good argument of the truth of a doctrine. And that therefore our SAVIOUR did with great reason refer *John the Baptist's* disciples to the works, which they saw.

THIS I think my self obliged the rather to insist upon, the thing it self

^h Isa. lxi. 1. Matth. xi. 5. ⁱ 1 Cor. i. 22. Matth. xii. 38. Joh. iv. 48. Matth. xvi. 1.
Luk. xi. 16. ^k Joh. vii. 31. ^l Antiqu. lib. 18. c. 7. ^m Luk. iii. 15. ⁿ Luk. i. 13.
^o Joh. i. 15, 20. ^p Joh. x. 41.

being of great moment, and it being opposed by the enemies of Christianity.

MAIMONIDES ^q affirms, that the *Israelites* did not believe *Moses* because of his miracles, which he did. And he hath added, that he that believes upon the score of miracles, will be liable to suspect enchantment, or some other fraud. And moreover he adds, that all the miracles, which *Moses* did in the wilderness, he did them upon the account of some necessity, which moved him, and not to gain belief to his prophecy. Thus (says he) it was necessary in order to the drowning of the *Egyptians*, that the sea should be divided and let loose upon them. We wanted food (says he) and he sent *manna*: They were thirsty, and he opened a rock: The congregation of *Corah* denied him, and therefore the earth swallowed them up.

At this rate does that subtle enemy of Christianity discourse: And 'tis very easie to observe, what he drives at in all this. I shall not trouble my self to shew, that other *Jews* have taught a doctrine contrary to what *Maimonides* teaches. It were no hard matter to shew this; but 'tis of little moment to do that towards my present purpose. I shall do that which is more material in shewing, that this doctrine is in it self false.

WHEN GOD was about to send *Moses* ^r to the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, we find *Moses* objected and said, *They will not believe me*: Hereupon GOD bids him cast his rod upon the ground, and the rod was turned into a serpent. And this was done (as GOD said to *Moses*) ^t that they might believe, that the LORD GOD of their fathers, &c. hath appeared unto him. After this the hand of *Moses* was turned leprous, and restored again; upon which *Moses* is told, ^u that if the *Israelites* would not believe him upon the first, that they should believe the voice of the latter sign. *Moses* tells *Pharaoh*, that at his request the plague of frogs should be removed, ^v *That thou mayst know* (says he) *that there is none like unto the LORD our GOD*. So far it is evident, that *Moses* wrought signs to procure belief.

BUT let us follow *Moses* out of *Egypt* into the wilderness, and see, whether it be true, which *Maimonides* affirms, that those miracles were not wrought to gain belief to his prophecy. I shall content my self with one of the miracles, which *Maimonides* himself mentions, as a work, that *Moses* did to serve a present necessity, and not to gain credit to his prophecy. And that is, the miracle, which was wrought upon the rebellion of *Corah*, and his company. Now it is very evident from the text, that that miracle was wrought to assert the prophecy of *Moses*, as well as the right of *Aaron*; as will appear from the words of *Moses* to *Corah* and his company ^x: *To-morrow* (says he) *the LORD will shew who are his, and who is holy; and will cause him to come near unto him, even him whom he hath chosen, will he cause to come near unto him*. Again, when those evil men were about to be swallowed up we find *Moses* saying: ^y *Hereby ye shall know, that the LORD hath sent me to do all these works: for I have not done them of own mind. If these men dye the common death of all men: or if they be visited after the visitation of all men, then the LORD hath not sent me. But if the LORD make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them; and they go down quick into the pit, then ye shall understand, that these men have provoked*

^q Eundam. Leg. c. 8.

^r Exod. iv. 1.

^t ver. 5.

^u ver. 8.

^v Exod. viii. 10.

^x Numb. xvi. 5.

^y ver. 28, 29, 30.

the LORD. Hence it is evident, that the miracle confirmed the mission of Moses, and so had a direct tendency to gain credit and belief unto his prophecy, and that a miracle is a good confirmation of a doctrine.

No wonder then, that we find our SAVIOUR frequently appealing to his miracles, as the evidences of his commission: ² *I have (says he) greater witness than that of John; for the work which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.* Again, we read elsewhere to the same purpose: ³ *Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the CHRIST, tell us plainly:* And thereupon it follows presently. ⁴ *JESUS answered them, I told you, and ye believed not: The works that I do in my Father's name bear witness of me.* Again, ⁵ *Believe me, that I am in the Father and the Father in me; or else believe me for the very works sake.* And in another place our SAVIOUR says, ⁶ *If I had not done among them the works, which none other man did, they had not had sin.* Again, ⁷ *If I do not the works of my father, believe me not: but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.*

BESIDES, we find that men were greatly convinced by the miracles, which JESUS wrought, when he had miraculously fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes as it is said, ⁸ *Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that JESUS did, said, This is of a truth that prophet, that should come into the world.* And when he had turned water into wine, 'tis said, that *his disciples believed on him.* And when he was at Jerusalem at the Passover, in the feast-day, *Many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did.* The works of JESUS were very convictive, and great was the evidence, that they were attended with. When our SAVIOUR raised the widows son of Naim, ⁹ *There came a great fear on all, and they glorified GOD, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and that GOD hath visited his people.* To this purpose Nicodemus tells our LORD: ¹⁰ *Rabbi (says he) we know that thou art a teacher come from GOD:* And then follows that, which gives him the ground of this persuasion of his; *For no man can do those miracles, which thou doest, except GOD be with him.* And the blind man, who was restored to sight, speaks to the same purpose. ¹¹ *Since the world began (says he) it was not heard, that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of GOD, he could do nothing:* whence it appears, that the people were greatly convinced by the works, which they saw JESUS do.

INDEED our SAVIOUR appeared in a mean and poor condition in the world: he was reproached and traduced, and accused by evil men. But then the ¹² works which he did (which were the works of the spirit) did clear and justify our SAVIOUR. And in this sense I understand the Apostle's words, where he tells us, that GOD *was manifested in the flesh*, and adds, that *he was justified in the spirit.* Or, * justified and cleared from false accusa-

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tions

² Joh. v. 36. ³ Joh. x. 24. ⁴ Joh. x. 25. ⁵ Joh. xiv. 11. ⁶ Joh. i. 15, 24. ⁷ Joh. x. 37, 38. ⁸ Joh. vi. 14. ⁹ ii. 11, 23. ¹⁰ Luk. vii. 16. ¹¹ Joh. iii. 2. ¹² Joh. ix. 32, 33. ¹³ 1 Tim. iii. 16.

* For the better understanding the full sense of these words. 1 Tim. iii. 16. GOD was justified in the spirit; it will be necessary to give the opinion of several of our best divines upon them. As this reverend Prelate in this place speaks of his being justified or approved to be the true MESSIAS by the miracles, which he wrought; so in another place he hath these words Act. x. 38. GOD anointed JESUS of Nazareth with the HOLY GHOST and with power. Now our SAVIOUR was anointed with

with the **HOLT GHOST**. First, At his conception. Thus the angel tells the blessed Virgin, *The HOLY GHOST shall come upon thee, and the power of the highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of GOD.* Secondly, At his baptism at the river Jordan, *Matth. iii. 15. Mar. i. 9. Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that JESUS also being baptized and praying the heaven was opened, and the HOLY GHOST descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him. And a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.* And to this I may add the words of the prophet to the same purpose. *Behold my servant, whom I uphold, I will put my spirit upon him.* *Isai. xlii. 1.* And St. Luke tells us presently upon the baptism of JESUS, *That he being full of the HOLY GHOST, returned from Jordan, and was led by the spirit into the wilderness, Luke. iv. 1.* And after he was tempted in the wilderness, he tells us, *That JESUS returned in the power of the spirit into Galilee. ver. 14.* And when he was in the synagogue at Nazareth, *He opened the book, and found the place, where it was written, The spirit of the LORD is upon me, And he said unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears, ver. 21. See more at large pag. 11.*

Whitby in locum. He was justified by the spirit. As doing those miracles on earth, by which he justified his mission against all the accusations of the Jews by the spirit of GOD. *Matth. xii. 28.* being declared to be the Son of GOD with power by the spirit of holiness *Rom. i. 3, 4.* by sending that Spirit after his ascension into heaven. *Act. ii. 33.* which he had promised to his disciples upon earth, and by which the world was convinced *of his righteousness.* *Joh. xvi. 10.*

Tillotson on Matth. xii. 31, 32. By speaking against the **HOLT GHOST** is meant their blaspheming and reproaching that divine power whereby he wrought his miracles, which tho' it did at last reflect upon our SAVIOUR's person; yet it was an immediate reflexion upon the **HOLT GHOST** and a blaspheming of him, and therefore it is called, speaking against the **HOLT GHOST** by way of distinction, or opposition against the other calumnies, which they used against our SAVIOUR, which were proper blasphemies and reproaches of his person, but not of the **HOLT GHOST** also, as this was. This seems to be the true difference here intended by our SAVIOUR, between speaking against the son of man and speaking against the **HOLT GHOST**.

Burkit in locum. Justified in or by the Spirit, That is the Spirit was CHRIST's witness, that he was no impostor, or deceiver, but the promised and expected MESSIAS working all his miracles by the power of the Spirit, and thereby declaring himself, to be the Son of GOD with power by the Spirit of holiness, and by sending his Spirit after his ascension into heaven, down upon his disciples here on earth. Thus the Spirit justified CHRIST truly and really to be what he professed himself to be, and sealed his doctrine to the world.

Hammond in locum. The Spirit descended on him at his baptism, and gave testimony of him. *Matth. iii. 17.* and by leading him into the wilderness to be tempted, convinced even the devil, that he was the Son of GOD. And by the power of GOD upon him he wrought many great and unheard of miracles (and his apostles after him) which testified the truth of all that he said.

Anthony Burgess of Justification, pag. 125. As for that text. *1 Tim. iii. 16. Justified in the Spirit,* by the Spirit is meant, as most divines acknowledge, the divine nature of CHRIST, whereby he raised up himself. As *Heb. ix. 14.* he is said to have offered up himself by the eternal Spirit, which was his divine nature; So he was justified by raising up himself, that whereas his enemies had accused him for an impostor, for a false prophet, for one that wrought by the devil, and therefore justly suffered such an ignominious end, now he being raised again by his own power, he was justified against all these calumnies, that were cast on him. And this seemeth to be the most genuine exposition.

Pierçon on the Creed, To prevent all fear or suspicion of spot in this lamb, of sin in this JESUS, He was conceived by the **HOLT GHOST**. Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Saith Job, A clean and undefiled redeemer, out of an unclean and defiled nature? He whose name is Holiness, and whose operation is to sanctify, the **HOLT GHOST**. Our JESUS was like unto us in all things, as born of a woman; sin only excepted, as conceived by the **HOLT GHOST**. This original and total sanctification of the human nature was first necessary to fit it for the personal union with the word; who out of his infinite love humbled himself to become flesh, and at the same time out of his infinite purity could not defile himself by becoming sinful flesh. Secondly, This same sanctification was as necessary in respect of the end, for which he was made man, the redemption of mankind, that as the first Adam was the fountain of our impurity; so the second Adam should also be the pure fountain of our righteousness. The Father made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin in himself, that we might be made the righteousness of GOD in him, which we could not have been made in him, but that he did no sin, and knew no sin. For whosoever is sinful, wanteth a redeemer, and he could have redeemed none, who stood in need of his own redemption. We are redeemed with the precious blood of CHRIST, and therefore precious because of a lamb without blemish and without spot. Our atonement can be made by no other high priest, than by him who is holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners. We cannot know, that he was manifested to take away our sins, except we also know, that in him is no sin. Wherefore it being so necessary to believe the original holiness, of our human nature in the person of our SAVIOUR, it is as necessary to acknowledge the way, by which we may be fully assured of that sanctity, his conception by the **HOLT GHOST**; so that what was conceived was originally and completely sanctified.

So that the full meaning of this expression seems to be this, CHRIST JESUS was justified and vindicated in all his pretensions; he was declared to be no impostor or deceiver, but the promised and expected MESSIAS, the Son of GOD, and the redeemer of fallen man. First, Before both GOD and man, by his being conceived by the **HOLT GHOST**, and so born without sin. *Luk. i. 35.* Secondly, Before the devils, when he was led by the spirit into the wilderness, and overcame all their temptation. *Matth. iv. 1. &c. Mark i. 12, 13. Luk. iv. 1. &c. Thirdly,* Before all the world, by the descent of the **HOLT GHOST** upon

upon him at his baptism. *Matth. iii. 16.* by preaching the gospel to the poor. *Isai. lxi. 1. Luk. iv. 18, 21.* by the miracles, which he wrought. *Joh. iii. 2. Joh. v. 36. Matth. xii. 28.* by his rising again from the dead. *Rom. i. 3, 4.* by inspiring his apostles and enabling them and others to preach the gospel of CHRIST. *Act. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 33. Act. xviii. 25, 28.* sending the HOLY GHOST upon others. *Act. x. 44, 45. Act. xiii. 52. Act. xix. 2, 6.* and enabling them to transmit the *Christian Religion* in writing to future ages. *2 Pet. i. 19, 20, 21.* And lastly to private *Christians*, by applying the promises of CHRIST, and the comforts of the gospel to their souls. *Joh. xiv. 16, 17, 26. Joh. xv. 26. Joh. xvi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. xii. 3.* by giving to them such gifts and qualifications, as are necessary for their station. *1 Cor. xii. 4, to 14.* by assuring them of their adoption. *Rom. viii. 16.* and salvation. *Rom. viii. 16, 17. Gal. iv. 4, 5, 6, 7.* and enabling them to call upon GOD with greater fervency. *Rom. viii. 15. Gal. iv. 4, 5, 6.*

tions ¹ by the spirit: For so those words may be rendered, which we render *in* the spirit. It was we know *ἐν πνεύματι* by the spirit of GOD that JESUS cast out devils. His miraculous works did proceed from the spirit of GOD. And he was justified by that Spirit, when he wrought miracles. This is no new interpretation. We find it in one of the ancient ^m Fathers: He was justified by the Spirit, *i. e. By the divine Spirit he wrought miracles. But if I cast out devils by the spirit of GOD* (says he.) *It was therefore demonstrated, and plain by miracles, that he was true GOD, and the Son of GOD. Thus the centurion by the cross, when he saw the earthquake and the darkness, said, This of a truth is the Son of GOD.* The holy Spirit did acquit our blessed SAVIOUR from the aspersions, which were cast upon him. And it may very well be said to be an ⁿ Advocate to our SAVIOUR as well as a Comforter with relation to his disciples. The Spirit did plead the cause of our LORD, and by the mighty works of this divine Spirit men were convinced, that JESUS was no impostor, but that he was what he professed himself to be, the CHRIST the Son of GOD.

A MIRACLE hath always been a good proof of a doctrine, and ever acknowledged to be very convincing. When *Elijah* had restored to life the widow's son, she concludes him a true prophet. ^o *By this I know* (says she) *that thou art a man of GOD, and that the word of the LORD in thy mouth is truth.* A true miracle is an attestation from heaven: We cannot think, that GOD will set his seal to a lye, or to a truth of little moment and concern.

AND as miracles are a good proof of the truth of a doctrine, so our SAVIOUR had great reason to refer the disciples of *John the Baptist* to his miraculous works, especially when it is considered, that the law of *Moses* was confirmed by miracles; and it is very reasonable to believe, that the ordinances of *Moses* should be removed after the same manner, that they were established and confirmed: And therefore that JESUS should do greater miracles than *Moses* ever did.

BESIDES, our SAVIOUR designed the destruction of the devil's kingdom in the world. ^p *For this purpose the Son of GOD was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.* And upon that account it was needful, that he should do miracles. The devil had gotten a great and ancient possession over mankind; he had got into the hearts and bodies of men, and dwelt in the temples of the heathen world. And whoever considers the largeness of his dominion, and the power and malice of his instruments, will easily grant, that there was need of a mighty power to dispossess him. Now our SAVIOUR and his followers made use of no carnal weapons,

¹ *Ev signifies* by, *Matth. xvii. 21. xxiii. 16. Luk. iv. 1. Heb. i. 1. Matth. xii. 28.* ^m Theodoret. *in 1 Tim. iii. 16.* ⁿ *Joh. xvi. 8.* ^o *1 King. xvii. 24.* ^p *1 Joh. iii. 8.*

they

they armed no legions, raised no fighting men by sea or land: And yet it is not to be believed, that the devil could be driven out of his ancient possession and strong holds without a greater power, than what he was possessed of, and that must be a divine power. The power of the devil was great at our SAVIOUR's appearance. He dwelt in the heathen temples, answered in their oracles; an idolatrous worship obtained in the world; many were there who were possessed by him. Our SAVIOUR stopped his mouth in the oracles, overthrew his kingdom, destroyed the idolatry and superstition, which had overspread the world, and threw the devil out of the bodies, and (which was a greater work) out of the hearts of men. The Gospel set forward with great disadvantages: The preachers of it had not riches, or power, or great birth, or strong alliances, or worldly wisdom to recommend them: On the other hand they were poor men and despised: But yet they were endued with power from above of working miracles, and dispossessing the devil where ever they came. ^a Εἰ σημείων χωρὶς ἔπεισαν, μείζον τὸ δαῖμα φαίνεσθαι. Had all this been done without the working of miracles, this would have been the greatest miracle of all. It was necessary, that this power should be employed against the devil's kingdom.

THE *Jews* indeed seem ^r to be blamed by our SAVIOUR for seeking after signs; But certain it is, that they were not blameable (nor blamed by our SAVIOUR) for demanding signs and wonders: This demand was not unreasonable in it self, nor blameable in them: In this they were to be blamed, that they did not require them with a mind prepared to receive the truth, and were not content with such miracles, as our SAVIOUR wrought. ^f *Maimonides* tells us, that there were three precepts, which did oblige the *Israelites*, when they came into the land of promise, *viz.* to set over them a king, to destroy the *Amalekites*, and to build a sanctuary or temple. And yet when the *Israelites* demanded a king, we find GOD displeased with them. But then it was not because they desired to set a king over them, but because they desired it amiss, and not לקיים המצוה in order to obey the law, but because they were weary of *Samuel* a good governor. And so in the case before us: The *Jews* require a sign, and it is not to be supposed, that our SAVIOUR was upon that account displeased with them. For their law being confirmed by signs and miracles, it was very reasonable for them to require signs, before they consented to relinquish it. But that was not their fault, that they required a sign. ^t But they came to our SAVIOUR *tempting*, rather than as *sincere learners*, and nothing will serve their turn but a *sign from heaven*. The *Jews* ask our SAVIOUR, what they should *do that they might work the works of GOD*. Our SAVIOUR answered and said unto them. ^u *This is the work of GOD, that ye believe on him, whom he hath sent.* 'Twas their great duty to believe that JESUS was the CHRIST the Son of GOD: The *Jews* do not stop here, but proceed and demand of him a *sign*: *What sign shewest thou then* (said they) *that we may see, and believe thee? What dost thou work?* This was not unreasonable all this while; their fault was, that they would chuse what kind of miracles our SAVIOUR should work, and they must be signs from heaven, and no less seems to be intimated in the following words. *Our fathers did eat manna in the desert: As it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.* They must have miracles of this

^a Chrysost. Tom. 3. p. 276.
Mark viii. 11.

^r Matth. xvi. 4.
^u Joh. iv. 28, 29, 30, 31.

^f H. Melach. c. 1.

^t Matth. xvi. 1.

sort; they are for just such signs, as *Moses* wrought. There was thunder and lightening, and a thick cloud at the giving the law upon mount *Sinai*. They had *manna* from heaven in the wilderness: They must have such signs, as they pitch upon themselves, and thus they tempt *GOD* by indulging their curiosity. Our SAVIOUR wrought many signs and wonders, and did mightily out do *Moses* (as shall be shewed afterward) and all their prophets: And therefore our SAVIOUR did enough to confirm his doctrine and left the *Jews* without excuse.

MIRACLES are then a good testimony, provided we are sure that they are miracles strictly so called. For it hath often happened, that the world hath been cheated with lying wonders. Magicians and impostors have imposed upon men: And it is a matter of some difficulty to discern the difference between a true miracle and a false one, between that which is indeed the finger of *GOD*, and that which is the fraud and artifice of the devil. If *Moses* turn a rod into a serpent, so do the forcerers also; and it might perhaps have puzzled the wisest stander-by to discern the difference between them. It will be very hard many times *ex parte rei* to judge, what miracles are true, and what are falsely so called; but though there be a difficulty in judging *ex parte rei*, yet it is possible to discern true miracles from lying wonders. Else our SAVIOUR's miracles had been in vain, and could not have been brought as a proof, that he was the CHRIST the Son of *GOD*. We may in this weighty matter be preserved from mistake, if we consider it with that due application, which becomes us. I shall therefore now prove.

IV. THAT our SAVIOUR's were true and unexceptionable miracles. My meaning is, that they were a good proof of his doctrine, and that he was, what he professed himself to be, the CHRIST, the Son of *GOD*. And for the farther proof of this I shall offer the following particulars to be considered, not only separately, but in conjunction with one another.

I. THE author of these miracles was JESUS, a person of a most innocent and useful life. Had he been a profligate person, or had he been ever detected of an untruth, the miracles, which he did, would not have been enough to gain him credit. He was far removed from ostentation and vain glory, and a great example of meekness and humility, of purity and peaceableness, of an ardent love to *GOD* and contempt of the world. Nothing but impudent malice could accuse our LORD. He did good to all, and did not hurt the poorest and vilest man in the world. He did not come to destroy, but to save the lives of men. He gained no wealth by his works, who had not where to lay his head. He desired no applause; for he charges those, that saw his works, that they should tell no man. He affected no dominion, and did not make his power of doing these works a step to worldly greatness: Indeed he bids *John the Baptist's* disciples shew *John* the things, which they saw and heard; but this was an effect of his charity to them or to their master, and not because he affected popular fame. He was so innocent a person, that the very judge, who delivered him to death, did pronounce him innocent, and he that betrayed him was overtaken with that horror, that he went and hanged himself: He was judged a righteous person by strangers, and his enemies were forced to make use of false and incoherent witnesses, of loud clamours, and the specious pretence of *Cæsar's* friendship, to procure his death. He spent

spent his time in doing good, and was the greatest example, that ever appeared in the world, of the most spotless purity, the profoundest humility, and the most inflamed and universal charity. The miracles of such a person have a mighty force: For if an holy and good life do very much commend a doctrine, surely such a life as our SAVIOUR'S was, accompanied with the mighty works, which he did, is of great moment to assure us of the truth of what he taught.

2. I CONSIDER next the doctrine which the works, that JESUS did, do confirm: This doctrine was like JESUS himself, holy, just and good: It is the wisest and the best religion in the world, and that which tends to make men good and happy: It does not consist in a number of ceremonies and rituals, a few small and trifling opinions; it is not a doctrine, which promotes a secular and worldly interest, that indulges men in their lusts, and only robs them of their wealth: It is a doctrine, that is holy and innocent, and teaches us to love GOD with our whole heart, and our neighbour as our selves. It permits us not to do any evil, and requires us to do all the good we can: It is far from allowing us to *do* an injury, that it will not suffer us to *revenge* it: It teaches us to be humble and modest, chaste and temperate, very frequent and very fervent in our prayers to GOD, sincere in all our promises and professions, and very bountiful in our mercy, which we shew to the poor and miserable: It is a religion, that requires the service of the heart, that lays before us the best precepts, and propounds the most incomparable rewards. It abstracts us from the world, and puts us upon pursuance of life and immortality. It does not only forbid adultery, murder and theft, but every impure thought, every angry word, every covetous desire: It comports with our wisest faculties, quiets our minds, perfects our natures, kills our lusts, and joys our hearts. It bids us do as we would be done by, obey our superiors, be gentle to our servants, kind to the poor, and just to all men. It allows us not to think any evil, and does strictly require, that we speak evil of no man. It forbids not only all swearing, but all dissimulation, and every idle word. It commends to us patience, contentedness, resignation to the will of GOD, and a thirst after heaven and heavenly things. It is a religion, that is able to make us very wise, and very happy; rendering us at once at peace with GOD, and with one another, and filling our souls with a peace, that passeth all understanding. It is the best security, and the greatest blessing to kingdoms and commonwealths, and all societies of men. It disowns every thing, that is unjust and untrue, that is sneaking and unbecoming, that is low and mean. It designs to conform us to the likeness of GOD: And whoever looks into its laws, may soon discern, that it is a blessed institution, and not a system of craft and worldly policy to keep the world in awe. It is full of weighty principles, of divine and heavenly precepts, and of the most endearing and pathetick motives to obedience. It hath nothing trifling in it; but is fraught with a wisdom that is divine, and is placed above the contempt and scorn of men. It commends it self to the consciences of all, that are ingenuous and inquisitive: And no man will speak evil of it, but a fool that understands it not, or the debauched sinner, who is condemned by its precepts, and justly liable to its severest penalties.

WHEN I speak thus of the *Christian Religion*, I speak of it, as it is in it self, and to them who give up themselves to the obedience of it: *Christianity*, I know, is depraved and greatly corrupted by the church of *Rome*; and

and there are but few of those who understand their religion better than to have only a form of godliness, whilst they continue enemies to the power of it.

3. I CONSIDER in the next place the great design of the miracles, which JESUS did. We shall find, that they tended to the destruction of the devil's kingdom. It was most maliciously and foolishly said by the Pharisees, ^x that our LORD cast out devils by the prince of devils. This is sufficiently refuted by our SAVIOUR. ^y Every kingdom (says he) divided against it self is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against it self shall not stand: And if satan cast out satan, he is divided against himself. How shall then his kingdom stand? And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges. The miracles, which CHRIST did, destroyed the devil's kingdom, and therefore could not be done by his assistance and power: They ^z were a torment to the devil: and when satan was cast out, it must be granted, that it was done by a power superior to that of satan himself. Our LORD cast the devil out of the bodies of men, and did by thus confirming his religion destroy the kingdom of satan in the world. He is forced out of his ancient possessions, and no longer suffered to delude the silly world, as he had done before in his oracles, and by his idolatrous worship and superstition. Our SAVIOUR turn'd him out of his temples, and threw him out of the bodies and hearts of men.

4. I COME in the next place to consider with all possible care and application the works themselves, which JESUS did, with the circumstances and adjuncts, which attended them; and I persuade my self, that the more we consider them, the more we shall believe that they were divine, and consequently a good proof, that JESUS was the CHRIST the Son of GOD.

[1.] THEY ^a were most stupendous works: He raised the dead, and one that had been dead four days, and was interred. He ^b cured the most inveterate and *chronical* diseases, and such as were beyond the help of art. A woman that laboured *twelve years* of an *issue* of blood, that had wasted her estate upon *physicians* without success, was cured with the touch of his garment. He cures another, that *had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years*; that was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up her self: He heals another with a word of his mouth, who *had an infirmity eight and thirty years*: And restores one to his sight, who was *born blind*: He cures the leper, and *Peter's wife's mother*, that was sick of a fever, and *two blind men*, with a touch. He cures the *paralytick*, and dispossesseth the *demoniacks* with a word of his mouth: He multiplies a *few loaves and fishes* to the relief of *five thousand*, and the *fragments* are *many*, when the *first store* was *small*. He cures the *withered hand*, and with a word of his mouth dries up the *barren figtree*. The devils obey his word: he treads on the waters as on a pavement, and checks and contralls the uncertain winds and the raging sea. He restores to health, and raises to life with a word of his mouth, or a touch of his garment. The dead hear his voice, and he does these mighty works without delay and without labour, and not like *Elisha*, 2 King. iv. 33.

[2.] His works were *various* and of *several kinds*: He might have been presumed to have had some particular skill or gift, if he had only cured one

^x Matth. xii. 24. ^y *ibid.* xii. 25. ^z Mar. v. 7. Matth. xii. 29. ^a Joh. xi. ^b Mar. v. 25. Luk. xiii. 13. Joh. v. Joh. ix. Matth. viii. 3, 15. ix. 25. viii. 6, 13, 16. xiv. xii. 13. xxi. 19.

disease : But here's no room left now for suspicion : For ^c he healed all sorts of diseases ; restored the blind, cleansed the lepers, governed the sea and winds, and makes the grave give back its dead. All this could not be imputed to any particular gift or skill : It ^d was never heard, that any man (let him be ever so great an oculist) opened the eyes of one, that was born blind. It must be granted, that here was the hand of GOD.

[3.] THESE were works of *mercy* and *kindness* also, which speaks them to be from GOD. The ^e Heathen could say, *A deo est mortali juvare mortalem* : To do good speaks a divine principle and likeness. The *Jews* had no cause to suspect, that our SAVIOUR was assisted by the devil the enemy of mankind : He might have confirmed his doctrine by terrible miracles, he chuses to do it by great acts of mercy and relief. He might have shaken the pillars of the earth, cast a veil upon the luminaries above, and confirmed his doctrine by thunder and lightening, by tempest and thick darkness, and other terrible effects of his power and displeasure : But our LORD delighted in mercy, and his miracles were so many acts of mercy and relief. He confirms his words, and relieves the afflicted at the same time, and makes joy and gladness where-ever he comes. He cleanseth the lepers, restores the blind and lame, and raises the dead, while the poor have the gospel preached unto them. What great joy must this make, where-ever he comes, to them who were fed, and restored, and dispossessed ? How much joy must this needs bring to the persons relieved, and to all their friends and relations ? He exerts his power to relieve, not to grieve or afflict mankind.

HIS miracles were so many proofs of his mercy, as well as of his power. It was an argument of *power* to dispossess a *demoniack*, but to the possessed it was a great act of *compassion*. 'Twas a great *power*, that multiplied the *loaves* and *fishes*, but it was *bounty* too to do it for the *hungry* multitude. There is required an infinite power to raise a dead man, but 'twas ^f a great act of *compassion* also to raise the only son of the widow of *Naim*. His *turning water into wine* was an act of *mercy* and *relief* : We may suppose, that it was a poor wedding, where the provision was spent, while the guests remain, and in such cases men are generally ashamed, that they are not able to entertain their friends. He *manifested his glory* when he did it, and his *kindness* also. It is a God-like thing to be great and good, and to use power, as our LORD did his, to the rescue and relief of the poor and of the miserable. Our LORD went about doing good : 'Tis the devil, the great enemy of mankind, who goes about seeking whom he may devour. Our LORD's very miracles were acts of great mercy and relief.

It is true, ^g that our LORD cursed the figtree, and destroyed the herd of swine : But then it is to be considered, that the figtree was barren (to say nothing of the enigmatical meaning of that passage) and the swine, which were drowned, were unclean by the law of *Moses* : Besides in both he confirmed his doctrine, and gave great assurance of his power. And it appeared in the case of the *swine*, that the *devils* had no power to hurt those creatures without his leave.

[4.] OUR LORD's miracles were done *publickly*, ^h and not in a *corner*. Our LORD did not shun the light : When the *paralytick* was cured, the *multitude* were witnesses of the cure. And when the *blind* and *dumb* were

^c Matth. iv. 23, 24. ix. 35. ^d Joh. ix. 32. ^e Plin. ^f Luk. vii. 11. ^g Vid. Dr. H. More *Mystery of Godliness. Book 4. chap. 8.* ^h Matth ix. 8. xii. 22, 23. Luk. v. 11, 12. Joh. v. Luk. iv. 33. Joh. xi. 45.

healed,

healed, *all the people were amazed*. When the widow's son of *Naim* was restored to life, *there was much people* with JESUS: When the man was cured, that had been 38 years under his affliction, 'twas done in the city of *Jerusalem*, and at a *festival* when all the tribes were there. The *demoniack* was dispossessed in a *synagogue*, and when *Lazarus* was raised, *many of the Jews were by*.

OUR LORD used no arts to deceive the people: He does his works in an open and *clear light*. And when it so happened, that he did them more privately, he forbids the divulging of what he had done, that there might be no shadow of any artifice or secret contrivance. For our LORD did all things with a great *παρρησία* or freedom; and though he desired not the praise of his works, yet he did them at least so openly, that there could be no suspicion of fraud and imposture.

THIS was an argument of our LORD's sincerity. He wrought miracles, that men might believe, and therefore he wrought these, which did most of all tend to beget this belief in them. For miracles are for the sake of unbelievers, and therefore had need to be wrought, openly among them.

THUS *Moses* wrought his miracles among the unbelieving *Egyptians*: The *prophet* goes to *Bethel*, and shews his sign in the sight of *Jeroboam*: *Elijah* works a miracle in the sight of the *priests* of *Baal*, and our LORD does his before the *multitude*.

THE church of *Rome* talks much of miracles wrought within the verge of her own communion: She maintains doctrines which need confirmation; And if she work miracles, she should send some of her children hither to work them among us, that we might be convinced, or left without a plea. They of her own communion, who believe her doctrines, do not need her miracles: If there be any need of them at all, it is among us, who cannot believe her tenets, till we see them better confirmed, than yet they are. It is to be suspected, that they want that power, which they are not able to make appear. For it is but reasonable, they should be done, where there is need of them.

[5.] OUR LORD's works were perfect and complete; it appeared by the effects, that the work was completely done. When the ⁱ *paralytick* was restored, it did appear to be a perfect ^k cure by his *taking* his *bed* and walking. It is said, that ^l the *dumb spake*, who was restored by our LORD. When he restored the *damosel* ^m to life, she *arose and walked*; And of the widow's son of *Naim* it is said, that he *that was dead sate up, and began to speak*. And of ⁿ *Lazarus* it is said, *that he came forth with his grave cloaths about him*. When he ^o cured the man that was born blind, he *came seeking* from the pool of *Siloam*. And when ^p he turned the water into wine, the effect was discerned by the company. Of the ^q *demoniack* that was dispossessed it is said, that *he was found sitting at the feet of JESUS clothed and in his right mind*. And the ^r poor man, that lay helpless at the pool of *Bethesda*, *takes up his bed and walks*. When JESUS ^s fed the multitude, he did not delude them with shadows and phantastick food, and with the bare accidents of bread and fish, but they did *all eat and were filled*. The effect was very discernable, they were not imposed upon by *spectrums*, and collusions, and pious frauds.

ⁱ Matth. ix. 2. ^k Matth. ix. 32. ^l Mar. v. 42. ^m Luk. vii. 15. ⁿ Joh. xi. 44. ^o Joh. ix. 7.
^p Joh. ii. ^q Luk. viii. 35. ^r Joh. v. ^s Matth. xiv. 20.



C H A P. VI.

The miracles which JESUS did, compared with those which were really wrought by the hands of Moses; with the pretended stories of the church of Rome; and with those recorded of Apollonius Tyanæus and some other heathens: Of the sufficient assurance, which we have, that JESUS did those works, which are reported of him.

BEFORE I proceed to consider, what may be objected against the above mentioned particulars; I shall, for the farther confirmation thereof, shew, that the works which JESUS did, were greater works, than ever were done by any other person whatsoever. And to that purpose I shall compare our SAVIOUR'S miracles with those true and divine miracles, which *Moses* wrought; with the pretended miracles of the church of *Rome*, and those which are storied in the writings of the heathens, and more especially such as are told of *Apollonius Tyanæus*.

I. I SHALL consider the miracles, which were wrought by the hands of *Moses*. ¹ *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face. In all the signs and the wonders, which the LORD sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh and to all his servants, and to all his land, and in all that mighty hand, and in all that great terror, which Moses shewed in the sight of Israel.* Upon the account of the miracles which *Moses* did, he was mightily famed among the heathens, as he was more especially among his own countrymen the *Jews*. The ² *Jews* magnifie *Moses* above the rest of their prophets; and one of their late writers sums up the miracles of *Moses*, and those of the *other prophets* from the beginning to the destruction of their first temple; and affirm, that the miracles wrought by *Moses*, or upon his account, exceed the number of those, which were wrought by all the prophets together. For whereas all the prophets for the space of above three thousand years wrought but 74 miracles, the miracles of *Moses* alone were 76. I shall not examine his account (let it be as it will) but I shall shew, that his works are not to be compared with those, which our JESUS did.

I SHALL especially consider the miracles, which were wrought in *Egypt*; particularly those miracles, which were then done in order to the bringing out the *Israelites* from the bondage, in which they were.

AND I must needs confess, that they were mighty works, and such as did plainly speak a supernatural and a divine power. And I ought not by any means to disparage those mighty works. I shall, before I proceed any farther, shew you, that those miracles were such, as did indeed give sufficient credit to the mission of *Moses*, and abundantly confirm the truth of

¹ Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11, 12.

² Menasseh B. Israel conciliat.

his words. And that will appear, if we consider seriously these three things.

FIRST, The plagues themselves, which were miraculously inflicted. These were such works, as were above the power of any creature. The works themselves declare a divine power. It is true they were not all alike, and the *Magicians* did the same works, which *Moses* did, for a while. They turned their *rods* into *serpents*, and *water* into *blood*, and brought *frogs* upon the land of *Egypt*, as well as *Moses*: These *Magicians* went as far as they could. And it amounts to no more than this, that they were able to *inflict* some evils upon their country, but not able to *remove* them. For though it be said that the *magicians* brought the frogs upon the land of *Egypt*; yet it is also said that when *Pharaoh* would have them *taken away*, he applied himself to *Moses* and *Aaron*; which he would never have done, if the *magicians* could have done it for him: nay, more than this, these *magicians* were out-done by *Moses* after this. They attempted to imitate him, but could not; they were not able to bring forth *lice*, as *Moses* did: ² *Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God.* They were forced to confess a divine power.

SECONDLY, The difference between the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites* during these *plagues*. This was indeed very miraculous, and an evident proof not only of the *divine power*, but also of *God's* more special care of the *Israelites* his people, whom he sent *Moses* to bring out of *Egypt*. And we have very remarkable instances to this purpose, *viz.* ^a that of the *swarms of flies*, which infested the *Egyptians*, but were not in the dwellings of the *Israelites*; that of the *murrain*, which fell upon the cattel of *Egypt*, and not upon those of *Israel*; and that of the *darkness* upon the *Egyptians*, when the children of *Israel* had *light in their dwellings*: Again, that of the *death* of the *first-born* of the *Egyptians*, when the *first-born* of *Israel* escaped. This difference was made, that ^b it might be known, that *God was the Lord in the midst of the earth*. These things could not be supposed casually to happen; but were a great proof of *God's* providence and care, as well as of his being and his power.

THIRDLY, I consider, after what manner these plagues were removed. For the very *removal* as well as the *infliction* speaks a divine hand in all this. We do not find the *magicians* able to remove, however they were suffered to *inflict* a *plague*. But *Moses* does not only *remove* the *plague*, but (which is well worthy our observation) does it *at the time appointed*. Thus in the case of the *frogs*, he leaves it to *Pharaoh* to set the precise time, when the frogs shall be removed; and removes them accordingly, that ^c *thou mayst know* (says *Moses* unto him) *that there is none like unto the Lord our God*. The same may be observed of the ^d *swarm of flies*, and of the *thunder and hail*.

THESE things put together do speak the hand of *God* in the mighty works, which were wrought by *Moses*, and were sufficient *proofs*, that *Moses* was sent by *God*, and were enough to convince at once both the *Egyptians* as well as the sons of *Israel*. But whatever these works of *Moses* were, yet they came far short of the works which *Jesus* did.

I SHALL not need to say, that the works of *Jesus* were ^e more in number than those of *Moses*; when it is apparent, that in that respect they

^a Exod. vii. 12, 22. viii. 7. ^b Exod. viii. 7, 8. ^c ibid. viii. 19. ^d Exod. viii. 22, 23. ix. 4, 6. x. 23. xi. 7. ^e ibid. viii. 23. ^f Exod. viii. 9, 10, 29. ^g ibid. ix. 29. ^h Joh. xx. 30. with chap. xxi. 25.

were more than those of *Moses* and all the other prophets, beside. For besides the many works, which we read that *JESUS* did in a little time, we are assured that he did very many more, which are not written. I shall therefore insist only upon the following particulars.

1. I CONSIDER the works themselves, which *JESUS* did; and we shall soon find, that they do very much transcend those of *Moses*. ^f *If I had not done among them the works, which none other man did* (says *JESUS*) *they had not had sin*. The works which our *LORD* did, were very *stupendous* and *convincing*. Some of the works which *Moses* did, the *Magicians* did also; and for the rest they came short of the works of *JESUS*: Indeed by the hands of *Moses* the *dust* is turned into *lice*, and *Egypt* is plagued with *flies* and *murrain*, *darkness*, *frogs*, and *hail*; with the *death* of their *cattel*, and of their *first-born*. But *JESUS* did greater works than these. He *cures* the *blind*, heals the *most inveterate diseases*, and *raises* the *dead* to *life*. It is a greater instance of power to *save* than to *destroy*, to *cure* the *sick* than to *make them so*; and to *raise* one man to *life* speaks a *greater power* than to *slay thousands*. And he that *cured* a man, that was *born blind*, does more by far, than he who turned a *rod* into a *serpent*, or *water* into *blood*. Every little thing deprives us of life and health; to *save* and to *restore* speaks the greatest power. Nay ^g *JESUS* (or *Joshua*) the son of *Nun*, an eminent type of our *LORD*, does a greater work, when he stopped the sun in his course, than any of those which *Moses* did in *Egypt*.

2. I CONSIDER the power of working. *Moses* was but an *instrument*, and could not work miracles at all times: *JESUS* was indeed the author of those, which he wrought: *GOD* tells *Moses*, ^h *I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders, which I will do in the midst thereof*. And again, *See that thou do all those wonders, which I have put in thine hand*. And we find *Moses* directed by *GOD*, when the miracle should be wrought; and when *Moses* had wrought it, and brought a plague upon the *Egyptians*, he is not able to remove the *same plague* without *crying unto GOD*. So that the miracles are altogether *GOD's*, not the work of *Moses*.

JESUS ⁱ was the author of the mighty works which he did, and he did them *whenever he pleased*: He did them by a *word* of his *mouth*, or a *touch* of his *garment*; when he was *present*, and when he was at a *distance*: Nothing withstands his *power*, or resists his *will*: *What things soever he* [the Father] *doth, these also doth the Son*. More yet, our *SAVIOUR* conferred this power upon others: Upon the *seventy*, and upon his *twelve Apostles*; and, after his ascension into heaven, his followers retained a power of doing miracles in the name of *JESUS CHRIST*.

3. THE works of *JESUS* were better than the works of *Moses*. *They were arguments* not only of *greater power*, but of *greater goodness*. The works of *Moses* in *Egypt* were at first but so many *plagues*; but our *LORD's* miracles were actions of *rescue*, works of *mercy* and *relief*. 'Tis a more blessed and God-like thing to *save* than to *destroy*. *Moses* his works speak dread and terror. And all along we see the face of great severity. He comes into *Egypt* with a *rod*, and (as if that had not imported sufficient terror) he turns that *rod* into a *serpent*; and instead of turning the *water*

^f Joh. xv. 24. ^g Josh. x. 12. ^h Exod. iii. 10. iv. 21. vii. 9; 19. viii. 16. viii. 12, 21, 30. ⁱ Joh. v. 19. Luk. x. Matth. x.

into wine, he turns it into blood. He sends most uncomfortable creatures such as *frogs*, and *lice*, and *flies* amongst them. He inflicts *murrain* upon the *cattel*, and *boils* and *blains* upon the *people*. After this he sends *hail* with *fire* and *thunder*; and smote *man* and *beast*, as well as every *herb*, and *brake* every *tree*. After this the whole earth is covered with devouring *locusts*, and with thick *darkness*; and the *first-born* are *killed*, and the *Egyptians* drowned in the midst of the sea. When the law was given in the wilderness, you find mention of *thunder* and *lightening*, and a *thick cloud*, and the *voice* of a *trumpet* exceeding *loud*. The ^k mount was on a *smoke*, the LORD descended in *fire*, the *smoke* whereof was like the *smoke* of a *furnace*, and the whole mount quaked greatly. These things were very terrible, and so were other works, which we read of afterward; which spoke indeed the *presence* and *power* of GOD, but then they spoke his *anger* too. The sons of *Aaron* were destroyed by *fire*, *Miriam* is struck with *leprosie*, the *earth* swallowed up *Korah* and his company, and the *fiery serpents* plague the *people*.

ON the other hand our LORD saves, but he doth not destroy: Instead of killing or inflicting plagues and diseases upon men; he feeds the hungry, cures the sick, cleanseth the lepers, restores the blind and lame, dispossesseth the *demoniacs*, and raises the dead.

4. OUR SAVIOUR confirmed his doctrine by raising himself from the dead. *Moses* died, as well as the other prophets; and though the *Jews* tell us (upon a trifling ground) that he did die by the kiss of GOD's mouth, and not after the ordinary manner of men; yet they cannot deny that he died; and 'tis not affirmed by any that he rose from the dead. He died on this ¹ side the land of *promise*, and was buried over against *Beth Peor*; but the *Jews* are so far from affirming that he rose again, that they knew not where his sepulchre or place of burial was: So that there was no room left for their fraud: None could take away his body, and pretend, that he was risen from the dead. Our blessed SAVIOUR did rise from the dead, notwithstanding all the art used to prevent it, as well as the spreading of it. He had many witnesses of his resurrection, some whereof sealed the truth with their blood.

II. I SHALL consider the pretended miracles of the church of *Rome*; not that I think them worthy to be compared with those of our blessed SAVIOUR: But that church hath boasted of miracles, and we have large accounts of the wonders, which have been wrought within the verge of her own communion. And not to enlarge too far, I shall confine my self to those three marks, or *κρίτηρια*, which a learned writer, discoursing of this argument, hath pitched upon.

I. WHEREAS the miracles, which JESUS wrought, were *grave* and *serious* works, *substantial*, and such as proclaimed the *power* and *goodness* and the *wisdom* of the author of them; there is nothing more *ridiculous* and *trifling*, than many of those which are reported to be done in the church of *Rome*. Such are the many stories, which are told of our SAVIOUR and the *Virgin Mary*: They tell us, that she frequently comes from heaven, offers her self in marriage, and brings knacks along with her, and bestows them upon her friends and familiars: They tell us also of our SA-

^k Exod. xix.

¹ Deut. xxxiv. 8.

VIOUR, that he appears in his mother's arms as a little child, that sometimes he goes from her, and that he was once almost lost in the snow. They tell us, that in the virgin *Mary's* house in *Nazareth* upon discontent removed from thence, and travail'd from place to place, for the space of about two thousand miles, till it sat down at *Loretto*. They tell us, that when one of their preachers, who was blind preached, though there were no auditors to hear him; yet the stones, that were about him, cryed out *Amen* at his concluding: I am ashamed to report the ridiculous stories, which they tell; of men, who carried their heads in their hands, after they had been beheaded, for several miles together; of others, who spake after they were dead; of sheep and asses running to hear St. *Francis* preach, and of swine falling dead under his curse: Of St. *Dominick*, who hung in the air like a *bird*, and at his devotions forcing the devil to hold a light, and burn his fingers at that service: Of *Christina*, who contracted her self at prayer into a round form like that of an *hedghog*, and who could climb the highest trees like a *squirrel*, and swim in rivers like a *fish*: Of *Catharine* of *Sienna*, who desired a new heart, and thereupon CHRIST came to her, opened her breast, took out her heart, goes away with it and brings another, and tells her, that it was his own: I will not entertain you with the stories of the sweating, and speaking, and motion of their images; of the great feats, which have been done by the relicks of saints and holy water, and such like things: Such pranks as these are reported, which look more like the feats of demons, of hob-goblins and fairies, than the finger of God: The works of *Jesus* spake the great wisdom, power and goodness of God; they were works of great mercy and relief. But these stories are romances and false representations, or, which is worse, they look like the works of an evil spirit, who is abroad ready to deceive them, who obey not the truth. These things can serve no good and wise purpose, and that is not all, for they serve a very evil one. These false stories are a temptation to men to question the true: Men will be too ready to suspect the miracles of CHRIST, when they find themselves imposed upon by those, who profess themselves his followers.

2. THE miracles, which CHRIST did, were to confirm the truth of the *Christian* doctrine: But these pretended miracles are brought to confirm a doctrine, which CHRIST and his *Apostles* never taught. They taught all the necessary doctrines of faith and obedience, and confirmed them in such a manner, that though an angel from heaven should now preach any other gospel, we ought not to receive it, *Gal. i. 8, 9*. Indeed were the works of the church of *Rome* like our SAVIOUR's works, and their doctrine the same with his, these works would be of great use to convince unbelievers; but not at all requisite, where the doctrine was believed before. As for the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, either it is the same with that of the *holy scriptures*, or it is not. If it be the same, there is no need of miracles (especially among them who believe the *holy scriptures*) to confirm that, which hath been sufficiently confirmed already: But if it be not the same, we are not to regard miracles in that case. Nay if an apostle or an angel from heaven should preach another gospel, let him be accursed.

BUT we shall find, that the pretended miracles in the church of *Rome* are alledged for the confirmation of the novel doctrines of that church, not of

the *Christian* doctrine taught by CHRIST and his *Apostles*. We are told, that CHRIST spake intelligibly several times out of the water to a *Spanish Franciscan*: Again, that upon the altar he turned himself from the form of a consecrated wafer, into that of a little child; and then from that of a child, to that of a wafer: Again, that a woman's bees not thriving, she stole a consecrated wafer, and put it into one of her hives: The devout bees in honour to that, fall to work, and with their honey-combs make a little church, with windows, with roof and door, with belfry and altar, upon which they laid the host, and did fly about it continually, praising the LORD: All this is for the confirmation of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, a doctrine which CHRIST never taught, and which contradicts our sense and our reason at the same time. And the stories, which they tell, of the *sweating* and *motion* of their *images*, serve only to advance the worshipping of *images*: In a word, their works are trifling and vain, and their doctrine is impious and false, and, to say the least of it, not revealed by GOD.

3. THE miracles which CHRIST did, were *seasonable*, and *necessary* at that time to confirm his doctrine; whether we consider the *obstinacy* of the *Jews*, or the *idolatry* of the *Gentiles*. Upon both accounts it was needful, that the *Christian* doctrine should be confirmed with miracles, and so it was: But the *popish* miracles are out of time; there is no need of them to confirm the *Christian* doctrine, where it is already planted. Miracles are for the sake of unbelievers, and as the world grew *Christian*, they ceased; nor is it to be imagined, that GOD will work them without any cause at all.

IN the old Testament we shall find, that the greatest number of miracles were wrought by *Moses* their law-giver in *Egypt* and in the wilderness, before and upon the giving the law; No man wrought so many miracles, nay, not all the succeeding prophets together, as he wrought. Thus was the law confirmed: And when this was done, you rarely read of miracles wrought afterward; when the *Jews* had received and continued in the profession of the law of *Moses*. The greatest number, that were wrought afterward was, when there was the greatest reason for them; and that was, after *Jeroboam* had revolted from the worship of GOD, and set up his calves in *Dan* and *Bethel*, and no less than ten tribes revolted with him. Then indeed there were some number of miracles wrought to convince them of their sin, and reduce them from their schism: Then was the altar at *Bethel* cleft in pieces; *Jeroboam's* hand withered, and restored as miraculously upon the prayer of the man of GOD. And these miracles were wrought in *Bethel*, among the schismatics, which were to be convinced and reduced. Then *Elijah* shut up the heavens; is miraculously fed by the ravens; multiplies the meal, and raises to life the widow's son; he calls for fire from heaven, and fasts forty days; and destroys the captains and their fifties by the fire, which he called for. He divides *Jordan* with his garment, and is miraculously taken up into heaven: And *Elisha*, during this time, did many wonderful works also: He divides the river, heals the water, encreases the widow's oyl; foretells that the *Shunamite* should have a child, and raised it from the dead. He removes the *death* that was in the *pot*, miraculously feeds the people, and heals *Naaman* of his leprosie; He causeth *iron* to *swim*, strikes *Gehazi* with a *leprosie*, and the enemies of *Israel* with blindness; and his dry bones, after all these things,

which he did in his life, restored one that was dead to life again. Thus in a little time many miracles were wrought, more than had been wrought before and after for some hundreds of years. So that the greatest number of miracles were wrought upon the giving the law, and upon the greatest defection from it, and only designed to confirm the truth and convince gain-sayers.

BUT what means the church of *Rome* to boast of miracles? If they be wrought in her own communion, they serve no purpose: There's no need of a miracle, where men believe without it. Their miracles are done at a great distance from us, who are to be convinced; and such they are, which we cannot see at all, or else we may easily see through them.

ONE thing we are sure of, *viz.* that their doctrine is false, and then we shall have no cause to be drawn aside with lying miracles: The *Israelites* had warning in this cause, and so have we *Christians* also, not to believe against our rule any pretence whatsoever. *Deut.* xiii. 1. *Gal.* i. 8, 9. And we are forewarned of false people, who should pretend to miracles, *Matth.* xxiv. 24. 2 *Thessal.* ii. 9. *Rev.* xiii. 13.

III. I SHALL proceed to consider the miracles, which are storied of the heathens.

I WILL not descend to all the stories, that may be found upon record to this purpose; because, besides that we want sufficient evidence of the truth of those matters of fact; so they are not worthy of consideration, being things of trifling regard; and such as import no advantage to mankind. Such is that, which ⁿ *Celsus* mentions of *Abaris*, who could fly into the air, and keep pace with an arrow in that flight. And that ^o of the speaking of an *image* in *Valerius Maximus*. The ^p cutting a *whet-stone* in two with a razor by *Attius Navius*. The sweating of an *image* of *Apollo* at *Cumæ*, and of that of *Victory* at *Capua*; and that of the *shields* which were gnawed by the *mice*; the extraordinary swelling of the *Lacus Albanus*: That of the serpent, which followed *Æsculapius*, when he sailed to *Rome*, and of the *Vestal Virgin*, which took up water out of *Tyber*, and kept it in a *sieve*. These things are trifling and mean, and they who report them, do it not with sufficient assurance, but upon traditions and common fame, and not upon their certain and personal knowledge.

As for what is storied of *Vespasian* and *Adrian's* curing the blind, I shall not need to say any more than this, That if those reports be true, they are far short of what our SAVIOUR did; nor do we read of any, who laid down their lives in testimony thereof. And as I do not deny, that there have been providential miracles out of the *Church* of God; so it is not to be wondered at, that the devil should exert his utmost power to keep men in error, and, as much as may be, endeavour to imitate God himself.

AND more particularly for the right understanding of what is storied of *Vespasian* and of *Adrian*, I shall desire it may be considered.

THAT ^q what is reported of *Vespasian* to this purpose, cannot fairly be denied, it being affirmed by very good authors. And therefore I admit, that he did such miraculous cures, as are told of him. But then it is to be considered, ^r that he was not only an excellent *prince*, but that very *person*,

ⁿ Origen contra Cels. l. 3.
Dei, l. 10. c. 16.

^o Valerius Maxim. l. 1. c. 8.

^q Tacit. Histor. l. 4.

^p Augustin. de civitat.
^r Sueton. Vespasian.

who was to execute God's displeasure against the *Jews*, for rejecting and crucifying *JESUS*. And no wonder that God should honour him with an extraordinary power, whom he employed in so great a work: especially if it be considered, that upon his coming to the empire at first (as *Suetonius* tells us) he *wanted majesty and authority*, which was supplied by this means. Nor is there any thing in this, that does at all derogate from the works of *JESUS*. But then what is storied of *Adrian* to the same purpose, we have not the same cause to believe; and the ¹ very Historian, which reports it, gives us at the same time ground to believe, that what is related was but fraud and collusion: And who ever will be at the pains to consider, what account *Ælius Spartianus* gives of that matter, will see great cause to suspect, that upon the whole matter there was an artifice and trick used.

THE greatest pretender, which I know of, is *Apollonius Tyaneus*, who is famed for a great worker of miracles, and hath been set up against our SAVIOUR, as one that might at least vie with him: But without sufficient ground or reason, as will appear from the following particulars.

1. BECAUSE the history, that gives the account of this man's actions, is not of that credit by many degrees, as that which gives the account of the works of *JESUS*: As for this account of *JESUS*, we have it from men who lived in his time, and were eye-witnesses of the things which they affirm. But the account, which we have of *Apollonius*,² is this: *Damis* was his familiar, he wrote his travels, and his words and predictions: A familiar of *Damis* acquaints *Julia* with it: *Julia* commands *Philostratus* to transcribe the commentaries of *Damis*, who had not written them dexterously; *Philostratus* out of these commentaries, and a book of one *Maximus*, which he happened to light upon, writes his books of the life of *Apollonius*, as he himself informs us.

2. THAT all that is said to this purpose, does not amount to a miracle. It is said, that he cured a youth of a *Dropsie*; But is he therefore to be compared with our SAVIOUR, who cured all diseases, and raised the dead? Or must that be thought a miracle, which a wise physician may do? He is said to have done it by precepts of temperance. But as that is a moral instrument, so 'tis a natural one too. And the practice of that, would go farther towards the preventing and curing more diseases, than ever *Apollonius* could pretend unto.

3. THAT in some of the pranks, which he played, he was guilty of manifest impiety: He is said to have cured a man bitten by a mad dog, by making the dog lick the man; but then he is said to have cured the dog also, by praying to the river *Cydus* (an act of idolatry) and flinging the dog into the stream. He is said to have freed the city of *Ephesus* from a plague, but to have done it by perswading the *Ephesians* to stone a beggar, and then the *Ephesians* are said to have erected an image to *Hercules Apotropæus* in the place, where the beggar was stoned; so that the *Ephesians* were not brought off from the worship of false gods by the works of *Apollonius*.

4. BESIDES it is evident from other passages, that *Apollonius* was an evil man; a great dictator and intermeddler with political affairs, a proud and

¹ *Ælius Spartianus, Adrian.*

² *Philostat. de vit. Apollonii. l. 1.*

haughty man : One that vaunted of his great knowledge, and yet was ignorant; he pretended to understand all languages, and to know the thoughts of men, and yet he could not discourse with king *Phraotes* without an interpreter.

HAVING thus far discoursed of the miracles, which JESUS did, and shewed you, how good a proof they are, that he was the CHRIST. I shall proceed to consider, what may be objected against what hath been hitherto said : And though there are several things, that might fall under consideration upon this head; yet I know but one thing of any great moment, viz.

Obj. SOME man may enquire, What sufficient assurance we can have, that JESUS did those works, which are reported of him? For though the works reported (all things considered) be an unexceptionable proof of the truth of the *Christian* doctrine; yet it may still be objected, that we cannot be fully assured, that JESUS lived and did those things, which we read of in the Evangelists.

IN answer to this, I desire the following particulars may be considered.

1. THAT it is sufficient, that this be proved by such ways and means, as the thing is capable of: No man can reasonably require a strict demonstration, where the matter of the question will not bear it. If we have such a complication of moral arguments, as will satisfy a wise and inquisitive man, it is enough. And there are many things, which we believe, without any manner of doubt or wavering; to the belief of which we are gained by this method. We believe those things to be unquestionably true, which yet we have not such weighty grounds to believe. And it is an argument, that we are very perverse, if we except against those arguments here, which we admit every where else.

2. THAT the matters of fact are confessed by strangers to, and enemies of the *Christian Religion*. That there was such a person as JESUS, and that he did mighty works; that he was followed by such men, whose names we find in the Gospels, the *Jews* themselves confess. They deny not, that he did wonderful works, but they impute them to the devil, and by doing so they tacitly confess, that he undoubtedly did them. When *Hierocles* compares *Apollonius* with JESUS, he doth not question, whether there was such a man or not. The matter of fact was not denied by *Jew* or *Gentile*: The first *Christians* were not charged with having forged the history of the Gospel.

OF all men in the world, the *Jews* have no reason to question the truth of the matter of fact reported in the Gospels: And therefore * *Origen* doth deservedly reprove *Celsus*, when he feigns a *Jew* objecting against the credibility of the Gospel history: And he tells us, what he himself, in a disputation which he had with some of the wise men of the *Jews*, said to them upon this occasion; his words are these. *Tell me, since there were two persons, who lived in the world; of whom were storied incredible things, and such as are above human nature, viz. Moses your law-giver, who wrote of himself; and JESUS our teacher, who wrote nothing of himself; but is testified of by his disciples in the Gospels: What reason is there, that Moses should be esteemed worthy of belief, whom the Egyptians re-*

* Euseb. contra Hierocl. l. 7. id. l. 2.

‡ Origen contra. Cels. l. 1.

proached for a magician; and that JESUS should not be believed, because ye accuse him?

3. THAT we have no reason at all to suspect those books, which give us the history of these things. If we be allowed to suspect an ancient history, yet we ought not to do it without just cause. Either because the author is not known, or is of no credit; or because it appears that the writing hath been corrupted, or we have some collateral evidence, which moves us to withhold our assent. Nothing of this can be said in the present case: These books are not *anonymous*, and all men are agreed, that they were written by those men, whose names they bear. These men are not to be suspected, for they wrote of things which they saw, and of those times in which they lived. It could not be their interest to put a cheat upon the world, but against all their interest in this and the other world too. There is a perfect harmony and agreement among them: and all the marks and tokens of sincerity that we can desire.

It cannot be denied indeed, but that in the writings of these men there is some variety, and that they seem not to speak consistently with one another in some of their relations.

BUT then they all agree in the main story; and, generally speaking, it is not hard to account for the seeming opposition in their relations: And it is to be supposed, that our ignorance of the history, and the phraseology, and usages of those times and countries is the true reason, why they seem to thwart with one another, when really they do not. Besides, it is an argument, that these men did not combine and lay their heads together to put a trick upon the world. For if they had (which they could have no cause to do) it would have been no hard matter to have avoided not only contradiction (which they have done) but the very appearance of such a thing.

THESE writers give great proofs of their sincerity: They give none at all of their ostentation and vain-glory. *Eusebius* ^v hath well observed, that St. *Matthew* discovers the baseness of his employment, before he followed CHRIST. He alone tells us, that he was a *Publican*: And St. *Mark* (who wrote his Gospel by the direction, and with the knowledge of St. *Peter*) speaks sparingly of those things, which tended to St. *Peter's* praise, tho' he very much enlargeth in relating of his faults.

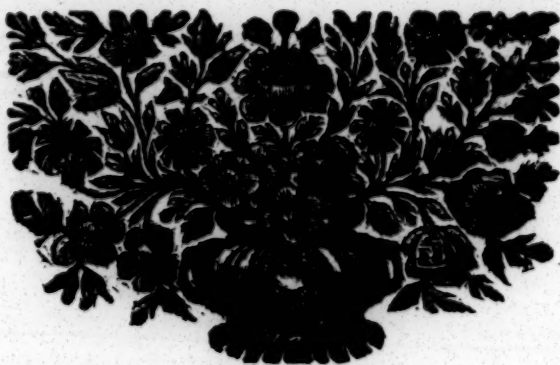
4. THAT the Gospel hath been so generally received, is an argument of the truth of it: A lie hath no feet, and cannot stand long without being discovered. *Facile res in suam naturam recidunt, ubi veritas non subest*. There were a great many eyes upon the *Christian* Religion, when it advanced in the world, and it did not want subtle and inquisitive enemies. The fraud would have been detected, if there had been any: It was entertained by men of wit and learning, and such as made diligent enquiry after truth.

5. It did not spread by *force* and *blood*, as the *Turkish* Religion hath done; not by *craft* and worldly *policy*, not by human *arts* and *religious cheats*; but by *suffering* and by *tears*, by *hardships* and by *severities*. Men were willing to shed their blood in testimony of it; and part with all, that was dear to flesh and blood. All our ancient books tell us, that

^v Euseb. demonstrat. l. 3. sect. 5.

this was the duty and practice of *Christians*; tho' men do not use to be forward to lose their lives, and all the comforts of life to confirm a lie: And we must think those men void of all sense, that would die to confirm a forgery and lie, when their death would serve to confirm a Religion, which severely forbids all lying and dissimulation, And though some men may have died in a false belief, or a belief of some principles which are not really (though to them they seem to be) true; yet it is not credible, that a great number of men should be content to die in confirmation of a matter of fact, which they knew to be false, or did not know to be true. When *Arrius Antoninus* persecuted the *Christians* in *Asia*, they came about his tribunal, and offered themselves to death; which made him cry out ¹Ω δειλοί, ² O wretched men, can ye not find precipices or halters to take away your lives? 'Tis a great argument of the truth of these things, that men were forward to confirm them with their blood.

² Tertullian. ad Scapul.





C H A P. VII.

That the MESSIAS, according to the predictions of him, was to suffer. This proved against the Jews. Of the vanity of their twofold MESSIAS, the son of Joseph, and the son of David. The reason why the Jews make use of this pretence. That JESUS did suffer. That he suffered those things, which the MESSIAS was to suffer, Luk. xxiv. 26, 49. and Act. iii. 18. considered. That Zech. ix. 9. must be understood of the MESSIAS, is proved against the Jews at large. Of the kind of CHRIST's death. Crucifixion was none of the Jewish capital punishments. Of the Brazen serpent, Numb. xxi. John iii. 14. considered. The Jewish writers acknowledge, that the brazen serpent was symbolical, and spiritually to be understood. Of the time when JESUS suffered, that it did exactly agree with the type of the sufferings of the MESSIAS: A large digression concerning this matter. Exod. xii. 6. considered: Castalio justly censured for his ill rendering that place. Of the two evenings among the Jews. The ground we have for it in the Scriptures. The testimony of R. Solomon. Of the practice of the Jewish nation, as to the time of offering their evening sacrifice, and the passover: This shewed from their best authors. An objection from Deut. xvi. 6. answered. JESUS died at that time, when the Paschal lamb was to be slain. Of the place, and many other particulars relating to the sufferings of JESUS. Of the great causes and reasons of the sufferings of JESUS. Of the Burial of JESUS.

I SHALL now proceed to the consideration of the sufferings of JESUS, and from thence prove, that our JESUS is the CHRIST.

THAT JESUS did suffer, the *Jews* do confess, and they make no scruple to grant it. And he is upon that score reproached by them, and upon the same account his disciples and followers have been scorned by the world, who professed a faith in a crucified SAVIOUR, and expected to be saved by him, who did not so much as save himself from the most painful and ignominious death.

WHEN I speak of the suffering of JESUS, I mean his sufferings in the largest sense, and not only his *Death*: However I shall principally consider his death here, and from that especially shall prove him to be the CHRIST. And for the better speaking to this whole matter I shall proceed in this method.

FIRST,

FIRST, I shall shew, that the MESSIAS, who was promised, was to suffer.

SECONDLY, That JESUS did suffer.

THIRDLY, That from the sufferings of our JESUS it does appear, that he is the CHRIST.

FOURTHLY, I shall enquire after the causes or reasons of the sufferings of CHRIST.

LASTLY, I shall direct you to some practical application.

I. I SHALL shew, that the MESSIAS promised of old was to suffer. And this especially against the *Jews*, who do not deny that JESUS suffered, but do deny him to be the MESSIAS the son of *David*, because he suffered. This is the scandal of the cross, at which the *Jews* stumble and fall. Here they are offended, and at a stand. Now that the MESSIAS was to suffer, and that JESUS ought not to be rejected upon that account, will appear, if we consider the following particulars.

FIRST, I must premise, that it is a very unreasonable thing, that JESUS should be reproached or rejected upon the score of his sufferings. The *Jews* have no cause for this reason to scorn him, as they commonly do: For his sufferings do not speak him an evil person, or one unfit to deliver and save his followers from the greatest evils, *viz.* from the power and evil effects of our sins.

I GRANT indeed, that he was mean and very poor: And what then? Was not the *Jewish* law-giver *Moses* so also? Was he not exposed to the waters, forced to fly his country, and tend upon a flock in a foreign kingdom? Was not *Jacob*, the father of the *Jewish* tribes, a poor *Syrian* ready to perish? Or had he any thing more than his staff, when he went to *Padan Aram*? Was not *David*, from whom the MESSIAS was to descend, a keeper of his father's sheep?

IF JESUS suffered, and was put to death, What then? Have not these things been the lot and portion of the most righteous men in the world? Was not righteous *Abel* killed, when wicked *Cain* lived and built a city? Is it any blot upon the memory of *David*, that he was persecuted? Of *Zechariah*, that he was stoned? Or of *Isaiah*, that he was sawn in sunder? Are the holy men and prophets of old to be rejected, because they suffered reproaches, or were put to death? Why should JESUS then be rejected for this reason? This does not speak him an evil man.

THE *Jews* very well know, what the *Psalmist* says of the sufferings of GOD's own people. ^a O GOD, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled, they have laid Jerusalem on heaps: The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to meat unto the fowls of the heaven; the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth: Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them: We are become a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us.

THESE were indeed severe sufferings, and upon whom did they light? The text informs us, that they fell upon GOD's inheritance, upon his servants, and saints: And what ever reproach this was to the heathen, who inflicted these sufferings, it is none at all to the sufferers themselves.

^a Psal. lxxix. 1, 2, 3, 4.

IN a word, very excellent men among the *Jews*, and the best among the heathens were poor, and suffered the greatest evils, and no wise man ever thought the worse of these sufferers; and it is therefore very unjust to reject JESUS merely upon that account. I add,

SECONDLY, That it was foretold by GOD himself, that the MESSIAS should suffer. I shall not give in all the particulars, which make for this purpose.

THAT of *Isaiah*, chap liii. is most clear and remarkable to my present purpose. In that chapter the sufferings of the MESSIAS are graphically described: And there never was any people or person, to whom all those particulars recited in that chapter could belong, but to our blessed SAVIOUR, who is the MESSIAS there foretold. The *Jews* (I mean the more ancient among them) understood that place of the MESSIAS; and whereas among the later *Jews* we shall find some interpret them to another sense, (whether of the people of *Israel*, *Josiah*, or some other person) yet it is manifest, and ^b hath been made so, that the words must be understood of the MESSIAS; and were never fulfilled by any people or any other person whatsoever. To whom else can those words belong, but to the MESSIAS? And in whom were they ever fulfilled, but in our JESUS only, where it is said: *He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs?* For never was there a sorrow like that of our JESUS: Where shall we find a person to whom the following words can belong? *He hath born our griefs, and carried our sorrows: He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* And as these sufferings could be the sufferings of none, but of the MESSIAS only; so the patient bearing them must belong to him too, and was remarkably accomplished in our JESUS: *He was oppressed, and he was afflicted; yet he opened not his mouth: He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.* I shall afterward have occasion also to shew, how remarkably the following words also were fulfilled in our JESUS, as they were foretold of the MESSIAS; where 'tis said, that *he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.*

IN the first promise of the MESSIAS, it was intimated that he should suffer, it being predicted that ^c the serpent's seed should bruise the heel of the seed of the woman.

I MIGHT to this purpose shew at large from the *old Testament*, that the MESSIAS was to suffer; Those persons, who were the most eminent types of him, were very great sufferers: And though all the sacrifices were slain, yet those sacrifices, which did typifie his death most eminently, were most intirely consumed by the fire; and as their blood was carried into the holy place, so their bodies were burnt without the camp, as our SAVIOUR himself suffered without the gate. If we look into the Psalms and Prophets, we shall find frequent predictions of the sufferings of CHRIST.

THIRDLY, This is so plain a truth, and so undeniable even by the *Jews* themselves, that ^d the later of them have devised a suffering MESSIAS,

^b L'Empereur refutat. Abravenel Comment. in Isa. liii. Rochelim. l. 1.

^c Gen. iii. 15.

^d Abkath

the son of *Joseph* of the tribe of *Ephraim*: And now they speak of a two-fold *Messias*, one, the son of *Joseph*, to suffer death, and (if need be) another, the son of *David*, to save and to deliver them.

THIS indeed is a vain conceit, 'tis groundless, and 'tis novel: It hath no foundation in the *Holy Scriptures*, nor^c in their most ancient and genuine writers. 'Tis destitute of all reason and all fair pretence: And we may, by the same pretence, as well set up a great many as two: But as vain a conceit as 'tis, it will serve our turn against the *Jews*: For they betake themselves to this refuge, because they cannot deny, that the *MESSIAS* was to suffer. And though it serve to no other purpose; yet it serves to this, that we have gained the point we contend for, against them, *viz.* that the *MESSIAS* was to suffer, and that therefore our *JESUS* ought not to be rejected upon that account.

II. THAT our *JESUS* did suffer: This is confessed on all hands: The *Jews* deny it not, but mention him frequently with scorn upon this account.

I SHOULD be very vain, if I should enlarge much under this head: He must be very ignorant, who hath not heard of the sufferings of *JESUS*. His whole life, as well as his latter end, was almost a perpetual suffering. He was *born* in a *stable*, and he died upon a *cross*. He suffered from his first entrance into the world to his going out. The meanness of his birth did not protect him from being persecuted by *Herod*; He was after this a *man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*, and there hath been no sorrow like unto his sorrow. He fasted and was tempted, he was acquainted with hunger and with thirst, with great poverty and contempt; He met with false friends, and implacable enemies; He was always *doing good*, and *receiving evil*.

And after all at the close of his life he was a most eminent sufferer: If there be any suffering in great pains and agonies, in being scoffed and derided, in being buffeted and scourged, in a bloody sweat, or a bitter cup, in a crown of thorns, in the spear and in the nails; then he suffered. If to be forsaken and betrayed, to be unpitied in trouble and to be denied, to be flouted and scoffed at, be any thing of a suffering; then he suffered. If to die be to suffer, and to die upon a cross among malefactors, if the *blood* of the *cross*, if the *shame* and *curse* of it, or if the *pain* and *scandal* of it speak any sufferings, then our *LORD* did indeed suffer.

III. FROM the sufferings of our *JESUS*, it doth appear, that he is the *CHRIST*.

I DO not mean, that the bare sufferings of *JESUS* are an argument, that he is the *CHRIST*: For sufferings are not a sufficient argument alone. And though the *MESSIAS* was to suffer; yet so might, and so did *impostors* also. But as the *MESSIAS* was to suffer, so it was predicted what he should suffer; and we shall find, that our *JESUS* did suffer those very things, which the *MESSIAS* was to suffer: So that all things duly considered, we shall find this (especially in conjunction with what hath been and is to be said) a very good proof, that *JESUS* is the *CHRIST*.

^c That the *Messias* was to suffer, Trypho does acknowledge. Παρὸν δὲ τὸ Χριστὸν ὅτι αἱ γραφαὶ κηρύσσουσιν, φανερὸν ἐστίν. Trypho in Just. Mart.

AND this I take to be the meaning of our SAVIOUR'S words to his disciples going to *Emmaus*: Ought not CHRIST to have suffered these things? And of his words to the *Apostles* afterward: Thus it is written, and thus it behoved CHRIST to suffer, Luk. xxiv. 26, 46. St. Peter tells the *Jews*, that those things, which GOD before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that CHRIST should suffer, he hath so fulfilled, Act. iii. 18. Our SAVIOUR himself said, thus it must be, Matth. xxvi. 54, 56. To the same purpose we find the disciples saying: For of a truth against thy holy child JESUS, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together; For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy council determined before to be done. Act. iv. 27, 28.

WE shall find afterward, that JESUS did suffer all that, which the CHRIST was to suffer. And some of these sufferings were such, as were not likely to have been the portion of JESUS: But so it was, though Herod and Pontius Pilate, though the *Jews* and *Gentiles* had an hand in the sufferings of JESUS; yet they did at the same time (though they designed it not) fulfil some prophecies of old, and this was so eminently done, that we have from hence a very great proof, that JESUS is the CHRIST.

I SHALL not look over all the sufferings of JESUS from the time of his birth, to the moment of his death; I shall begin no sooner than the last week of his life; and shall more especially consider those particulars, which attended upon his death.

WE have a remarkable prophecy in the prophet *Zechariah*, and the words are these: Rejoyce greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: Behold thy king cometh unto thee: He is just, and having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. That this place is a prophecy of the MESSIAS no Christian can doubt, and the *Jew* ought not to deny. ^f R. Solomon confesses frankly *אי אפשר לפתור אלא על מלך המשיח* i. e. It is impossible to interpret it but of king Messiah: And as it is very agreeable to the words to expound them of the MESSIAS, so ^g it well agrees with the sense of the ancient *Jews* too.

FOR it was the sense of the *Jews*, that this place was meant of the MESSIAS, and we find among the writings, which we have of theirs, plain intimations of it. There is ^h a fabulous relation, that the ass which Abraham saddled Gen. xxii. was created on the evening of the sabbath, and that Moses rode upon the same ass, when he came into Egypt; and farther the son of David shall ride upon the same, they say: hence it is said, Rejoyce greatly, O daughter of Zion, &c. From this fabulous relation it is evident, that this place was understood of the MESSIAS. To the same purpose the words are understood by ⁱ another ancient writer, who represents it as the sense of their Rabbins.

IT was upon the tenth day of the first month when our SAVIOUR rode upon an ass into Jerusalem, and fulfilled this Scripture, and in the passover-

^f R. Solom. in Zech. ix. 9.

^g These words of R. Solomon are translated by Raymundus in his Pugio fidei, page 656. into words, which contradict the sense of them: viz. Non potest hoc exponi de Rege Messia; when he affirms that they ought not to be expounded of any other person. And that the Jews do understand these words of the Messiah, is proved at large by Bochart. de S. S. Animalibus. lib. ii. c. 17.

^h Pirke R. Eliezer. cap. 31.

ⁱ Bereshith Rabb. in Gen. xlix. 11.

week in which he suffered. Our SAVIOUR was now ready to be sacrificed for us, and as the *paschal* lamb in *Egypt* was taken up on the tenth day, so did our LORD our *paschal* lamb on that very day, present himself in that city, where the same week he was sentenced to death.

FOR the rest of the words of the prophecy, they do very well agree to our JESUS, as it is certain they were meant of the MESSIAS. *Thy king cometh unto thee, he is just and having salvation, lowly*: Never were there any persons, to whom these words could so duly belong, as our blessed SAVIOUR.

HE was a king indeed, and denies it not before *Pontius Pilate*, though he professed, that his *kingdom* was *not of this world*. The MESSIAS was promised of old as such a person, and it was foretold, in the prophet *Daniel*, that he should erect an everlasting kingdom. Indeed the *Jews* expected a temporal prince, they being themselves a carnal people: Our LORD did not appear like an earthly prince, but as one born from heaven, and one who would erect an heavenly and spiritual kingdom in the world. A king he was in the best and the highest sense: And when he was crucified, the main of his accusation written on his cross was, that he was *king of the Jews*.

THAT our blessed SAVIOUR was *just*, malice it self cannot deny; He was for giving both GOD and *Cæsar* their due. He paid *tribute*, when it was demanded; and would not excuse himself from the publick payment, to which he was not yet strictly obliged. He took care of the *Levitical* priest-hood also: And when he had cleansed the *leper*, he takes order that the *priest* should not lose the profit, which in such a case he was wont to receive. He wronged no man; and though he was poor, yet he took care to give every man his due, and to reserve something for the poor also. His righteousness was so exemplary, that the *Jews*, who thirsted after his blood, knew not how to effect his death: They had procured false witnesses indeed, but their testimony was so incoherent, and so lewd, that the *Jews* themselves were forced to use another device, (since that, frequently made use of against his followers) *viz.* to represent him as an enemy to *Cæsar*; And now *Pilate*, to approve himself to the *Roman* power, delivers up JESUS to be crucified. But still he pronounced him *innocent*, who gave him up to so base a death: He washes his hands, and declares himself openly in behalf of JESUS.

WHAT follows doth eminently belong to our JESUS, as it was spoken of the MESSIAS; *Having salvation*. The very name JESUS, by which he was commonly known and called, speaks salvation. And it was given him by the direction of an *angel*, because^k he was to *save his people from their sins*. And as he came to *save what was lost*; so we shall find, that he fulfilled that design, and answered that blessed name, by which he was called: He saved some from hunger and thirst, some from diseases and possessions, some from sickness, and others from death, and all that believe on him from hell, and the wrath which is to come.

AS to that which follows in the prophet, that he was to be *lowly*, agrees exactly to our JESUS: For whether by *lowly* be meant *poor*, as that *Hebrew* word used in the prophet signifies; or, *meek*, as it is there rendered by the LXXII interpreters (whose rendering *St. Matthew* also follows) it is cer-

^k Matth. i. 21.

tain, that our JESUS was both *poor* and *meek* in a very eminent degree: So *poor*, that he had not what the foxes did not want, *where to lay his head*. And as for his meekness and lowliness of mind, he was the most eminent and unparalleled example, that ever was in the world.

I SHALL now proceed to the consideration of the death of JESUS, and those particulars, which do more immediately relate thereunto.

AND not to insist upon every particular, which makes to my present purpose, I shall take notice,

FIRST, Of the kind of his death, which was the death of the *cross*. It was a death, that JESUS, one would have thought, should not have died: For besides, that it was the vilest and most ignominious death, a death of slaves and the most profligate villains: Besides this, it was not like to be the portion of JESUS. (I.) Because ¹ it was not a *Jewish*, but a *Roman punishment*. The *Jewish* four capital punishments were *stoning*, *burning*, *strangling*, and *killing with the sword*. (II.) Because if this had been one of the *Jewish* punishments; yet it could not by the *Jewish* law have been the lot of JESUS: For whereas the high priest pronounced him guilty of blasphemy, and they who were by him judged him thereupon worthy of death; we know that ^m stoning was the death appointed in that case, not only by the after constitution of the *Jews*, but also by the law of *Moses*.

BUT it was foretold, that the MESSIAS should suffer this kind of death: And GOD's decrees and counsels shall come to pass.

THE *Jews* had a figure of this in the wilderness: Our JESUS put them in mind of it in these words. *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up*, Joh. iii. 14. The story is very well known: The people for their sin were bitten with *fiery serpents*, and many of them died. They beg of *Moses* in this distress, that he would intercede for them, that the fiery serpents might be removed: *Moses* prayed to GOD in their behalf, and by GOD's direction he makes a serpent of brass, and puts it on a pole, and they which were bitten, looked upon this brazen serpent, and were healed, *Numb.* xxi. 5. &c. This serpent, that was lifted up in the wilderness, was a type of the death of CHRIST, and of the kind of his death; and the effects of the brazen serpent, upon them who looked on it, did typify the virtue received by true believers from the death of CHRIST. To this purpose this of the brazen serpent is applied by our SAVIOUR; and by ⁿ the ancient *Christian writers*, it is frequently mentioned as a *type* of the *cross* and *passion* of our blessed SAVIOUR. And that it is rightly applied by JESUS and his followers, I shall shew against the *Jews*.

CERTAIN it is, that the *Jews* do^o allow, that this brazen serpent was a figure of something else, and that it had a spiritual sense and meaning. And when *Justin Martyr* in his dialogue with *Typho* the *Jew*, insisted upon this as a type of the death of CHRIST, and appealed to the company what reason (excluding that) could be given of this matter; one of them confessed, that he was in the right, and that he himself had enquired for a reason from the *Jewish* masters, but could meet with none. The author of the book of Wisdom calls it ^p σύμβολον σωτηρίας, a *symbol* (or sign)

¹ Sanhedr. cap. 7. ^m Levit. xxiv. 16. ⁿ Dominicam crucem intentabat. Tertullian. adv. Judæos. Τύπον σταυροῦ. Justin. Mart. pro Christian. Apol. II. *Moses made that serpent. ἵνα προτυπώσῃ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος*. Theodor. in IV. Reg. Quæst. 49. ^o Vid. Buxtorf. hist. Serpent. Anei. c. 5. Just. Martyr dialog. cum Tryph. ^p Wisd. xvi. 6, 7.

of salvation. For he that turned himself towards it (says he) was not saved by the thing, that he saw; but by thee that art the SAVIOUR of all. It was an extraordinary and supernatural thing, that the likeness of a serpent should cure the venomous bite of a living one. The Jewish writers⁴ confess it to be *miraculous*, and that there was in it a *miracle* within a *miracle*. Philo the Jew (as I intimated before in the fourth page of this discourse) doth¹ in several places mention the difference between the *serpent* of Eve and the serpent of Moses, or this *brazen* serpent of which I am now speaking: He makes one directly opposite to the other; and that which deceived Eve to be a *symbol* of voluptuousness, and in token thereof doomed to go upon his belly, Gen. iii. 14. But this of Moses to be a symbol of fortitude and temperance. That was the *destroyer* of mankind, this the *Saviour* of the Israelites. Πᾶς ὁ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ζήσεται. Πάνυ ἀληθῶς εἰάν γδ ὁ ὄψας δηχθεὶς ἡδονῇ, τῷ τ' Εὐας ὄρει, ἰχθύση καλιδεῖν ψυχικῶς τὸ σωτηροσύνης καλῶς τ' Μωϋσέως ὄφιν, καὶ Ἀδ' τέτυκ' ὁ Θεός, ζήσεται· μόνον ἰδέτω, καὶ κατανοήσάτω. i. e. Every one that sees it (the brazen serpent) shall live. Very true: For if the mind bitten with Eve's serpent, which is voluptuousness, can spiritually discern the beauty of temperance: i. e. The serpent of Moses, and through it, GOD himself, he shall live: Only let him see and consider. This serpent then of Moses was a symbol or sign of something better than it self.

AND in its first institution it was intended for a *sign* or *symbol* of some future good: This is very probable from the very words of the text; Moses is commanded to make a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole (so we render it) or set it for a sign, as the words may be rendered from the Hebrew text. The vulgar Latin hath it *pro signo* i. e. for a sign. And to the same sense it is rendered by the Syriac, the Chaldee, and the Greek interpreters: And this rendering is followed by Philo the Jew, and by Justin the Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho. And this sense is no way inconsistent with the sense, which our interpreters give.

THIS was a very fit type of CHRIST, and of his death upon the cross; by him we are redeemed from the sting of death, or sin, 1 Cor. xv. 56. and the power of the devil that old serpent Heb. ii. 14. GOD sent him in the likeness of sinful flesh, and he did by this way condemn sin in the flesh, Rom. viii. 3. The Jewish masters tell us upon this occasion אין ערר ממנו אלא אלה i. e. It was not the serpent that killed; but it was the sin. CHRIST by taking away our sin saves us: But they in the wilderness were saved by an unlikely way. From the sting of a serpent by the figure of one. There was nothing in the matter or figure of the serpent, which healed them. It was the fitter type of CHRIST; we are healed by his stripes, and have the hope of life by his death.

BUT the crucifixion of the MESSIAS was likewise foretold by Zechary. They shall look upon me, whom they have pierced. St. John who was an eye-witness of the crucifixion of JESUS, doth² not only assure us that he was really crucified; but also puts us in mind that this prophecy was verified. The Psalmist had foretold no less, They pierced my hands and my feet: This was fulfilled in our JESUS, who³ disdained not after his resurrection to confirm a doubting disciple, who would not believe, unless he saw the print of the nails.

⁴ Abravanel & R. Bechai in Num. xxi.
¹ Zech. xii. 10.

² Joh. xix. 37.

³ Philo. Jud. de Agricultura, & Leg. Allegor. l. 3.

⁴ Psal. xxii. 16.

⁵ Joh. xx. 25.

SECONDLY, The *time* of his death. And that agrees with the type of it, I mean the paschal lamb: For CHRIST is *our passover, who is sacrificed for us*, 1 Cor. v. 7. And to this purpose, it will be well worth our while to enquire after the precise time of slaying the paschal lamb, that great and eminent type of our SAVIOUR's death, and to consider, how well it agrees with the time thereof: Now 'tis expressly commanded, that the paschal lamb should be killed *in the evening*, Exod. xii. 6. And we are to enquire what that expression does import.

OUR marginal reading will be of use in this enquiry, which instead of, *in the evening*, renders it, *between the two evenings*, and that not without the warrant of the *Hebrew* text: There is great variety in the several versions of these words among the ancient and modern translators: I do not intend to represent that variety in this place. Some of them are very reconcileable to the sense of the original, others agree very exactly with it, and indeed I have not met with any more wide among the moderns than that of *Castalio*, who very ill renders it, *sub crepusculum* i. e. about the twilight; as if the paschal lamb was not to be slain, till it began to be dark, which is so fond a conceit, that I shall not need do any more than name it. *Junius* and *Tremellius* keep strictly to the original text, and render it *inter duas vespervas, between the two evenings*. It is my business to inquire, what is meant by this expression, *between the two evenings*.

AND by the way, I cannot but take notice of the interpretation of *Aben Ezra* upon this place, who gives us this account of the two evenings. The first he would have to be the time, when the sun sets, the second, when the remaining light after sun-set leaves the earth; between these two, he supposes the space of an hour and three quarters or thereabouts: This interpretation agrees well with *Castalio's sub crepusculum*, but 'tis an interpretation that is extravagant; for besides that, it does not allow of a clear light for the remaining service after the killing the paschal lamb, nor yet give time enough for the whole service of the solemnity; besides this I say, the author of this interpretation seems to quit it, and betake himself to another in his following words. For he, being pressed by an objection against this interpretation, which he attempts not to answer, confesses that there was a tradition among them, which obliges them to kill the *paschal* lamb, after the sun did evidently decline from its meridian.

WE are therefore still to seek what is meant by this expression, *between the two evenings*, in which time the *Israelites* were obliged to kill the paschal lamb, and then to see, whether this precise circumstance of time was also fulfilled in the death of our SAVIOUR.

Now for the better understanding of this expression, we must know, that as the *Jewish* day consisted of twelve hours; so all their forenoon was accounted *morning*, and from thence all^y the afternoon was accounted *evening*: And then their evening was divided into two, *viz.* the former and the latter evening: The former evening was *vespera declinationis*, and was to be reckoned from their sixth hour, or our twelve at noon, to sun-set; for from that time the sun declined from its *Ακμῆ* or height. Their latter evening was *vespera occasus*, their sun-setting; so that the intermedial time between the sun's declension and setting is that time, which is between

^y Joh. xi. 9.

the two evenings. Let us then consider what warrant we have for this. And.

FIRST, The holy *Scripture* seems to give us ground to believe, that the latter part of the *Jewish* day was divided into these two evenings. To this purpose we read, that the unclean person was to be removed out of the camp, and it is added, *But it shall be when evening cometh on* (that is, in the former evening, as the following words assure us) *he shall wash himself with water.* And when the sun is down (there is the latter evening) *he shall come into the camp*, Deut. xxiii. 11. Of the former evening are those words spoken, where 'tis said of the *Levite* and his wife, that they tarried *until afternoon* (or *till the day declined*, as 'tis in the *Hebrew*) *and they did eat both of them.* And then 'tis added by the *Levite's* father-in-law, *Behold now the day draweth towards evening*, and, *the day groweth to an end*, Judg. xix. 8, 9. Of the same evening the following words seem to be understood: *And it came to pass in an evening-tide, that David arose from off his bed*, &c. 2. Sam. xi. 2. What we render, *in an evening-tide*, the vulgar renders *post meridiem*, i. e. afternoon: Nor doth it seem to be translated amiss. For it was the custom in those eastern countries to take rest after dinner: Of this we have an instance in the place, where it is said, that *Rechab and Baanah went, and came about the heat of the day, to the house of Ishbosheth, who lay on a bed at noon*, 2 Sam. iv. 5. Of the latter evening we have mention, *Jos. x. 26, 27. Mark i. 32.* And it is very observable to my present purpose, that what *St. Luke* tells us, was done when the day began to ² wear away, that is, in the declension of the sun, or in the afternoon, *Luk. ix. 12. St. Matthew* tells us, that this was done when it was *evening*, *Mat. xiv. 15.* that is, in the former evening; for that is evident not only from the words of *St. Luke*, but from what follows in *St. Matthew* after those words: For after *CHRIST* had fed five thousand, and the fragments taken up, and the multitude sent away (all which took up some considerable time) it is said that *CHRIST* went a part into a mountain, and then again the text says, *when the evening was come, he was there alone*, ver. 23. which must be the latter evening; for it cannot be that, which is mentioned, ver. 15.

SECONDLY, I add, to what I have said before, the testimony of *R. Solomon* on the place, who gives us this interpretation of these words, *between the two evenings*, viz. "משש שעות: וכו' i. e. *From six hours and upwards is called between the two evenings, because the sun declines then towards its going down*, &c. so that according to him there are *two evenings*, that of the *declination* of the sun, and the *latter evening*, which we call night. And he affirms, the intermedial time between these two to be what is meant here by *between the two evenings*.

THIRDLY, With what hath been said let us compare the practice of the *Jewish* nation, which will shew how the nation understood these words. We find, that it was commanded, that the continual burnt offering was to be offered also *between the two evenings*, Numb. xxviii. 4. This was the precise time of the daily evening sacrifice. And what the *Jewish* practice was we may best learn from their writings. In the *Mishna* we read ^a their practice. "תמיד נשחט: וכו' That is, *the daily evening sacrifice was killed at the eighth hour and an half* (and that answers to our half an hour

^a קלדר.

² Peshch. c. 5. m. 1.

after two of the clock) and it was offered up at the ninth hour and an half; that is, at half an hour after three; In the evening of the passover it was killed at half an hour after the seventh hour, and offered up at half an hour after the eighth—And if the eve of the passover fell upon the eve of the sabbath, it was slain half an hour after the sixth hour (that is, half an hour past our twelve a clock) and offered up half an hour after the seventh hour, (that is, at our half an hour past one) and the passover after it. Hence then we may perceive, that though the Jews were commanded to offer their daily evening sacrifice between the two evenings, they did ordinarily offer it up about the ninth hour (or half an hour after three of the clock) which was also the time of prayer; *Act. iii. 1.* or that time of prayer, which among the Jews^b is called תפלת מנחה, and was an attendant upon the daily evening sacrifice; so that the Jewish practice gives us to understand, what is the meaning of this expression *between the two evenings*, viz. that space of time, which is between the sun's declension (which is the beginning of the former evening) and sun-set, which is the latter evening. What they were required to do between the two evenings, that they did about the ninth hour of the day, which was the intermedial space between the two evenings. And whereas the continual or daily evening sacrifice, and paschal lamb also were to be slain and offered up between the two evenings, we find the daily sacrifice was first to be offered up, and therefore began sooner, but then that service at the earliest did not begin till past noon, and then the passover succeeded into that time, which was in the strictest and exactest sense between the two evenings. *Vid. Maimon. Hal. Tamid. & Musaph. cap. 1.*

To what hath been said I shall add the testimony^c of *Josephus*, who must needs be supposed very well to understand the usages of his own people: He tells us, speaking of *Pompey's* laying siege to the temple, that it did not hinder the priests from their service at the same time, which, says he, was performed at that time at the altar twice a day: Περί τε, και περί ενάτην ὥραν, i. e. *in the morning, and about the ninth hour.* And elsewhere speaking of the feast called the passover, he^d adds, καθ' ἣν δύσσι μὲν ἀπὸ ενάτης ὥρας μέχρι ενδεκάτης, i. e. *at which time they slay their sacrifices from the ninth to the eleventh hour.*

AGAINST what hath been said it may be objected from *Deut. xvi. 6.* That the paschal lamb was to be slain at sun-set. The words are these—*There thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt.* By which words it seems to be implied, that the going down of the sun was the set time, when the passover was to be slain. In answer to which, I desire these particulars may be considered.

1. THAT from those words it may be as well concluded, that the passover was to be sacrificed at the season of their coming forth out of *Egypt*, it being said, *There thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt.* Now, if by the season, in which they came out of *Egypt*, we understand the precise time, when they came thence, we shall find that it was neither in the evening, nor at sun-set, but very far removed from it: 'Tis expressly

^b *Vid. Maimon. H. Tephill. c. 3. sect. 2.*

^c *Joseph. Antiqu. l. 14. c. 8.*

^d *Id. de Bello*

Judaico. l. 7. c. 17.

said that GOD brought them out of *Egypt by night*, ver. 1. And this is farther confirmed from what we read, *Exod.* xii. 29, 30, 31.

2. THAT therefore the *Jewish* writers do understand those expressions of the *even*, the *going down* of the *sun*, and the *season* of their *coming* out of *Egypt*, not of one and the same time, but of several times; and that too with a several respect to the services of the paschal solemnity. This appears from the *Targum* of *Jonathan*^e who paraphraseth on those words, [*at even, &c.*] thus. *And in the evening at the going down of the sun thou shalt eat it until midnight, the time of the beginning of your redemption from Egypt.* But *R. Solomon*^f upon those words speaks more explicitly and plainly still: *At even, &c.* וְכֵן שְׁלֹשָׁה זְמָנִים : וְכֵן He tells us, that in these words we have three several times placed before us. [1.] The time of sacrificing or killing the paschal lamb, *at even*, i. e. after the sixth hour of the day and afterward. [2.] The time of eating it, and that is when the sun sets. [3.] The time of burning the remainder, and that is the season in which they came out of *Egypt*. And to the same sense *R. Bechai* interprets these words.

3. THAT though these three several times be laid before us, *viz.* the *even*, *sun-set*, and the *season* in which they came out of *Egypt*; yet is there no need to understand any of them as belonging to the sacrificing the passover, but the *even* only. *Thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even*, i. e. *post declinationem solis*, as *Lyra* interprets it well. For though it follow, *at the going down of the sun, &c.* it doth not therefore hence follow, that those words relate to the same matter. For the proof of this I shall need go no farther than to the second verse of this chapter; where it is said, *Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the passover unto the LORD thy GOD, of the flock and the herd.* Where 'tis evident, that the *flock* relates to the passover only, according to the law, *Exod.* xii. 3, 5. and that the *herd* must belong to some other matter. And therefore the *Jews* understand it of the *Chagigah*, or the other offerings, which were offered up during the passover.

So that by this time it will not be hard to understand, what is meant by *between the two evenings*, which was also the time of the daily evening sacrifice, *Num.* xxviii. 4. This was wont to be offered up about our three in the afternoon, or their ninth hour, which was also a stated time of prayer. *Act.* iii. 1. It is evident, that the time between the first declining of the sun to its setting is that time, which is between the two evenings; and then our three a clock, or their ninth hour, when the day consists of twelve hours, is the exact middle between the two evenings. Let us now see, how well the time of CHRIST's death agrees with this.

AND that it seems to do very exactly. For besides that he was crucified at the passover, he seems also to have died about that moment of time, when they were wont to slay the paschal lamb, which, as I have shewed, was about their ninth hour. They began to crucifie him at the third hour of the day *Mark* xv. 25. at the *sixth* hour there was darkness over the whole land until the *ninth* hour ver. 33. At the ninth hour he cries out, *My GOD, my GOD, &c.* ver. 34. and presently upon that we read, that he gave up the ghost ver. 37. And that all this happened before the latter evening (and so consequently between the two evenings) appears

^e Vid. Targ. Jonath. in locum.

^f R. Solom. & R. Bechai in Deut. xvi. 6.

from *ver.* 42, 43. where we read, that when *even* was come, *Joseph* begs the body of *JESUS*: So that *CHRIST* our passover, the great antitype of of the paschal lamb, dies between the two evenings; And as in other particulars our *LORD* did fully answer, what was typified of him in that sacrifice; so he doth also in the time of his death, which was about the ninth hour, and was the precise time of slaying the paschal lamb.

THIRDLY, The *place* of our SAVIOUR's death. This was also prefigured of old, and fulfilled in the death of *JESUS*. We know, that the sacrifices were not to be offered up any where, but first within the camp, and afterwards at *Jerusalem*, the place which *GOD* had chosen to place his name there. Our *LORD*, who was to suffer, and to be slain a sacrifice for our sins, did suffer in that place.

IN that city he was accused, condemned and abused, and afterwards he suffered death *without the gate*, as some of the sin-offerings under the law of *Moses* were burnt without the *camp*. The city of *Jerusalem* answered to the camp in the wilderness, and what was done without the camp at first, was when *Jerusalem* was chosen, to be done without the gates of the city, *Heb.* xiii. 11.

FOURTHLY, Let us consider still more particularly the manner and circumstances of the death of *JESUS*, and we shall find, that what was of old predicted and prefigured, was fulfilled in our *JESUS*. As for example,

THAT he was betrayed by his own disciple, the evangelists report: And this the psalmist had foretold long before in these words. *Mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel against me.* And what *St. John* reports is very remarkable to this purpose; when our SAVIOUR had told his disciples, that they were not all clean, intimating that one of them should betray him; he tells us what was added, *I speak not of you all, I know whom I have chosen: but that the scripture may be fulfilled, He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel against me.* Now (says our SAVIOUR) *I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he,* *ver.* 18, 19. His meaning is, that they should be confirmed in their belief of him, when they should compare the treachery of *Judas*, which was predicted by the psalmist, and foretold by himself. *Joh.* xviii. 2. with *Psalms* xli. 9. *Joh.* xiii. 10, 11.

THAT he was betrayed for thirty pieces of silver we read in the gospel, and the same was foretold by the prophet *Zechariah*, and not only that, but also the use that this money was put to, *viz.* the *buying the potters field*, *Matth.* xxvi. 15. xxvii. 7, 8, 9, with *Zech.* xi. 12, 13.

THAT he was crucified between two thieves, the evangelists report; and the prophet long before had foretold, that he should be numbered with the transgressors. And our SAVIOUR a little before his death tells his disciples of it in these words. *For I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me: And he was reckoned among the transgressors. For the things concerning me have an end,* *Matth.* xxvii. 38. with *Isai.* liii. 12.

WHEN he was upon the cross there was given him vinegar to drink; and no less was foretold by the psalmist, *In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.* And our SAVIOUR's thirst at that time was to verify that prediction. *JESUS* knowing that all things were now accomplished, and that

^a *Luk.* xxii 17.

the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst, Upon which they gave him vinegar to drink. This is the more remarkable still, because it was contrary to the constant custom and courtesie of the nation, to give him that was condemned to die vinegar to drink: For whereas such a sharp liquor is apt to awaken to a sense of pain, the *Jews* were wont to give such persons a ^b stupifying or narcotick potion to ruffle and disorder their minds, that they might not attend unto their pain, *viz.* frankincense in a cup of wine. For this they ground themselves on the words of *Solomon*. *Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of a heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.* This was the constant practice of the *Jews*, and there is a tradition among them, that the ladies of the city of *Jerusalem* were at this charge of their own good will, towards the poor sufferers. But for all this practice, what *GOD* foretold was fulfilled. *Matth.* xxvii. 48. with *Psalms* lxix. 21. *Joh.* xix. 28, 29. *Prov.* xxxi. 6, 7.

THE soldiers, when they had crucified *JESUS*, part his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; but when they came to his coat, which it seems was woven and without a seam, because they could not part it, they *said among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it whose it shall be.* And tho' this seemed to be a very casual and contingent thing; yet was this not without the particular providence of *GOD*, in order to fulfil the prophecy of the *Psalmist*, *They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.* *Psalms* xviii. 22. with *Joh.* xix. 23, 24.

THE *Psalmist* predicted of the *MESSIAS* in these words. *All they that see me laugh me to scorn, they shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying: He trusted on the LORD, that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him.* Let us hear now, what the *Evangelist* tells us as to the verifying of this prophecy: He tells us, that when *JESUS* was crucified, they that passed by reviled him, *wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days, save thy self; if thou be the Son of GOD, come down from the cross:* There were others that said, *He saved others, himself he cannot save: If he be the king of Israel let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him. He trusted in GOD, let him deliver him now, if he will have him.* *Psalms* xxii. 7, 8. with *Matth.* xxvii. 39.

THE *Psalmist* reports the very words, which the *CHRIST* should speak upon the cross. *My GOD, my GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?* And we find, that *JESUS* about the ninth hour cryed out, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* i. e. *My GOD, my GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?* And if the prophet *Isaiah* tells us, when he reports, that when he poured out his soul unto death, he did also make intercession for the transgressors; I am sure that *St. Luke* tells us, that *JESUS*, when he was upon the cross, interceded for his greatest enemies, praying for them and saying, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* *Psal.* xxii. 1. with *Matth.* xxvii. 46. *Isai.* liii. 12. with *Luk.* xxiii. 34.

THE same prophet describes the patient sufferings of the *MESSIAS* in these words, *He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her*

^b Maimon. H. Sanhedr. c. 13.

shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. Never was scripture so eminently fulfilled, as it was by JESUS. He endured his pain and contempt with a most unparalleled patience: He was betrayed by a *false disciple*, and with a *fraudulent kiss*: Another swears he doth not know him; the rest leave him in his extremity: He is stricken by the hand of a rude officer, oppressed in the place of judgment, and condemned to die without sufficient evidence; he is spit upon, buffeted, hooted at and reviled. They carry him from *Caiaphas* to *Pontius Pilate*, before whom he answers with *silence* and an *unheard of patience*: From *Pilate* he is conveyed to *Herod*, and is silent before him also; thence he is returned to *Pilate*; neither the one nor the other could find any fault with him. His enemies thirst for his blood. are loud and clamorous; our LORD who suffers, holds his peace. *Isai.* liii. 7. *Matth.* xxvii. 14. *Luk.* xxiii. 9, 11, 14.

THOUGH the sufferings of the MESSIAS were particularly predicted, as hath been said, and they were very severe; yet we are assured, that a *bone of him should not be broken*. This was intimated in the law of the paschal lamb (a very remarkable type of the death of CHRIST) by which it was provided, that not a *bone* of the lamb should be broken. This is said to have been soⁱ appointed for the honour of the holy oblation; and was of perpetual obligation, and not peculiar to the *passover* of *Egypt*. Now this was actually fulfilled in the body of JESUS, though it was very unlikely, that it should have happened so. For besides that our SAVIOUR'S enemies were barbarously cruel towards him, they had a custom among them to break the legs of the crucified, and were at this time especially careful about it, because of their approaching sabbath; and had actually broken the bones of the two malefactors, which hung by him; and were come to the body of JESUS for the same end: But finding him dead, they pierced his side, but brake not his bones; not without a very remarkable providence of GOD. And this was done, that the scripture might be fulfilled, *A bone of him shall not be broken*. *Exod.* xii. 46. *Joh.* xix. 36.

IF what hath been said be considered duly, we shall have great cause from the sufferings of JESUS to believe him to be the CHRIST.

IV. I COME now to enquire into the cause or reasons of the sufferings of CHRIST.

FOR it cannot be supposed, that CHRIST, who was a most innocent person, should suffer a most painful and ignominious death, without some weighty cause and great ends. And what those are, you may learn from the following particulars.

1. HE suffered in our *stead*, and to *procure* our *pardon* and *acceptance*, and *salvation*. We do believe, that he suffered *for us men and our for salvation*; and maintain against the followers of *Socinus*, that his death was a *piacular sacrifice*, and that his sufferings were a *vicarious punishment* upon the account, and for the expiation of our sins: Or, that he died to make satisfaction for our sins.

FOR the proving of this, let us consult the holy scriptures, and we shall find, that they do abundantly teach us this truth.

ⁱ Abravenel in *Exod.* xii.

It is granted on all hands, that the prophet *Isaiah* chap. liii. speaks of the sufferings of the MESSIAS. And he gives us such an account of them, as speaks them to be undergone not only for *our sakes*, but in *our stead* also. Thus he is said to *bear our griefs*, and *carry our sorrows*, ver. 4. And if those words do not import this sense; yet those which follow, do very much confirm us in this belief: *He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.* ver. 5. These words do plainly import, that the *fault* was ours, and that for that *fault* the MESSIAS suffered. It was *our* transgression and *our* iniquity, but the wounds and bruises due to them fell upon *him*. The chastisement and stripes were *his*, the *peace* and *healing*, thereby procured, belong to *us*. In a word, though we sinned, and were liable to suffer upon that account; yet he suffered for us: If this be not plain enough let us proceed: *All we like sheep have gone astray: we have turned every one to his own way, and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* ver. 6. The plain and natural sense of which words is this, that whereas we had sinned, and had made our selves obnoxious to punishment, yet GOD did not punish us as we deserved, but the MESSIAS in our room and stead. To the same purpose we read afterward: *He was cut off out of the land of the living, for the transgression of my people was he stricken.* ver. 8. And after those words we read, that his *soul* should be made an *offering for sin*. ver. 10. It is certain, that a sin or a trespass offering under the law of *Moses* was *expiatory* and *piacular*, and the beast was offered instead of the offender; and GOD did accept the blood of the sacrifice, in the room of the life of the person who had sinned.

LET us now consider, what we read the in *new Testament* to the same purpose. Our blessed SAVIOUR in his solemn prayer, a little before his passion, hath these words: *For their sakes* (speaking of his disciples) *I sanctifie my self, that they also might be sanctified through the truth.* That is, CHRIST did offer up himself as a *victim* or sacrifice for them, as the *Greek* word is observed to signify: And that sacrifice also is to be looked upon, as a *piacular* and *expiatory* one. And to that purpose it is well observed, that the prayer *Joh. xvii. 1, 2, &c.* by which CHRIST consecrated himself unto his death, is like unto that, which the *Jewish* high priest used, when he consecrated or offered up the victims upon the day of expiation before the *altar*. *Joh. xvii. 19.*

AGREEABLY to what hath been said, St. *Paul* speaking of CHRIST tells us, that GOD *hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin.* Of which words I can give no other sense but this, *viz.* that though CHRIST was innocent himself; yet GOD thought fit to give him up to death, as a *piacular* sacrifice for our sins. And to the same purpose St. *Peter* tells us, that CHRIST *bare our sins in his own body on the tree.* 2 Cor. v. 22. 1 Pet. ii. 24.

THE divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* tells us, that CHRIST did by *himself* purge our sins: And that he was *once offered to bear the sins of many.* And that he offered *one sacrifice* for sins. Heb. i. 3. ix. 28. i. 10, 12.

AND we find, that the expiation of our sins is imputed to the death of CHRIST in the *Holy Scriptures.* *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts,*
whose

whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burnt without the camp. Wherefore JESUS also, that he might sanctifie the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. By sanctifying the people nothing less can be meant, than the expiation of their sins: And as this was done under the law of Moses by an expiatory sacrifice; so was it done by the blood of JESUS, (the anti-type of those sacrifices, which he speaks of in that place) who suffered without the gate. St. John tells us, that the blood of JESUS CHRIST cleanseth us from all sin. Heb. xiii. 10, 11, 12. 1 Joh. i. 7.

AND this is farther confirmed to us from this, that our SAVIOUR's blood is said to be a price paid for us, by which we are bought and redeemed. For this cause he is the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called may receive the promise of an eternal inheritance. To which I shall add those words of the apostle to the Ephesians, where speaking of CHRIST he saith, In whom we have redemption through his blood: And to the Colossians, In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. Heb. ix. 15. Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14.

To what hath been said, very much may be added to the same purpose, viz. that our LORD himself hath said, that he came to give his life a ransom for many. Matth. xx. 28. That of St. Paul to the same purpose 1 Tim. ii. 6. And those words of our LORD, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Matth. xxvi. 28. Again these words of the apostle: CHRIST hath redeemed us from the curse of the law; being made a curse for us. Gal. iii. 13. CHRIST is elsewhere said to be the propitiation for our sins. 1 Joh. iv. 10.

I SHALL not need to add any more testimonies to those already named: For though there are many others; yet these are sufficient: And indeed they do so plainly acquaint us with the end of CHRIST's death, that he must use great art that can strain them to another sense.

As for what the Socinians object against this doctrine, viz. that it renders God's kindness less (which yet is greatly magnified in the Scripture) in giving his son: This objection, I say, can be of no force at all.

FOR though GOD thought fit for the honour of his justice, that sin should not altogether go unpunished, and gave his Son to make our peace and redeem us from misery with his precious blood; yet is this no diminution to the free grace and mercy of GOD. 'Twas the infinite mercy of GOD, which moved him to find out this way, in which we can claim nothing. 'Twas intirely the mercy of GOD, that provided us this remedy. Our pardon is free to us, whatever it cost our LORD to procure it. We have great cause to adore the love of GOD, and the unparalleled charity of our blessed SAVIOUR. Our free pardon and CHRIST's redemption; the infinite mercy of GOD, and the satisfaction of his justice are not things that are inconsistent. The apostles words teach us this truth, with which I shall conclude this particular. Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is in JESUS CHRIST: Whom GOD hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood; to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of GOD. To declare, I say, at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him, that believeth in JESUS. Rom. iii. 24, 25, 26.

AND

AND thus I have considered the death of CHRIST as a sacrifice for sin, and consequently as a great instance of his inestimable love, who was content to die that we might live. And therefore when we are exhorted to love one another, we are pressed to it from this consideration. *Walk in love, as CHRIST also hath loved us, and hath given himself for an offering, and a sacrifice to GOD for a sweet-smelling savour*, Eph. v. 2.

2. THE death of CHRIST is to be considered as the death of a *testator*: for so is he also represented to us. He himself calls his blood, *The blood of the new Testament*, or the *new Testament in his blood*. I very well know, that the *Greek* word, which we render *testament* doth signify *covenant*; but yet it doth not always so in the *new Testament*. For sometimes it signifies the *last will* or *testament* of a *testator*. And when it doth so, it doth not exclude the notion of a covenant neither, but rather imply it. For the right, which we to have the inheritance, is one part of the covenant, but then the declaration of that right is peculiarly and properly the part of a testament; which signifies the last will of a man, by which he disposeth of his goods. *Matth.* xxvi. 28. *Mark* xiv. 24. *Luk.* xxii. 20.

OUR blessed SAVIOUR is said to be the *heir of all things*. And we are elsewhere told, that the *Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand*. And we are farther informed, upon what account it is that the *Father loveth the Son* (and consequently hath given all things into his hands) in these words of our SAVIOUR, *Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life*. From whence it is evident, that upon the account of the voluntary death of CHRIST this full power and authority is given to CHRIST, as the great *mediator* between GOD and man: CHRIST was in the form of GOD, and *thought it not robbery to be equal with GOD*; *But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross*. *Heb.* i. 2. *Joh.* iii. 35, x. 17. *Phil.* ii. 6.

THUS low did the Son of GOD stoop for our salvation, from being *equal* with GOD to the *likeness* of men, and from the *form* of GOD to that of a *servant*; from *life* to *death*, from *glory* to *shame* and *contempt*: If you would know the effects of all this, the next words will inform us: *Wherefore GOD also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name, which is above every name; That at the name of JESUS every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth: And that every tongue should confess, that JESUS CHRIST is LORD to the glory of GOD the Father*.

OUR blessed SAVIOUR, a little before his death, bequeaths a kingdom to his followers as a *testator* in these words, ^k *And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me*. *Luk.* xxii. 29.

BUT then by his death he procured our right to this glorious inheritance. *For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is of no strength at all*, whilst the testator liveth. 'Tis the death of the testator that makes way to the heir: He hath no claim till the testator die. But upon his death his title is unquestionable, and it is not in any man's power,

^k Διατίθημαι.

to alter what is thus settled and confirmed. *Though it be but a man's testament; yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto.* Heb. ix. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 15.

OUR LORD suffered the most shameful and painful death: He did this voluntarily, and not by constraint. He died not intestate, nor yet like other testators; who when they have made their testaments, do avoid death with all their care and skill, and are not willing to part with their lives for the benefit of their heirs or successors. 'Twas otherwise with our SAVIOUR: *I lay down my life* (says he) *No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of my self: I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.* Joh. x. 17, 18.

Now after CHRIST had suffered death, and risen from the dead, he tells his followers of the plenitude of his power and authority. *All power is given unto me* (says he) *in heaven and in earth.* And a while after his own ascension into heaven, he sends the HOLY GHOST, *which is the earnest of our inheritance.* Matth. xxviii. 18. Eph. i. 14.

3. THE death of CHRIST is to be considered, as the death of a martyr or a witness. Our blessed SAVIOUR had professed himself to be the light of the world, the MESSIAS whom the scriptures had foretold, that he came from heaven, and that he was the CHRIST *the son of the Blessed.* It is of great moment, that these truths should be sufficiently confirmed to us: Upon these things depends the whole religion, that he taught. If these things be sufficiently proved, we can make no doubt of the truth of any part of the doctrine, which JESUS taught. *Joh. viii. 12. v. 39. vi. 40. Mark. xiv. 61, 62.*

Now it will appear, that the death of CHRIST doth mightily confirm these truths, and that JESUS gave up himself to death for the same end and purpose. When Pilate asked JESUS, whether he was a king or not; JESUS answered, *Thou sayest that I am a king* (that is, JESUS answered in the affirmative) *To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.* With respect to the undaunted courage of JESUS before Pilate St. Paul saith, that *before Pontius Pilate he witnessed a good confession.* Joh. xviii. 37. 1 Tim. vi. 13.

'Twas upon this account, that JESUS was put to death: He was accused indeed of something else, that was charged upon him. But the testimony was weak and incoherent; that with which he was born down was, that he professed himself to be CHRIST a king: Or as it is in St. John, *Because he made himself the Son of God.* Our SAVIOUR was silent, when the false witnesses accused him. But when the high priest asked him, if he was the CHRIST the Son of the Blessed; and he answered *I am, &c.* We find thereupon the high priest renting his cloaths and saying, *What need we any farther witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy, What think ye? And they all condemned him to be worthy of death.* Luk. xxiii. 2. Joh. xix. 7. Mark xiv. 61.

OUR SAVIOUR died for his adhering to this great truth; and that he did so, must be acknowledged a great confirmation of it, and of the religion which he planted. Life is too sweet a thing to be trifled away for nothing: Much less will a man in his wits die in confirmation of a lie: Had JESUS been disposed, he might have kept out of the way of his enemies, or have saved himself by denying the truth: He had now a great temptation before him, either to renounce what he had professed, or by some trick or mean art or other to

escape the danger. But he is far from taking any such course to deliver himself, but instead thereof confirms the truth with his own blood. He was so far from disowning himself to be the Son of GOD, that he continues in that profession to the last breath. And when he hung upon the cross, he twice calls GOD his father, when he prayed for his enemies and gave up the Ghost. This did mightily confirm his doctrine, and was one great end of his sufferings. *Luk. xxiii. 34. 46.*

HENCE it is, that the blood (or the sufferings of CHRIST, especially his death) is reckoned among those, who bear witness in earth. And JESUS CHRIST is called the faithful witness. And we are then said to be partakers of CHRIST, when we hold the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end. *1 Joh. v. 8. Rev. i. 5.*

THE blood of CHRIST did not only wash away our sins, but did also clear the innocency of our blessed SAVIOUR. And it was attended with so many rare circumstances, and fulfilled so many prophecies, and was born with such an admirable patience, that it did convince men of the innocence of JESUS, and consequently of the truth of his doctrine. The veil of the temple was rent, the earth did quake, the rocks clave in sunder, the graves were opened, and the sun drew in its light, insomuch that the centurion, that beheld these things, could not forbear to say, *Truly this was the Son of GOD.* *Matth. xxvii. 54.*

AND no wonder after all this, that those who renounced *Christianity*, are said to count the blood of the *covenant* (i. e. the blood by which the new *covenant* was ratified and confirmed) wherewith he was sanctified (that is, CHRIST was consecrated or sanctified. See *Joh. xvii. 19.*) an unholy thing i. e. the blood not of an innocent person, but of a criminal. *Heb. x. 29.*

HAVING considered the death of CHRIST, as the death of a *victim* or *sacrifice*, of a *testator*, and of a *martyr* or *witness*;

4. I SHALL now consider it as a *patern*, and great example to us. And thus the scriptures represent it. *He suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps. Our SAVIOUR gave us an example that we should follow his steps.* *1 Pet. ii. 20.* Our SAVIOUR gave us a most excellent example in his whole life: But then at his death, he gave us also a very eminent example of the following virtues and graces.

I. OF *patience* and meekness under all his sufferings and reproaches. And his example was without a parallel. Never was there so great a mirror of these graces. *He did no sin, neither was there guile found in his mouth. Who when he was reviled, reviled not again: when he suffered he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.* In this JESUS was so conspicuous, that when we are exhorted to *patience*, we are directed to look upon him, the *author and finisher of our faith*. And it will be a very useful meditation for us under all our sufferings, and all the reproaches which we meet withal. He was guilty of no sin, but yet was numbered among transgressors. He had but few followers, and by one of them he is betrayed, denied by another, and in his greatest extremity forsaken by all the rest. He is pronounced innocent, and yet sentenced to death by the same breath, absolved and condemned by one and the same judge. He is forced to bear his own cross, reviled and buffeted, derided and scoffed at by an inhuman multitude, whom he came to save, and whom he had obliged

obliged by the greatest benefactions. He was innocent, and deserved not this usage; omnipotent, and able to revenge it: But instead of that he doth not so much as threaten those, whom he could easily have destroyed; He bears all with unparalleled meekness and patience, and made it appear, that these virtues were as invincible, as his cause was just. He is silent under the greatest clamours of his enemies; his persecutors have less patience, than he that suffers. And when the whole creation trembles, when the sun withdraws its light, and the rocks rend in pieces, and the graves give up their dead, and the veil of the temple is torn in pieces, then is JESUS quiet and still: This example doth most powerfully reprove our peevishness and discontent, our anger and our heat under the obloquy, and other sufferings, which we endure, and generally have deserved. 1 *Pet.* ii. 22, 23. *Heb.* xii. 1. 2.

II. OF *forgiveness* of enemies. They were our LORD's enemies, to whom he was the greatest friend. And of all enemies 'tis the hardest to forgive them. He that *did eat of his bread, hath lift up his heel against him.* His own disciple betrays him, and his own people thirst after his blood, and his wounds, he receives from those, whom he came to seek and save. A robber is preferred before him, and he is numbered with transgressors. He had fed their hungry, healed their sick, dispossessed their demoniacks, restored sight to their blind, given strength to their infirm, and life to their dead: Many good turns he had done them, and yet they treat him rudely and barbarously, they cry to have him crucified, and insult over him in his sufferings. What doth our LORD do all this while? Doth he call for fire from heaven to devour his enemies? Doth he menace them with an approaching destruction? Doth he exclaim against their proceedings? No: he opens not his mouth, unless it be to pray for these his enemies. *Father forgive them, &c.* And can we remember these things, and bear a grudge against our brother? Can it now be hard for us to forgive our enemies, when CHRIST with his last breath prayed for his? CHRIST forgave, and he died for our forgiveness: And is it now a possible thing for us not to forgive, even then when we commemorate the death of CHRIST? *Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as GOD for CHRIST's sake hath forgiven you.* Luk. xxiii. 34. Eph. iv. 31, 32.

III. OF the *profoundest humility* and condescension: The world never beheld a pattern of this grace, which could compare with this of our blessed SAVIOUR'S. He stooped from heaven to earth, when he was born. From the immensity and happiness, the power and infinity of a GOD, to the limits of a womb, the miseries of a man, the proportions and infirmities of a child, the weaknesses of a mortal, and the humble circumstances of a poor and mean condition. If we look upon JESUS in the manger, we shall see a glorious example of humility. But if we turn our eyes upon him as he hung upon the cross, we shall see an example great enough to extinguish out of our minds every proud thought for ever. Here we may see him, who was found in the fashion of a man, humbling himself lower still, as he was obedient *unto death, even the death of the cross.* Phil. ii. 8.

METHINKS after this we should never be in danger of a proud thought of our selves: We cannot sure after this example think any office too mean for us, in which we may do any good office to one another. Here is enough to extinguish for ever all our ambition and pride, and contempt of our poor brother. Nothing that we can do, can be called a great condescension after his humiliation of the Son of GOD.

IV. OF *resignation* to the will of GOD. This our LORD was the most conspicuous mirror and example of. He was a man (sin only excepted) like one of us; sensible of hunger and thirst, of pain and sorrow, and these things pained his flesh, as they do ours. His soul was sorrowful and very heavy: His sweat was like drops of blood; great was his agony, and his sorrow beyond expression. He saw before his eyes a most painful and a most shameful death. He is about to drink a most bitter cup. These things were grievous to his human nature, and therefore he prays, that (if it were possible) *this cup might pass from him*; but after all he submits himself to the will of GOD: *Not as I will, but as thou wilt*. And how instructive is this to us! We sinners may be ashamed to murmur, when our LORD resigned himself. Well may we submit under our little and deserved evils, when he that was without fault, resigned himself up to GOD. *Matth. xxvi. 39.*

V. OF the greatest *charity* to mankind. *Greater love than this hath no man, than that he lay down his life for his friend*. This is the highest flight of friendship, and we have but a very few examples in our books of such a degree of charity. Some few (I grant) have done this, none have gone beyond it, besides our LORD JESUS. For he died for his enemies and for the ungodly: This example should constrain us to do good to all, even to evil men, and to our greatest enemies. *Rom. v. 6.*

VI. OF the greatest *fortitude* and the truest *courage*. He bore witness to the truth with his blood, and was steadfast in the profession of it to his last breath. The most sharp and shameful death, the most barbarous usage and treatment could not prevail upon him to deny the truth, or to fall into an impotent passion, and revenge himself. He doth in cold blood chuse rather to die the worst kind of death, than to quit the profession of the truth, or to destroy his enemies. This is indeed an argument of true greatness of mind.

WE are much mistaken in our conceits about *valour* or *fortitude*. To *forgive an enemy*, and to *chuse to die* rather than to *do an evil thing* speaks a generous and a great mind, and is a certain proof of courage and true fortitude. But he is a man of a weak mind, who will do an evil thing to save his life; and revenge himself upon him, that affronts him or doth him wrong. Revenge speaks a defect of wit and courage. They are the meanest creatures, who are peevish and waspish, and prone to bite him that toucheth them. *Leniter qui seviunt, sapiunt magis. Anger resteth it in the bosom of fools: Non est magnus animus, quem incurvat injuria*. They are but little and feeble folk, that are ruffled by every injury or calumny. The more impotent and weak any creature is, the more easily it is provoked, and nothing is a more certain sign of a narrow and mean soul than revenge.

————— Quippe

— Quippe minuti
Semper & infirmi est animi, exiguique voluptas
Ultio; continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet quam femina. &c.

WELL, so it was, our SAVIOUR shewed great courage and resolution, and hath given us therein a great example of *Christian* fortitude and resolution.

V. I SHALL now make some application, of what hath been said.

I. WHAT hath been said may serve to recommend to us a suffering condition, which CHRIST hath sanctified by his own sufferings. When we suffer, we are like the author and finisher of our faith. It becomes us not to be dismayed with our sufferings, who profess a faith in a crucified redeemer. For by sufferings our religion was planted, and by sufferings it grew up and prevailed in the world.

THIS was the way, in which JESUS went before us into his glory; *And if we suffer with him, we shall likewise be glorified together.* It is no little comfort to us to think, that our LORD hath led us the same way, and that he did overcome the world after this manner, which is indeed the noblest conquest of it.

II. WE may hence be exhorted to a frequent meditation of the death and sufferings of JESUS CHRIST: From what hath been said it appears plainly, that we are nearly concerned in these things: For CHRIST did not suffer upon his own account, but upon ours, and we are very much concerned in the benefits of his death.

[1.] As we expect our pardon upon the account of his merit and satisfaction. He was a sacrifice, which made an atonement and expiation for our crimes, as he died for our sins.

[2.] As we hope for an eternal inheritance upon the account of the death of CHRIST, who hath made a way for us by his death, and by death entered himself before into an eternal inheritance.

[3.] As we are confirmed in the truth of his holy religion by the testimony of his blood, with which this new covenant between GOD and man was ratified and confirmed.

[4.] As we are constrained by the glorious example, which he gave us in his sufferings, to patience, and charity, and self-resignation, &c. of which he hath given us the most powerful example.

III. WE may hence be exhorted to a frequent, and diligent partaking of the sacrament of the LORD's supper, which is appointed as a standing memorial of the death of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. We ought not only to embrace, but welcome all these opportunities, as those which lead us to the contemplation of CHRIST's death, upon which our hopes do depend.

IT is an unspeakable privilege, that we are admitted to this favour: And had we the due sense, which we ought to have upon our minds, of the love of GOD in giving us his Son, and the love of our LORD in giving up himself to death for us, and the unspeakable benefits, which

which thence accrue to us ; we should need no words of persuasion, no law or secular interest to invite us to the doing of that, which is so plainly our duty, and so much our interest to do.

OUR spiritual hunger and thirst are the only safe and lasting principles, as well as the acceptable ones, from whence we ought to be moved.

IF our souls be once possessed with an ardent love of GOD and our blessed SAVIOUR, we shall not make excuses, and shall be so far from that, that it will not be an easie thing to stay away ; and nothing less than a violent detention will keep us back.

AND thus I have from the sufferings of JESUS made it appear, that he is the CHRIST.

BEFORE I proceed to speak to the *resurrection* of JESUS, I shall say something of his *burial*. Of the MESSIAS it was foretold, that he should not only *die* but be *buried*, and not only be *buried* but *honourably interred* also. And what was foretold of him, was fulfilled in our JESUS, though it was very unlikely to have came to pass.

THAT the MESSIAS should be buried, is foretold by the psalmist. *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, (or, in the grave) neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption.* We have no dispute with the *Jews* about the burial of JESUS; for they who grant that he died, will not deny that he was buried; it being the custom of the *Jews* to allow burial to all men, even to the greatest malefactors whatsoever. *Psal. xvi. 10. with Act. ii. 31. xiii. 35.*

BUT it was likewise foretold, that the MESSIAS (though he was to suffer an ignominious death) should be honourably buried. This was foretold of the MESSIAS, and was eminently fulfilled in our JESUS,

OF the MESSIAS it is said, that he *was cut off out of the land of the living*. And then it follows. *And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.* That is, His enemies designed him the burial of a malefactor (and he who dies among such, is likely to be buried with them also) but the MESSIAS having done no violence, would be rescued by the providence of GOD, and honourably buried : *Isai. liii. 9.*

WE have another eminent prophecy of the MESSIAS, which cannot be denied to belong to him by the *Jews* themselves, where among other things it is foretold, that *his rest shall be glorious* ; which words may well be allowed to predict the honourable burial of the MESSIAS; *Abravenel*, upon the liii. of *Isaiah* brings these words ; as a proof that what is said *Isa. liii. 9. he made his grave with the wicked*, cannot belong to the MESSIAS; because it is said, that *his rest shall be glorious* : In which he grants two things ; *First*, That the xi. chapter of *Isaiah* is to be understood of the MESSIAS, and we find him accordingly expound it of him : *Secondly*, That these words, *his rest shall be glorious* may well be expounded of the honourable burial of the MESSIAS. For else what cause had he to say that these words are opposite to those, if they do not belong to the same matter ? *Isa. xi. 10. Abravenel, on Isa. liii. 9.*

AND as this *Jew* hath justified those *Christians*, who understand this place of the burial of the MESSIAS; so it is very certain, that the place hath been understood to belong to this matter by the ancient writers of the church.

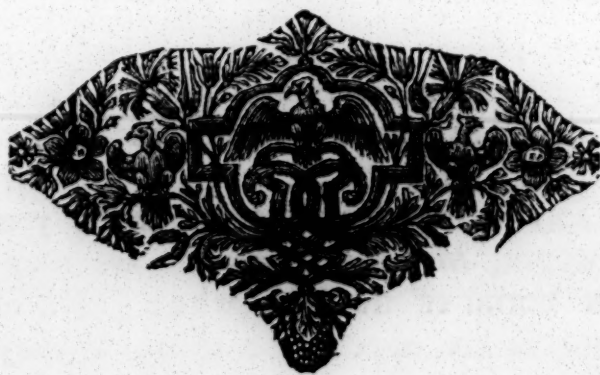
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THE vulgar *Latin* renders these words, *his rest shall be glorious*, thus, *Erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*. And we find the *Greek* interpreters elsewhere ¹ render the word *rest* to this sense, as signifying *burial*. Thus, *he shall enter into peace, they shall rest in their beds*, (which words *Justin Martyr* understands of the MESSIAS) is by the *Greek* rendered *Ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ παύσις αὐτοῦ*, i. e. *His burial shall be in peace*.

AND this place we find was understood of the honourable burial of the MESSIAS by the ancients.

I SHALL now shew, that these things were fulfilled in our JESUS, Though he was crucified under the *Roman* power; yet was he buried contrary to the custom of the *Romans*, who left those that were crucified to the injuries of the air, and voracity of the fowls: Again, though JESUS died between two thieves, and died as a malefactor, and though his enemies designed nothing more but an ignoble grave with the wicked; yet it was brought to pass by the providence of GOD, that his dead body was buried with the *rich*, and that great *honour* was shewed him in *his burial*. The body of JESUS was begged by a *rich man* named *Joseph*, 'twas wrapped in clean linnen, and laid in his own new tomb. *Nicodemus* a ruler of the *Jews*, and a master of *Israel*, brings a *mixture of myrrh and aloes*: The good womans *precious ointment* was poured out for the burial of JESUS: And when the sabbath was past, several women brought *spices*, that they might anoint him: In a word, great care was taken about his burial by the *rich*, by the *honourable*, and the *devout*. It was done with care and with cost, and by persons of the *greatest rank* and *quality*. Not to say, that in after times the place, where his body had lain, was visited frequently, and greatly adorned: But I shall not need to insist any farther upon this, but shall proceed to consider the *resurrection* of the MESSIAS. *Matth.* xxvii. 57. *Joh.* v. 1, 10. *with* *ibid.* xix. 39. *Matth.* xxvi. 12. *Mark* xvi. 1.

¹ Just. Mart. pro Christian. Apol. 11. Erit in pace Sepultura ejus. Cypr. adv. Judæos. l. 2. vid. Hieron Epist. ad Marcell.





C H A P. VIII.

Of the resurrection of JESUS. That we have sufficient evidence, that JESUS did rise from the dead. That we have the most unexceptionable human testimony. Why the same number of men are called the eleven and the twelve elsewhere, when they were but ten? Job. xxi. 14. explained. This confirmed by the testimony of an angel and by divine testimony. That JESUS removed all cause of doubting the truth of his resurrection: That there were a select number of men chosen to be witnesses of the resurrection of JESUS. That these witnesses, as also the evangelists are worthy of belief. That it was foretold, that the MESSIAS should rise from the dead. The words (Psal. ii. 5.) This day have I begotten thee, are justly applyed to this matter: This proved against the Jews at large. That JESUS rose from the dead is an undeniable proof, that he is the MESSIAS; and of the greatest importance to us. Of the time when JESUS rose from the dead. Why on the third day? And how he could be said to rise on the third day, who was but one whole day in the sepulchre; and how this agrees with Matth. xii. 40. where JESUS said, He should be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth? The third day, on which JESUS rose, considered as the first day of the week.

IF the sufferings and death of JESUS will afford us any arguments to prove him to be the MESSIAS; the resurrection of JESUS from the dead, and his exaltation to GOD's right hand will much more afford us pregnant and unexceptionable proofs, that he was the CHRIST the Son of GOD; and that his religion, which he hath taught us, came from GOD. And for the better speaking to this matter,

FIRST, I shall shew, That we have sufficient evidence, that JESUS did rise from the dead.

SECONDLY, That this is an unexceptionable proof, that he is the CHRIST.

THIRDLY, I shall consider the time, when JESUS rose from the dead, viz. *The third day.*

FIRST, I shall shew, that we have sufficient evidence, that JESUS did rise from the dead. By sufficient evidence I mean such, as is enough to satisfy any honest and inquisitive mind; as much, not to say much more, as we have for any matter of fact, which we were not the eye witnesses of. As much, and more, than we have for other things, of the truth of which we neither do, nor can reasonably make any manner of doubt; as much

as we can reasonably desire or expect. And what that is we may learn from the following particulars.

I. WE have the most unexceptionable human testimony, which can be desired; that JESUS did rise from the dead: For we have it from them, who saw him, and conversed with him, *to whom he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days.* From them, who did eat and drink with him, after he rose from the dead. That there was such a person as JESUS, and that he died, the *Jews* themselves do not deny. And that JESUS did rise again, we have the greatest assurance from those who saw him: *Act. i. 3. x. 41.*

FIRST, He appeared to *Mary Magdalen*, and to *other women*: And this appearance to *Mary Magdalen* was his first appearance. *Mark xvi. 9. Joh. xx. 14. Matth. xxviii. 9.*

SECONDLY, He appeared to *two* of his *disciples* going to *Emmaus*. And they were *Peter*, and *Cleophas*. That *Cleophas* was the same with *Alpheus*, (as may be collected from *Joh. xix. 25.* compared with *Matth. xxvii. 56.* and *Mark xv. 40.* and this appearance seems to be that, which the apostle mentions, when he saith, that he was seen of *Cephas*. *Luk. xxiv. 13, 18, 34. 1 Cor. xv. 5.*

THIRDLY, He appeared to the *eleven*, so indeed they are called; though it is certain, that there were but *ten* of them present at that time. For *Thomas* was absent: And yet *St. Paul* saith, he was seen of the *twelve*. And *Thomas* is called one of the *twelve*, when yet the whole number was at that time but *eleven*. *Luk. xxiv. 33, 36. Joh. xx. 19. Mark xvi. 14. Joh. xx. 24. 1 Cor. xv. 5.*

THERE is no cause, that any man should upon this account scoff at the *Scriptures*, or call in question their divine authority. Had the writers of these books been evil and crafty men, or had they combined together to put a cheat upon the world, they might easily have avoided such occasions of offence. And it is to me no little argument of the truth of what they affirm, that they all agree in the main, and differ at the same time in some circumstances of delivering it down to us.

THE difficulty before us is very small. They are called the *twelve*, because that was the full number of the apostles of CHRIST before the defection and death of *Judas*; as well as after the *election* of *Matthias*: And nothing is more common, than to call a society of men by that number, of which they consist, and by which they are generally called; even when the intire number is not made up. But then they are by the *evangelists* called *eleven*, that being the full number when *Judas* was gone off. And *Thomas* may well be said to be one of the *twelve*, with respect to the full number which was at first.

THE *Jews* of all men have no reason upon this account to disparage the *evangelists*, because they do in this matter speak after the manner of those writings, which the *Jews* allow to be divine. The sons of *Jacob* tell *Joseph* (when they supposed him to be dead) that they were *twelve brethren*, when they acknowledge that one was dead: *The youngest this day is with our Father, and one is not.* And though they were *eleven* (as they verily believed) yet they call themselves the *twelve brethren*, as they were at first. And when the *twelve* sons of *Jacob* are reckoned up, it is said, *These are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-Aram.* And yet it is evident, that *eleven* only of the *twelve* were born there. This may seem too great a digression, and therefore I shall return, and shall under this head only add, that all these

appearances of our LORD happened upon the same day, in which he rose from the dead *Gen.* xlii. 13. xxxv. 26. *Joh.* xx. 24.

FOURTHLY, He appeared to the disciples, when *Thomas* was with them, and this was (as it is very probable) the week after his resurrection, and upon the first day of the week. Those words in *St. John*, after *eight days* will very well bear this sense. *Joh.* xx. 26.

FIFTHLY, He appears again to seven of his disciples at the sea of *Tyberias*. The occasion of their being there seems to be this. It is well known that our SAVIOUR had told his disciples, that after his resurrection he would go before them into *Galilee*. After CHRIST was risen, the angel bad the women go, and tell his disciples and *Peter*, that they should see him in *Galilee*, as he had said unto them: Accordingly the disciples go down thither to meet their LORD; while they were there, and waited for the appearance of JESUS, *Peter* and six more go a fishing, and then JESUS appeared to them, of which we have a more particular account, *Joh.* xxi. With respect to this appearance *St. John* says, *This is now the third time, that JESUS shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.* And so, indeed, it was the *third* time of his appearing to the greater number of his disciples, though he had appeared before to *Mary Magdalen* at first, and to two of his disciples *Peter* and *Cleophas* at another time. So that though I reckon this the fifth appearance of CHRIST; yet it is still but the *third* time, in which he shewed himself to the greater number of his disciples. *Joh.* xxi. 1. *Matth.* xxviii. 16. *Matth.* xxvi. 32. *Mark* xvi. 7. *Joh.* xxi. 14.

SIXTHLY, Our SAVIOUR appeared again to the *eleven* disciples at a mountain in *Galilee*. This *Galilee* was the country in which he had lived, where he was well known, where he had done many miracles, and whence he had chosen several, if not most of his disciples. This was a more solemn appearing of our LORD: It was by appointment, and it was foretold before his death, and his followers are reminded of it after his resurrection; and it is very probable, that at this time, he appeared to *five hundred* at once, which will still speak this appearance the more conspicuous and remarkable. *Matth.* xxviii. 16. 17. *1 Cor.* xv. 6.

SEVENTHLY, He appeared to *James*, and to *all the apostles*: We have an account of his appearing to all the apostles upon his ascending up to heaven. *1 Cor.* xv. 7. *Act.* i. 1.

HERE are a great number of very unexceptionable witnesses. They were those who knew him before, those who saw him and conversed with him: They saw him often, and a great number they were that did so: It is not only reported by a few terrified women, or a melancholick follower or two; but by all his apostles, who had conversed with him for a considerable time, and many others, who knew him well, bear witness to this truth.

2. WE have also the testimony of an *angel*, who said unto the women that sought the body of JESUS, *He is not here, for he is risen*: Nor is it one angel only but two, as appears from the other evangelists. These angels, who are not sent upon mean and inconsiderable employments, attend upon, and publish the resurrection of JESUS, and do also secure the empty sepulchre from the *Jews*, that they are not able to place another body in the room of that of JESUS, which was risen. *Matth.* xxviii. 6. *Luk.* xxiv. 2. with *Joh.* xx. 12.

3. WE have a *divine testimony*, and that a most irrefragable one; a testimony greater than that of men and angels. Our LORD had promised the *holy Spirit*, who should be with respect to his disciples a *comforter*, and with re-
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spect to our LORD himself an *advocate* to plead his cause, and defend his innocence: Now this promise is fulfilled, and this HOLY GHOST did bear witness to the resurrection of JESUS. After JESUS was risen, he breathed on his disciples and said, *Receive ye the HOLY GHOST*; and after his ascension at the day of *Pentecost* we find the HOLY GHOST more plentifully bestowed on his disciples. And from thence the apostle argues against those, who derided them, as those who were full of new wine, that GOD had raised up JESUS, *who being exalted had shed forth this, which they now saw and heard*; and afterwards concludes, *Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that GOD hath made the same JESUS, whom ye have crucified, both LORD and CHRIST*. The effusion of the HOLY GHOST was a witness of the resurrection of JESUS: And this testimony of the HOLY GHOST was a divine one; it was from heaven. St. Peter tells the Jews, that GOD had raised up JESUS, *and exalted him at his right hand*; And (says he) *we are witnesses of these things, and so is also the HOLY GHOST, whom GOD hath given to them that obey him*. Joh. xiv. 16. xvi. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. xx. 22. Act. ii. 4, 36. v. 32.

4. JESUS did after his resurrection take away all cause of doubt concerning the truth thereof. He gave sufficient proof, that the very same body, which was fastened to the cross, died there, and was buried, was raised again to life. The disciples were at first affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit: But our SAVIOUR puts them out of all doubt; *Behold* (says he) *my hands and my feet, Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have*. He shews his hands and his feet: And whereas at his first appearing to his disciples, Thomas was absent, and did not believe, that he was risen from the dead, and said moreover, *Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe*; our LORD convinced this doubting disciple, and gives him the utmost evidence and assurance of the truth of his resurrection. *Reach hither thy finger* (says JESUS to Thomas) *and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless but believing*; upon which Thomas was convinced and forced to cry out, *My LORD and my GOD*! Our LORD gave his followers infallible proofs of his resurrection in the space of *forty days*. He eat and drank with them, exposed his body to their view and touch, *Behold* (says he) *my hands and my feet, that it is I my self*: And when after this they believed not for joy, and wondered, he took a broiled fish and a hony comb, and *did eat before them*. Greater assurance they were not capable of: Luk. xxiv. 37, 39, 40, 41, 42. Job. xx. 25, 27, 28. Act. i. 3. x. 41. Luk. xxiv. 39, 40.

5. THAT the truth of the resurrection of JESUS was abundantly confirmed by those, who were the witnesses of it. So it was (and it was highly fit it should be so) that there should be a *select number* of men, who were to be the witnesses of the resurrection of JESUS; these were men, whom GOD had appointed, and set apart for this purpose, and such, who upon the account of their knowledge of JESUS, and their readiness to part with all for the sake of the truth, were fitted and disposed for this purpose. Thus St. Peter tells us. *Him GOD raised up the third day, and shewed him openly, Not to all the people, but to witnesses, chosen before of GOD, even unto us, who did eat and drink with him, after he arose from the dead*. The apostles were now the witnesses of the resurrection of JESUS; this they preach and testify upon all occasions, and this is their character and their office; Act. x. 41. i. 22. iii. 15. iv. 2, 33. v. 30, 32. x. 30, 31. xiii. 31. xvii. 18.

Now these witnesses did abundantly confirm the truth of this doctrine, which they preached every where both by *signs* and *wonders*, which God wrought by their hands; and by an *exemplary* and *holy* life. And at last by *laying down* their *lives* in confirmation of their doctrine. Upon which account they were witnesses beyond all exception. For we cannot believe, that men would part with their lives in confirmation of a lie; or that God would assist them to do miracles, for so vile and base an end and purpose; and they must be very profligate wretches, who would affirm a matter of fact, of which they had not good assurance.

THE resurrection of JESUS was a truth of the greatest moment and consequence whatsoever; upon the truth of this our hope, and all our religion doth depend. It was fit, that this truth should be sufficiently attested by persons of undoubted credit. The death of CHRIST was publick, the whole multitude were witnesses of his crucifixion. But they were not vouchsafed the honour of being the witnesses of his resurrection; the truth of his resurrection was too valuable to be shewn in such a manner to an unconstant and malicious rabble: And therefore GOD, who raised up JESUS, and *shewed him openly* (or gave him to be made manifest, as the *Greek* hath it) did not shew him to all the people; but to certain select and chosen witnesses: Those men, who conversed with him before his death, and after his resurrection; who had known his life, and heard his sermons, and been taught by him before, that he must die and rise again; those men, who had power to confirm this truth with miracles, and were prepared to confirm it with their blood, and did persist in it to their last breath, were witnesses of the fact beyond all manner of exception.

I SAY, beyond all exception; for there can be no reasonable exception brought against them: And if we will give our selves the leisure to consider the thing before us with due application, we shall find no cause to except. For if there was any such cause, it must be because of the thing it self, or matter of fact which is attested, or the persons who do report it.

As for the thing it self, *viz.* that GOD raised up JESUS, there lies no shadow of reasonable exception against it. For that a man should be raised from the dead, implies no contradiction either *moral* or *natural*. He that believes, that GOD made the world, cannot think it impossible for him to raise a dead man to life again: ^m It is not incredible that he should raise a dead man to life, who made all things out of nothing. Nor doth it impeach any of the divine perfections to affirm, that GOD raised JESUS to life. No man can reasonably upon this account think meanly of the divine being. Upon the whole, there is nothing in the thing reported repugnant to right reason, nothing unbecoming the divine purity and perfections, and nothing incredible to them that are wise and good.

As for the persons who report this, if there lie any exception against them, it must be upon the score of their weakness, or wilfulness.

It may perhaps be pretended, that they were weak men and imposed upon: That they took up this belief, that JESUS rose from the dead upon light and insufficient grounds; and though they did not contrive to deceive others; yet they themselves were easily deceived.

BUT this cannot be pretended with any reason at all: For they did not report, that JESUS was raised to life upon hear-say or common fame; they did

^m Multo minus est, restituere quod fuerit, quam facere, quod non fuit. Hieron. ad Pammachium. Qui potui formare novum, reparabo peremptum. Prudent. in Resur.

not receive it as a tradition taken upon trust from others: But they were eye-witnesses of it themselves. They were men that knew *JESUS*, before he died, that conversed with him *forty days*, after he rose from the dead, that had sometimes doubted of the truth of his resurrection themselves, and had received the utmost satisfaction, that it was that *JESUS* who died, that was risen from the dead; and when they were assured of it, they taught this doctrine boldly; and they taught no more, than what they knew to be true; what they had *seen* and *handled* that they taught. Nor did this depend upon the testimony of women or children, or any incompetent witnesses; or upon a bare and single testimony: But a number of men, the most competent witnesses imaginable, did upon all occasions affirm, that *JESUS* was risen from the dead. There were no less than *twelve* principal witnesses of his resurrection, besides the many others who saw *JESUS*, after he was risen. *Act. i. 21, 22.*

NOR can we think, that these witnesses did *wilfully* go about to lie, and put a cheat upon other men: We cannot think them such vile persons, or that they could have prevailed this way.

FOR besides that they taught other men to spake the truth, and that they are not accused otherwise as flagitious persons, to what purpose should they affirm, that *JESUS* was risen from the dead, if it were false? Could they get any thing by such a lie? Was it a step to any honour or preferment to say, that *JESUS* was raised to life again? Was this doctrine pleasing to the *Jews*? Would it procure them any favour from the *gentile* world? Nay, Is it not evident, that for affirming this the *Jews* who put *JESUS* to death, were enraged against them? For they arraigned the justice of their nation, and incensed their *countrymen* to the highest degree whatsoever. The *gentiles* scoffed at them and derided them, and their scoffs were the least evils, which they suffered upon this account; for they continued in this their testimony under torments, and even unto death.

CAN any man imagine, that this was a contrivance and plot of crafty men? Or that they combined to put a cheat upon mankind? To what end should they do this? It is not likely, that they could engage a considerable number in such a combination. It would be hard to find a great many men so weary of their lives, as to be content to throw them away in confirmation of a lie. Besides, the fraud would have been quickly discover'd: For these men did not forbear to tell, when and where this happened, which they were the witnesses of.

DID ever any men of credit prove these witnesses incompetent? Did they ever deprehend them in a lie, or speaking inconsistently? Did it appear at any time, that they were caught in a false story, or that any one of them were forced to recant and retract, what he had said?

How came this belief to spread so quickly in the world, if it had not been true? Could it have any thing else to recommend it to the belief of mankind? That it quickly gained an universal belief in the world is undeniable; But how could this be? GOD attested to this truth by enabling these witnesses to work miracles in confirmation of it. That so it was no man can doubt, that gives any credit to the testimony of others. Had it not been so, the spreading of this belief without a miracle, would have been the greatest miracle of all.

IT is plain, that we have no reason to doubt of the resurrection of *JESUS*: There is no history, no matter of fact, which yet we believe firmly, that we have that cause to believe, as we have this, that *JESUS* was raised from the dead; and therefore if we do not believe, that *JESUS* rose from the dead, it
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is not from want of evidence, and sufficient motives of credibility; but from a faulty principle, and a culpable neglect of seeking after the truth.

6. THAT the evangelists, who report the matter of fact concerning the resurrection of JESUS, are worthy of all credit. For their names are annexed to their writings; they set down the time and place, where those things happened, which they write of; they name the persons concerned in these things; they write of things, which happened in their own time, and which they knew to be true. They all agree in the main story, and their different relating of some smaller circumstances doth but confirm their credit as to the main relation. What can we desire in any writings, which is wanting here? What have we to object against these writers? Can we suppose, that they did conspire to put a cheat upon mankind? But what reason have we for this suspicion? Surely none, but much to the contrary.

FOR they do not write like men, who had combined together to cheat the world. They own their names, they relate something with some seeming difference, they mention the time and place where those things happened, which they write; they name many persons, and of several nations and ranks that were concerned, they stick not to mention their own meanness and their own faults and infirmities, and the shame and death of their great LORD and master.

NOR could these or the other witnesses of the resurrection be induced by any worldly temptation to tell a lie. Either they did believe the religion, which they professed, or they did not. If they did believe it, they durst not tell a lie, it being directly forbid in that religion, which they believed to be true. If they did not believe it themselves; what could persuade them to obtrude the belief of it upon other men? They were so far from gaining by this course, that they exposed themselves to the malice and rage of men, to the loss of all things, and to the severest death. Can we believe, that they should be so fond of what they knew to be a lie, that they would lose all which they had in confirmation of it? Men are not commonly so fond of truth, as to confirm it with their blood: Can we imagine that men should persist in a lie to the loss of all things? But ⁿ of this matter I have discoursed before, and shall not need to pursue it now.

7. THAT the resurrection of the MESSIAS was *foretold* in the *old Testament*, as well as *typified*; and therefore the *evangelists* are not to be rejected by the *Jews* for reporting this matter. The first preachers of the *Christian* faith did confirm this truth from the holy writings, which the *Jews* owned: They proved from them, that this was foretold, and they do it beyond all exception, because they argue from those principles, which the *Jews* allowed.

To this purpose belong those words *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*. That that psalm did relate to the MESSIAS, we are able to prove from the *Jewish* doctors, who do acknowledge it: And therefore when it was alledged to this purpose, they cannot say, that it was an allegation out of a place, which did not belong to the MESSIAS. The apostle applies those words to this sense; He assures us, that GOD hath fulfilled his promise, in that he *hath raised up JESUS again*, as it is also written in the *second psalm*, *Thou art my son, &c.* It being confessed by the *Jews* themselves, that the *psalm*, out of which these words are cited, is to be understood

ⁿ At the close of chap. VI.

of the MESSIAS. I need not go about to justify and make good, that it belongs to the matter, for which it is alledged. *Psal. ii. 5. Acts. xiii. 33.*

I SHALL only consider, how fitly these words are applied to the resurrection of the MESSIAS. For, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*, seem rather to relate to the *birth* than to the *resurrection* of the MESSIAS. But for the clearing of this matter it is to be considered.

THAT it is no unusual thing to call the *earth* our *mother*, as well as our *parent* from whom we are *born*. The *earth*, out of which we are *taken*, and to which we *return*, is our *mother*, as well as our *parent*, from whom we *spring*; and our *grave*, to which we *return*, is our *womb*, as well as that of our *mother's*. When ^o *Julius Cæsar* dreamed, that he had offered violence to his mother, there were those who did interpret it, *Arbitrium orbis terrarum portendi*, i. e. that he should conquer the earth, *quæ omnium parens haberetur* i. e. which is the common mother of us all: And ^p when *Tiberius* died, the people out of hatred prayed *Terram Matrem* the common mother the earth, to give him no reception but among the wicked.

PHILO^q the Jew tells us, that the earth seems to be a mother, and that thence it was, that among the ancients it was called Δημήτηρ, by a word that at once signifies the *earth* and *mother*, and that according to *Plato* 'Ου γὰρ γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆν μεμῖμεν, i. e. The earth doth not so much imitate a woman, as a woman the earth. He tells us farther, that nature hath given her breasts, viz. the chanel of rivers and fountains.

AFTER this manner do the writers of the *old Testament* speak, with whom the *grave*, which receives the dead, is called the *womb*; and therefore a resurrection from thence may well be called παλιγγενεσία or a *new birth*. *Naked came I out of my mother's womb* (says *Job*) and *naked shall I return thither*. What we render *thither*, the *Chaldee paraphrast* expresseth by לבית קבורתא, i. e. to the grave. Again on the other hand when the *Holy Scripture* speaks of the *mother's womb*, it speaks after such a manner, as referst to the *earth*, the *παμήτης* or mother of us all. When the *Psalmist* speaks of his being formed in the womb, he expresseth the *womb* by the lowest parts of the *earth*, which the *Chaldee paraphrast* on the place interprets of the *womb* of his mother. And ^r the *virgin's womb* seems to be meant by the κατώτερα μέρος τῆς γῆς, i. e. the lowermost part of the earth: And to my present purpose, into the innermost parts of the belly, in *Solomon*, is by the *Targum* rendered in profundum sepulchri, i. e. into the depth of the grave. ^f And we find among the *Jewish writers*, that the *mother's womb* is called קבר a sepulchre. He that is *born*, and *dies*, and is *buried*, doth but pass from one tomb to another.

And he that rises out of the *womb* of the *earth*, or his *grave*, may be said to be *born anew*; and therefore it may well be said of our SAVIOUR, when he rose from the dead, that he was then begotten: And when the apostle applies those words, *This day have I begotten thee*, to our SAVIOUR's resurrection, he doth but speak the language of the *Hebrew writers*; and the *Jews*, who own that this *Psalms* belongs to the MESSIAS, have no reason to complain, that those words of it should be applied to his resurrection. *Job. i. 21. Psal. cxxxix. 15. Eph. iv. 9. Prov. xviii. 18.*

AND this manner of speaking is very agreeable to the type of our SAVIOUR's resurrection: I mean the prophet *Jonas*, who was *three days and three*

^o Sueton. Jul. Cæsar.

^p Id. Tiberius.

^q Phil. Jud. de mundi. opificio.

^r Vid. Paulum Fagium in Gen. xxxvii. 35.

^f Oholoth. c. 7. m. 4.

nights in the *whale's belly*, to which the *heart* of the *earth*, in which *JESUS* was, and from which he rose, answers. *Matth.* xii. 40. *Jonas* is not only said to have been in the *belly* (or *bowels* as it is in the *Hebrew*) of the fish *Jonah.* i. 17. But when he prayed unto the *LORD* his *GOD* there, and *GOD* heard him, he is said to have heard him out of the *belly of hell*, or (as the marginal reading hath it, and the *Hebrew* word signifies) out of the *belly of the grave.* *Jon.* ii. 2. And when he acknowledges his deliverance, he doth it in these words, *Yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O LORD my GOD.* *Jon.* ii. 6. compare *Psal.* xvi. 10. *Act.* ii. 31.

JESUS came from the *virgin's womb* and the *womb* of the *earth*. The first birth was *natalis imperatoris*, the second *natalis imperii*. The prince was born, when the virgin brought him forth at *Bethlehem*; but his resurrection was the birth day of his kingdom, and of his entrance upon his everlasting priesthood: Upon both accounts he is justly called the *Son of GOD*; as he was *conceived* by the *HOLY GHOST* in the *virgin's womb*, and as he was *raised* by the *HOLY GHOST* from the *grave*. And there^t is a great cognation between the *womb*, and the *grave*: The *womb* of the *virgin*, which had received *none* but the *holy Jesus*, and the sepulchre, which *Joseph* had provided, *wherein never man before was laid*. The *virgin* and the *sepulchre* were both *undefiled*: And however a several *Joseph* was related to *each*; yet they had not made *any use of either*. Our *LORD* was miraculously born of the *virgin*, and as miraculously raised from the *dead*. Without the help of a man he was born at first, and was raised from the grave without human assistance, and in defiance of all the endeavours used to prevent it. He received *life* upon the first *conception*; and a *new life*, when *he rose from the dead*. They were both effected by the *HOLY GHOST* and published by *angels*, *Heb.* v. 5. *Luk.* i. 35. *with Rom.* i. 4. *viii.* 11. *Luk.* xxiii. 53.

BUT we have another prediction of the resurrection of the *MESSIAS*, which cannot belong to the person of *David* at all; viz. *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell: Neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.* This must belong to the person of the *MESSIAS*, for *David* died and was buried, and his flesh consumed; and it is therefore an unexceptionable proof of that truth, which it is brought to confirm. *Psal.* xvi. 10. *Act.* ii. 29.

WE have another prophecy, that assures us, that the *MESSIAS* after his resurrection shall die no more, viz. *The promise of the sure mercies of GOD*, which we find the apostle applying to this matter, and inferring from it, that *CHRIST* who rose from the dead, *was no more to return to corruption.* *Isa.* lv. 3. *Act.* xiii. 34.

IF what hath been said be duly considered, we shall find, that *GOD* hath given us sufficient assurance, that *JESUS* did rise from the dead.

FOR what greater assurance can we desire of this matter of fact, unless we think our *SAVIOUR* should have died in every age, and country, and risen again to satisfy our unreasonable infidelity?

WHAT is there, that the *Jews* can object against this doctrine thus confirmed? Will they undertake to prove a negative against so many positive proofs and witnesses? What possible ways are there left them of doing this?

^t Augustin. de Tempore. Serm. 133. Virgo erat adhuc terra, nondum opere compressa, nondum sementi subacta. Tertull. de carne Christi.

They

They cannot deny the possibility of the thing, who believe a resurrection to come, or that GOD made the world: Or will they say, as once they did, who watched his sepulchre, and were hired to say it, that *his disciples came by night, and stole him away while they slept.*

Is it probable, that this should gain any belief among men? What temptation could they have to do this? Or is it likely, that they, who for fear forsook him when he was living, should adventure upon the guard to retrieve his dead body, which was honourably interred? If these soldiers knew this to be true, why did they not hinder it? If they knew it not, how could they testify it? What could hinder them, who had power, that they did not prevent it? Or what reason have we to believe those, as competent witnesses, who confess, that they were a-sleep, when it was done?

THUS having shewed, that we have sufficient evidence, that JESUS did rise from the dead, I shall now proceed to shew,

II. THAT this is an unexceptionable proof, that he is the CHRIST, and consequently of the truth of the *Christian Religion.*

I NEED not enlarge upon this head. For it is very evident and plain, and the *Jews* themselves cannot deny it. And for that reason, they who deny not that he lived and died, do what they can to stifle the belief of the resurrection. This they do, because they are sensible, that his resurrection from the dead is a proof beyond exception, that he is the MESSIAS. They endeavoured, what they could, to hinder his resurrection, and when they could not do that, they laboured to hinder the belief of it.

AND that which makes the resurrection of JESUS so unexceptionable a proof, that he is the CHRIST is this, that JESUS did in his life time, not only profess himself to be the CHRIST the Son of GOD; but also foretold the manner of his own death, and that he should not only rise again, but rise again the third day; and doth refer the unbelieving *Jews* to his resurrection, as to the great sign and proof of his being sent from GOD. When the *scribes* and *pharisees* asked JESUS for a sign, He answered and said unto them; *An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whales belly; so shall the son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* Our LORD had done many miraculous works among the *Jews*, and still they require a sign, or a more plain and clear proof, that he came from GOD. Our SAVIOUR refers them to his resurrection, as that which would be most unexceptionable, and sufficient to remove any, but a perverse and incurable unbelief. And this he calls the sign of the prophet *Jonas*: That prophet was sent to call the *Ninevites* to repentance, and was successful in his undertaking; and his miraculous escape from the belly of the whale was a competent proof, that he was sent by GOD, and very fit to gain him credit with the *Ninevites*; And very probable it is, that the fame of what had befallen the prophet, had came to the men of *Nineveh*, and that it made way for the reception of the doctrine, which he preached. The resurrection of JESUS was a greater sign, and that which made way for the entertainment of his doctrine in the world; For it did confirm the truth of all which he said beyond exception, and was given them as a sign for this purpose. *Matth. xvi. 21. Joh. ii. 19, iii. 14. xii. 32, 33. Matth. xii. 39, 40.*

THERE have been those, who have been raised from the dead besides JESUS: And many besides him have professed themselves to be the CHRIST also. But none in the world but JESUS professed himself to be CHRIST, and confirmed it by his resurrection. *Maimonides* ^u tells us of one, who deceived the poor *Jews* under a pretence, that he was at least the fore-runner of the MESSIAS; who having boasted vainly, that he would rise again after his death, in token that he came from GOD, was indeed beheaded by a certain *Arabian* king, but returned not to life again. He was not able to give the proof, that JESUS did, who rose from the dead. And though there have been others, who have been raised from the dead; yet none of them ever professed to be the CHRIST, the Son of the living GOD, as our JESUS did.

THIS being a truth, upon which the evidence of the whole *Christian Religion* depends, no wonder, that the belief of this article should be accounted for a faith in the whole religion. *That is the word of faith* (says St. Paul) *which we preach, That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the LORD JESUS, and shalt believe in thine heart, that GOD hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* For he that believes, that JESUS rose from the dead, doth believe the other articles of religion, which are all confirmed by this. He that believes, that JESUS is risen, doth at the same time believe him to be the CHRIST, and consequently that his precepts are divine, that his promises are certain, and his power and authority uncontrollable. This is indeed the faith peculiar to *Christians*: The *Jews* and the *Heathens* believed some other points relating to religion; That JESUS rose, that he is the CHRIST, the Son of GOD, this is the great article of the *Christian* faith: Hence it is, that so much is imputed to this faith, and to the confession of this truth in the *new Testament*. *Whosoever shall confess that JESUS is the Son of GOD, GOD dwelleth in him, and he in GOD.* And afterwards, *Whosoever believeth that JESUS is the CHRIST, is born of GOD.* Whoever believed this, believed all the *Christian Religion*: And he that (when those words were written) did believe and profess this truth, when 'twas greatly dangerous so to do; as he gave proof of a sincere faith, so he might be truly said to dwell in GOD, and to be born of GOD. *Rom. x. 9. 1 Joh. iv. 15. 1 Joh. v. 1.*

HAD not CHRIST been a man, he could not have died; and had he not been CHRIST the Son of GOD, he could not have risen from the dead. Had JESUS been a deceiver, he must have lain in the grave till the general resurrection: Nothing less than a divine power could raise him to life again: It was the godhead, which raised the human nature; and when CHRIST raised himself, as he foretold he would, he then gave an unquestionable proof of his divinity. *Joh. ii. 19, 21.*

IT is an easie thing to destroy life; but to restore it again speaks an almighty power: It is nothing short of omnipotence, which can bring so great a thing to pass.

THE *key* of the *grave* is one of those, which GOD keeps in his own hand. The apostle in very emphatical words expresseth the power, by which JESUS was raised from the dead; for speaking of the *exceeding greatness of GOD's power to us-ward, who believe*, he adds, *according to the working of this mighty power, which he wrought in CHRIST, when he raised*

^u Maimon. Epist. ad Judæos Marfilienfes.

him from the dead. The words are very great (as a learned man hath well observed) on the one hand there is ὑπεράλλον μέγεθος ἡ δυνάμει, and on the other there is ἐνέργεια ἡ κρατος ἡ ἰσχὺς. Here's δύναμις and ἰσχὺς, two words to express power, and that the power of GOD; and as if these were too little, μέγεθος is added to the one, and κρατος to the other; and still, as if these were too short, there is, τὸ ὑπεράλλον μέγεθος and the ἐνέργεια ἡ κρατος, and to this is added ἡ ἐνέργησεν, all this mighty power is actuated and exerted also. And who can now believe, that GOD would have shewn such a power in raising up JESUS from the dead, if he had not been the CHRIST?

III BUT I proceed to consider the time, when JESUS rose from the dead, viz. the *third day*.

THE death and resurrection of JESUS were necessary toward our redemption, and the belief of both these is necessary to our salvation: It is therefore fit, that we should be well assured of the truth of them both, and to that purpose, that there should be some distance between the one and the other. For as he could not have revived, if he had not first died; so it was fit, that we should be well assured of the first, before we could be obliged to believe the second. If CHRIST had revived, as soon as he had been taken down from the cross, it might have been questioned, whether or no he was really dead: But for the better speaking to this matter.

FIRST, I shall inquire into the reasons, why there was this distance of time between the death and resurrection of JESUS.

SECONDLY, That JESUS did rise the *third day* after his death.

THIRDLY, I shall consider the *third day*, as it was the *first day* of the week.

I. I SHALL inquire into the reasons of this distance of time between the death and resurrection of JESUS. And we may take them in the following particulars.

1. IT was very fit, that there should be some competent distance between the death, and resurrection of JESUS; that men might be assured that he died, without which they could not be obliged to believe him *risen* from the *dead*.

2. IT was not fit, that the body of JESUS should lie so long as to be corrupted. It was enough that he was so long a time dead, as might give assurance, that when he did appear, he was really risen from the dead. Had he lain any longer in the grave, he had continued so long there, as would have brought corruption and putrefaction upon his body. *Martha* tells JESUS concerning *Lazarus*, *By this time he stinketh*; and for a proof of it she adds, *For he hath been dead four days*: This long stay in the grave would have made too great a change in the body of JESUS. Besides, there was a prophecy of the MESSIAS to this purpose, that, though he should die and be buried; yet his body should not lie so long in the grave as to putrify. Thus *St. Peter* applies that prediction, *Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption*, to the resurrection of CHRIST. *Joh. xi. 39. Act. ii. 27, 31.*

3. THAT this precise time of the resurrection of JESUS is according to the *Scriptures*, or writings of the *old Testament*. 1 Cor. xv. 4.

AMONG those persons, who in the *old Testament* were types of the MESSIAS, *Isaac* was an eminent one : He was born against the laws of nature, the son of the promise, called the *only son*, and the *beloved son*, and the *heir* : He was given up by his father to death, and he bore the wood which was to bear him, and in these things he was a remarkable type of CHRIST. And the *Bereſhith Rabbobh* * expreſſeth his carrying the wood by his carrying *his croſs upon his ſhoulder*. The ſame author upon theſe words, *on the third day*, &c. reckons up a great many places of *Scripture*, which mention the *third day*, and many particulars for which the *third day* was remarkable, viz. the giving of the law, &c. and then tells us it was remarkable for the *reſurrection of the dead*, and cites to that purpoſe the very words of the prophet, which we *Chriſtians* alledge to the matter in hand. *After two days he will revive us, in the third day will he raiſe us up, and we ſhall live in his ſight*. The ſame author in the ſame place mentions the *third day* as remarkable upon the ſcore of *Jonas*, who was *three days and three nights in the belly of the whale* ; than which nothing could have been ſaid more appoſitely to our preſent purpoſe, that being an expreſs type of the MESSIAS, as hath been noted before. And 'tis enough in this matter, that we can ſhew the expreſs prophecy of *Hofea*, and the eminent type of the prophet *Jonas*. Gen. xxii. 4. Hofea vi. 2. Matth. xii. 38, 39.

II. I SHALL now ſhew, that JESUS did riſe the *third day* after his death : Where I ſhall clear this relation from the cavils of the *Jews*.

IT is certain, that there could be but one whole day and two nights between the death of JESUS and his reſurrection ; and yet JESUS had foretold, that the ſon of man ſhould *be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth* : Again he ſaid, *After three days I will riſe again*, and, *Destroy this temple, and after three days I will raiſe it up*. And elſewhere JESUS is ſaid to have riſen again the *third day*. Matth. xii. 40. xxvii. 63. Joh. ii. 19. 1 Cor. xv. 4.

THE day on which he died is to be reckoned for one Νυχθήμερον or natural day, and that on which he roſe for another. And thus the *Hebrew writers* commonly reckon in other caſes. The *Hebrew* child was to be circumciſed the *eighth day*, but then the day of it's *birth* and of it's *circumciſion* were both counted. And the *pentecoſt* was the *ſiftieth day* from the day of the *wave-offering*, but then both the one and the other are reckoned in this account : This is but the phraſe of the *old Testament*. We have a remarkable inſtance to this purpoſe. *It came to paſs in the fourth year of king Hezekiah (which was the ſeventh year of Hoſhea ſon of Ela, king of Iſrael) that ſhalma-neſer king of Aſſyria came up againſt Samaria, and beſieged it. And at the end of three years they took it, even in the ſixth year of Hezekiah (that is the ninth year of Hoſhea king of Iſrael) Samaria was taken*. It is evident from hence, that that is ſaid to be done at the end of *three years*, which from it's beginning could be but *two* whole years diſtant. Again, the prieſts in their courſes were to miniſter one week as is well known. And yet *Joſephus* tell us, that † they were obliged to miniſter ἐν ἡμέραις οὐτῶ ἀπὸ σαββάτου, ἐν σαββάτῳ, i. e. *eight days from one ſabbath to another*. This will juſtify us, when we ſay, that the appearance of CHRIST, mentioned *Joh. xx. 26*. happened on the *firſt day* of the week, or on that day *ſevennight* after his firſt appearance, on the day of his reſur-

* Bereſhith Rabb. in Gen. xxii.

† Antiqu. l. 7. c. 11.

rection; though it be thus expressed, *after eight days*, &c. And this will help us with ease to reconcile St. *Luke* with St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark*, when he says that happened *about eight days after*, which the other expresses by *after six days*. For supposing *six days* complete, St. *Luke* might well say about eight days after. *Luk.* i. 59. ii. 21. *1 King.* xviii. 9, 10. *Joh.* xx. 26. *Matth.* xvii. 1. *Mark.* ix. 2. with *Luk.* ix. 27.

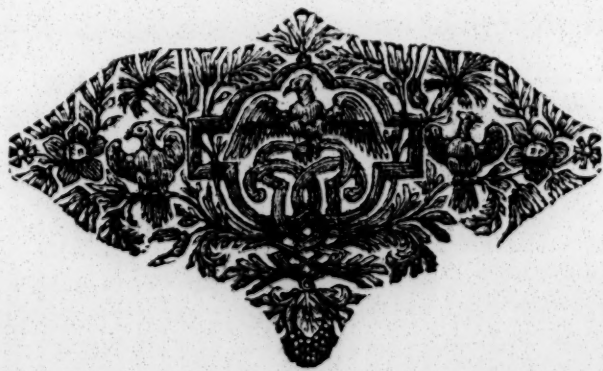
III. I SHALL consider this third day on which JESUS rose, as the first day of the week; which ^z was a day very famous among the *Jewish* writers upon twelve accounts, which I do not think my self obliged to reckon up in this place.

IT is plain, that JESUS rose upon the *first day* of the week. The day of his death is called the *preparation*, because then the *Jews* provided what was needful against the approaching sabbath: *When the even was come (because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath)* says St. *Mark*. St. *Luke* says, *that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on*. It was a preparation to a remarkable sabbath, which fell within the solemn festivity of the *passover*. *The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day (for that sabbath was an high day) besought Pilate, &c.* *Matth.* xxvii. 62. *Joh.* xix. 42. with *Exod.* xvi. 5. *Mark* xv. 42. *Luk.* xxiii. 54. *Joh.* xix. 31, 42.

THAT CHRIST rose on the first day of the week, is a particular, which all the four evangelists do relate, and therefore the more carefully to be heeded by us. *Matth.* xxviii. 1. *Mark.* xvi. 2. *Luk.* xxiv. 1. *Joh.* xx. 1.

THE *Israelites* were obliged, when they reaped their harvest, to bring a sheaf of their first fruits unto the priest: This *sheaf* was to be waved on the *morrow after the sabbath*: This sheaf hallowed all the rest, and GOD's acceptance of this gave the *Jews* a title to the rest. As that was waved the *morrow after the sabbath*; so was our LORD at that time raised to life, as *the first fruits of them that slept*. His resurrection infers ours, and is the great reason, why we instead of the sabbath day, which was buried with our LORD, keep holy the first day of the week in memory of his resurrection: *Levit.* xxiii. 10, 11, 12.

^z Abravenel in Legem, fol. 282. col. 2. ad finem.





C H A P. IX.

Of the ascension of JESUS into heaven. That the MESSIAS was to ascend thither. This proved from Psalm lxviii. 18. which is justly applied to this matter by St. Paul, Eph. iv. 8. Psalm cx. 1. considered. The Jews grant that psalm to belong to the MESSIAS. An eminent type of CHRIST's ascension. That JESUS did ascend into heaven. There were eye-witnesses of it. Of the distance of forty days between his resurrection and ascension. That CHRIST is not a metaphorical priest, shewed against the followers of Socinus. That this ascension into heaven was typified by the high priest's entering into the holy of holies. That the author of the epistle to the Hebrews doth (chap. ix. 24. and elsewhere) infer this from the avowed principles of the Jewish writers. That the high priest was an eminent type of the divine λόγος is acknowledged by Philo. Three remarkable places of that author to this purpose. That the sanctuary was a representation of the universe, and the holy of holies of the highest heavens proved at large from the modern Jewish writers, and from the more ancient. Of the veil of the temple, which rent when our SAVIOUR suffered: Matth. xxvii. 51. What veil that was, and what was imported by the renting of it. Of the effects which followed upon the exaltation of JESUS. Of the miraculous gift of the HOLY GHOST on the day of Pentecost. That that gift was an argument, that JESUS was a true prophet, and that he had that power, which he had professed to be given to him. Of the success of the religion of JESUS in the world. Success barely considered is no good argument of a good cause, and truth of a religion; yet the success of the Christian doctrine is a good argument of it's truth; if it be considered what the author and first preachers of this doctrine were, and what is the nature of the doctrine it self, and after what manner it did prevail.

HAVING proved, that JESUS rose from the dead, and shewed that his resurrection is a great proof, that he is also the CHRIST; I shall now proceed to the consideration of the ascension of JESUS into heaven, and his being concerned there on our behalf, and the mighty effects following from thence, as a farther proof that JESUS is the CHRIST.

AND in order hereunto I shall proceed in the following method.

FIRST,

FIRST, I shall shew, That the MESSIAS was to ascend into heaven, and to be concerned there in behalf of his people.

SECONDLY, That our JESUS did ascend into heaven, and is there concerned on the behalf of his people.

THIRDLY, That the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* doth (*chap. ix. 24.* and elsewhere) infer this truth from the avowed principles of the *Jewish* writers.

FOURTHLY, I shall make it appear from the effects following upon the exaltation of JESUS in heaven, that he did ascend thither, and was there concerned on our behalf, and that therefore our JESUS is the CHRIST.

I. I SHALL shew, that the MESSIAS was to ascend into heaven, and to be concerned there in behalf of his people.

THIS was foretold in the *old Testament*: *Thou hast ascended on high: thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast received gifts for men*: *Psal. lxxviii. 18.* These words are not only applied by ^a St. Paul to this purpose, but with great reason they are so applied. The ^b occasion of that *Psalms* was the removal of the ark, which of a long time had been separated from the tabernacle of the congregation, which *Moses* had made for it. And as this ark was an eminent type of the MESSIAS; so the place, assigned both by *Moses* and afterward by *Solomon* for the reception thereof, was a type of heaven, as shall be shewed afterwards. And therefore it shall not need to seem strange to any man, that those words, which were at first used with reference to the ark, should be applied to the ascension of the MESSIAS. And this may be the more reasonably presumed to be implied in those words of the *Psalmist*, if we compare them with the words of ^c another *Psalms* relating to this matter; where we find the ark, the symbol of God's special presence, called the king of glory, and it's reception into the place prepared for it, represented in such words, as do serve to express the reception of a glorious king into his palace and throne. ^d *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, even lift them up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in. Who is this king of glory? The LORD of hosts, he is the king of glory.*

BESIDES what hath been said to justify the apostle's application of those words to the ascension of the MESSIAS into heaven, I may add farther that the words themselves cannot so properly be applied to any person as to the MESSIAS, when he did ascend up into heaven: For what we render ^e *on high*, is observed in the *Psalmist's* phrase to signify heaven, and to be applied unto God. And the following words, *Thou hast led captivity captive*, &c. do very fitly agree with the conquest, which CHRIST obtained over death, and over the devil, whom he triumphantly led captive, when he went up into heaven; and he did (as those who triumphed were wont to do) upon this ascension of his into heaven bestow great gifts upon mankind; the bestowing of which was an argument, that when he was exalted into heaven himself, he did not forget his followers, but did by the gifts, which he bestowed, make it appear, that he was concerned there in behalf of his people.

ANOTHER prophecy to this purpose we find in *Micah*. ^f *The breaker is come up before them: They have broken up, and have passed through the*

^a Eph. iv. 8. ^b Psal. lxxviii. 1. ^c 1 Chron. xiii. 5. ^d Psal. xxiv. ^e Vid. The Dean of Peterburgh's argument to Psal. xxiv. ^f Psal. vii. 8. xciii. 4. lxxi. 19. ^g Mic. ii. 13.

gate, and are gone out by it, and their king shall pass before them, and the LORD on the head of them. I will by no means enter into a particular explication of this place, nor shall I need to prove, that it belongs to this matter, for which it is produced, because the^b Jews themselves grant, that these words are to be understood of the MESSIAS, and the latter Jews confess, that this was the opinion of their ancient writers.

I SHALL name but one more, but that is a very eminent and conspicuous one. ^h *The LORD said unto my LORD, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* Now these words do so belong to the MESSIAS, that they cannot be applied to any other person. And whereas several predictions, which concern the MESSIAS, had also a reference first to some other eminent person, who was a type of him: The words of this *Psalm* throughout do immediately belong to him, and cannot in any tolerable sense be applied to *Abraham*, or *David*, *Ezekiah*, or *Zorobabel*, or any other person whatsoever. And though theⁱ Jews have exercised their wits in perverting the sense of this *Psalm*, and applying it to some other person; yet as they have been very unhappy in it, so several of them have been forced to confess, that these words are to be understood of the MESSIAS.

AND without all doubt the ancient Jews did with one consent interpret this *Psalm* of the MESSIAS, who is said not only to sit at GOD's right hand, but also to be a priest for ever after the order of *Melchisedeck*; which words cannot be with truth affirmed of any other person whatsoever. And JESUS did apply these words to the MESSIAS, and so far stopped the mouths of the *Pharisees*, that they were not able to reply. ^k *What think ye* (says JESUS to them) *of CHRIST? Whose son is he? They say unto them, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him LORD, saying, The LORD said unto my LORD, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him LORD, how is he his son?* This put them to silence, which it would not have done, if these words had not been confessed to belong to the MESSIAS: Had it not been the sense of the whole nation, that the *Psalm* belongs to him, they could soon have answered our SAVIOUR in this place: And as this place was made use of by JESUS; so it was by his followers also to the same purpose, and to the same persons (*viz.* the Jews) also. St. Peter^l tells them, that *David is not ascended into the heavens; but he saith himself, The LORD said unto my LORD, Sit thou on my right hand, &c.* To the same purpose are these words justly applied by St. Paul,^m in his epistle to the *Corinthians*; and the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* mentions this, as a peculiar belonging to the MESSIAS, and not to the angels those excellent ministers of GOD. *To which of the angels said he at any time, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?* Heb. i. 13. v. 6. x. 12, 13.

Now this sitting on the right hand of GOD doth denote the exaltation of the MESSIAS, and not only that, but his great power and authority, and his being concerned, as kings and priests are for their people, whom they govern, or for whom they intercede. ⁿ *King. ii. 19. Matth. xxvi. 64. Heb. i. 3. viii. 1. Rom. viii. 34.*

^b See Raimund. Pug. fidei. par. 3. dist. 3 c. 18. and Dr. Pocock on Micah ii. 13. ^h Psal. cx. 1. ⁱ P. Galatin. de arcan. cathol. veritatis. l. 8. c. 24. ^k Matth. xxii. 42, 43, 44, 45. ^l Act. ii. 34. ^m 1 Cor. xv. 25.

As for the typical representations of this great truth, I doubt not but I might find many. However I shall take notice but of one; but that is a most eminent and illustrious one, and that which the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* takes a more particular notice of, viz. The goingⁿ of the high priest into the holy of holies on the day of expiation, to make an atonement with blood, which was shed without, for the sins of the people. This was an exact type of our SAVIOUR's entering into heaven, and his being concerned there on our behalf. ° *CHRIST being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building: Neither by the blood of bulls and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* But of this I shall have occasion to speak at large afterward.

II. I SHALL shew, that our JESUS did ascend into heaven, and that he is there concerned in behalf of his people.

IN speaking to which I shall not enlarge at present, because afterward I shall have occasion farther to confirm this truth from arguments, in their own nature, the most powerful and unexceptionable.

BY heaven is meant the highest heaven: And it is very reasonable to suppose so, because the holy of holies, into which the high priest only entered, was the type and shadow of the heaven, into which the MESSIAS was to enter. And as the most holy place in the sanctuary was (of all others whatsoever, whether in the sanctuary or elsewhere) the most separate and holy place; so it is but reasonable to suppose, that when CHRIST ascended into heaven, he did not take up in any of the lower parts of heaven, but was exalted to the highest of them all. The sanctuary was divided into three parts: The courts, the holy place, and the most holy; each of these are frequently called the sanctuary or the temple, though the third of these was the most holy place.

AND so the air, and the place of planets and stars are called heaven; and yet there is a third or higher heaven, into which St. Paul was caught up, and into which our LORD entered.

OUR SAVIOUR is said to be received up *into glory*, i. e. into the highest heavens, the anti-type of that holy place, where GOD did more especially manifest himself, and where the ark stood, the symbol of his presence, and which was called the *glory*. JESUS is elsewhere said to have *passed through the heavens*, and to be *made higher than the heavens*, and to have *ascended up far above all heavens*, and to be *entered into that within the veil*. And as he humbled himself greatly; so GOD highly exalted him, and set him *at his own right hand in the heavenly places, Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named*: 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 Sam. iv. 22. with Rom. ix. 4. Heb. iv. 14. ix. 5. vii. 26. Eph. iv. 10. Heb. vi. 19. Phil. ii. 9. Eph. i. 20, 21.

THAT^p JESUS did ascend into heaven is plainly taught, and there were eye-witnesses of it: His disciples stood by, when he went up into heaven: They did not do so when he rose from the dead. Not that his resurrection did not need attestation, as much as his ascension into heaven. His followers had need be assured of the truth of that, and indeed they had the utmost

ⁿ Lev. xvi. 2.

° Heb. ix. 11, 12.

^p Luk. xxiv. 51. Act. i. 9, 10.

assurance, and did upon all occasions bear witness to it, and were particularly the witnesses of his resurrection. But in order to their being so, it was not needful, that they should be the eye-witnesses thereof; as they were, and indeed ought to be (before they could be competent witnesses of it) of his ascension into heaven. It was enough to make them competent witnesses of his resurrection, that they saw him that was risen, they needed not to see him rise. For it being certain (and granted so to be, even by the *Jews* themselves) that he died; it was not needful, that they should see him rise from the dead; it was enough if they saw him, who died, alive again. But then he ascended in the view of his disciples, and 'twas in this case needful, that there should be eye-witnesses; and so it was, that nothing might be wanting to the strengthening of our faith.

AND as we are by eye-witnesses assured of the ascension of *JESUS* into heaven; so those witnesses were unexceptionable. For besides that they knew his person, and had of a long time conversed with him; so they had done it a competent time after his resurrection from the dead: *To them he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, &c.* This was a sufficient time to give them abundant proof, that it was the same body, which was nailed on the cross, and was buried, that was risen from the dead.

AND this distance of ^r forty days, which was between his resurrection and ascension to heaven, is the very same space of time, which did intervene between his birth of the virgin, and his being presented (according to the law of *Moses*) in the temple. Our SAVIOUR was twice born, and twice presented: He was *born* of the virgin, and *raised* out of the grave: And he was twice presented, first at the temple at *Jerusalem*, and afterwards at the temple *above*, or heaven. And forty days after each birth he was presented: After the first in the temple below, after the second in heaven, or the temple above, the anti-type of that which was made with hands.

JUST so many days did he continue upon earth after his resurrection, as *Jonas*, who was a type of him, allowed the *Ninevites* to repent in. So exactly did he answer the type. The *Jews* had the sign of the prophet *Jonas* forty days, though they repented not as the *Ninevites* did. Again, they were allowed a year for a day likewise from *CHRIST*'s resurrection to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. Such was the lenity of *GOD*; so great his forbearance. Their forefathers wandered forty years in the wilderness for their rebellion; *GOD* allowed the *Jews* the same time for repentance. But this will be thought too great a digression.

AND as *JESUS* is entered *within the veil*; so he is for us entered also, as our high priest and patron with *GOD*. And as his *ascension* was not *figurative*, and *metaphorical* but *real*; so is his *priesthood*. He is now concerned for us there; *He ever lives to make intercession for those, who come unto GOD by him*. Again, *Who is he that condemneth? It is CHRIST that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of GOD, who also maketh intercession for us*. Again, *If any man sin we have an advocate with the father, JESUS CHRIST the righteous*. Again, *He appears in the presence of GOD for us*. Heb. vii. 25. Rom. viii. 35. 1 Joh. ii. 1.

^a Act. i. 3.

^c Act. xiii. 31. Luk. ii. 21, 22. with Levit. xii. 2, 4.

Heb. ix. 24. After this manner is that care and concern expressed, which JESUS hath for his followers.

SHALL he after all this be called a *metaphorical priest* only? Shall he, that [†] is the minister of the *true* tabernacle, be himself but *improperly* a priest? Shall *Aaron* the *type* be *truly* a priest? And shall the *anti-type* be one *improperly* so called? Can any thing be said by the followers of *Soci-nus* upon weaker grounds than this? There needed to have been no change of the law, if the [†] change of the *priesthood* had only been into that which is *figurative*. CHRIST might have been a *metaphorical priest* upon *earth*, and very consistently with the order of *Aaron*. What need had this high priest (as well as those of the order of *Aaron*) to have something to offer, if he had been ^u only *Tanquam Pontifex*, as it were an high priest? Such an one never can want an offering? Spiritual sacrifices are always at hand to every good man. Shall the high priest of this order of *Melchisedeck* not deserve this name, which was justly due to the sons of *Aaron*? Or shall the anti-type be less real, than the type is?

It is evident, that JESUS is a priest of the highest order, and nothing is wanting to speak him so in the most perfect sense. For he wants not power with GOD, nor compassion for his people; and he not only lives for ever, but he is also a priest for ever after the order of *Melchisedeck*: And the high priest in the holy of holies on the day of expiation, was but a type of our high priest, and his concern in heaven for us. And this leads me in the next place:

III. To shew, that the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* doth (*chap.* ix. 24. and elsewhere) infer this truth from the avowed principles of the *Jewish* writers.

FOR we find, that he spends much time in discoursing of the priesthood of CHRIST, and of his concern for his people now he is in heaven, and infers this from what the high priest among the *Jews* did in the holy of holies; and it will appear, that this discourse of his is so far from being inconsequent and impertinent, that it is founded upon principles allowed by those *Jews*, to whom he directs that epistle, and especially upon these two:

FIRST, That the high priest under the law of *Moses* was a type of the MESSIAS.

SECONDLY, That the holy of holies was a type of the highest heavens, into which CHRIST entered, ^{*} he being said to have entered *into that within the veil*.

FIRST, That the high priest under the law of *Moses* was a type of the MESSIAS. And that he was so, and most eminently so, no *Christian* can deny; and it would be no hard task to prove it at large, and to shew a great many correspondences between the type and the anti-type: But to do that is no part of my present business: All that I am to do at present is, to shew that the *Jews* have no reason to quarrel with the way of arguing, which the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* makes use of; because the high priest was among them esteemed a type of the MESSIAS. To this purpose I shall not trouble my self in searching after the opinions of the latter *Jews* touching this matter: I shall content my self with the

[†] Heb. viii. 2.
Heb. ix. 14.

[†] Heb. vii. 11, 12. viii. 4. viii. 3.
^{*} Heb. vi. 19.

^u Crellii Praphras. in

testimony of one of their ancient writers, who for his antiquity, for his singular wit and learning, and for his being unsuspected of any bad design and interest in the question, which we are now speaking of, is more valuable than some scores of their later authors; and that is *Philo the Jew*: And I find in that author three considerable testimonies to my present purpose. This ^y author discoursing of the cities of refuge under the law of *Moses*, inquires the reason why the man-slayer was not to be released till the death of the high priest; and thereupon he doth expressly affirm, That *the high priest was not a man, but the divine word free from all sin both voluntary and involuntary*. The meaning of which can be no more, nor less, than this, that he was in this the type of the divine λόγος by whom alone we obtain our redemption, which he hath wrought for us by his death: The same author ^z elsewhere speaking of those words, *Lev. iv. 3. If the priest, that is anointed, do sin according to the sin of the people*, tells us, that the latter part of those words do insinuate "Ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ μὴ ψευδώνυμος, ἀμείτοχος ἀμαρτημάτων ἔστι, i. e. *That he who is truly the high priest, and not falsely so called, is free from sins*. And he adds, that if he do chance to slip; that it happens to him upon the peoples account, and not upon his own. And in another ^a place, speaking of the vestments of the high priest, he adds, That *it was necessary, that he who was a priest to the father of the world* (and bore the λόγιον on his breast, of which he speaks just before) *should make use of his most perfect son, as an advocate to procure pardon of sins, and a plentiful supply of good things*.

SECONDLY, That the holy of holies was a type of the highest heavens, into which CHRIST entered; he being said *to have entered into that within the veil*.

I SHALL consider, what the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* says of this matter, and afterwards shew, how agreeably he discourses of it to the *Hebrews*, and their sense thereof.

^b CHRIST *is not entered* (saith he) *into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven it self, now to appear in the presence of GOD for us*. By the holy places made with hands (rendered by the vulgar in that place *Manufacta sancta*) is meant the holy of holies, or the holiest of all, as it is *ver. 3*. And if we compare *ver. 8.* and *ver. 12.* with what we read, *Levit. xvi. 2, 16, 20*. We shall find the holy of holies is sometimes expressed by one word, *viz. the holy, or holies*, which we render here by the *holy places*, and might perhaps as well have been rendered by *holies* only. This holy place is said to be *made with hands*; and indeed the whole sanctuary was made by the hands of men, and the name of the workmen are upon record, and it is called by *Philo* ^c Ἱερόν χειροποίητον, the *sanctuary made with hands*. And is by the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* called a ^d *worldly sanctuary*, and that in respect to the *true tabernacle, which the LORD pitched and not man*. These holy places are also said to be *the figures of the true*, that is, of heaven it self, as it follows in the next words.

AND we shall find in this epistle to the *Hebrews* many things to this purpose, by which we may learn, that the legal services and sanctuary were shadows of good things to come, and particularly, that the most holy place

^y Phil. Jud. de profugis.

^z Phil. Jud. de victimis.

^a Phil. Jud. de vita Mosis. l. 3.

^b Heb. ix. 24.

^c Phil. Jud. de vita Mosis. l. 3.

^d Heb. ix. 2. viii. 2.

in the sanctuary was a type of the highest heavens. ^e But unto the second (i. e. the most holy place, which was within the veil, and beyond the first sanctuary, through which the high priest entered in his passage to it) went the high priest alone once every year, The HOLY GHOST this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing; Which was a figure for the time present. Again, ^f The law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices, which they offer year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect. Again, ^g he calls those things the patterns of things in the heavens. Conformably hereunto he tells us, that JESUS is entered within the veil; that is, into heaven, represented by the most holy place; The type or sign being frequently put for the anti-type. He elsewhere speaks ^h of a liberty gained for us to enter into the holiest by the blood of JESUS, i. e. to enter into heaven.

It is to be considered, that this epistle was written to the *Hebrews*, and doth very much refer to the customs and usages of that people, and is not thoroughly to be understood without some knowledge of those matters. When the author of it affirms, that the sanctuary was a symbolical representation of something else, and that the holy of holies was a figure of heaven, into which CHRIST our high priest is entered, he speaks the sense of the *Hebrew* nation: And that so it is, I shall prove, not only from the later *Jewish* writers, but from the most ancient of them all.

ⁱ ABRAVENEL tells us out of the *Beresith Rabba*, that the *shittim* wood in the tabernacle answered to the *Seraphim* above; and that as there are stars above, so there were stars in the tabernacle: And the same author adds, that he that searcheth will find, that all that was made in the tabernacle, was after the similitude of natural things. The tabernacle (says he) whose length was thirty cubits, was divided into three parts: The two first exterior parts were allowed for the priests to enter into; and these do signify the sea and the dry land, which ^k men have the liberty to converse upon. But (says he) the third part or holy of holies signifies the heavens, which the foot of man doth not enter into, for the heavens are the LORD'S.

ANOTHER of their late authors tells us, ^l that the tabernacle was a specimen or representation of the creation of the universe; And that the three parts of the sanctuary answer to the three worlds. The world of angels represented by the holy of holies; the heavenly orbs, by that part where the shew-bread and candlestick were; and the lower world, by the court: And that open court seems a very fit representation of this lower world, as containing in it earth and air without a covering, and fire and water also in the laver or sea, and upon the altar which stood in the court, which are the elements of this lower world.

THE same author tells us, that ^m in the building of the sanctuary there were correspondences to the building of the world. And he cites a *Midrash* to this purpose, wherein they are said to answer each other, viz. With reference to the creation it is said, he stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain; Isa. xl. 22. and with reference to the tabernacle, it was commanded that they should make curtains, Exod. xxvi. With respect to the creation

^e Heb. ix. 7, 8, 9.

^f Heb. x. 1.

^g Heb. ix. 23. vi. 20.

^h Heb. x. 19.

ⁱ Abravenel in legem. fol. 190. c. 4.

^k See Abravenel in his preface to Joshua

^l דומית ברייה העולם R. Bechai in leg. fol. 108. c. 2.

^m fol. 127. c. 4.

it is said, *Let the waters be gathered together*, Gen. i. 9. and with reference to the tabernacle was commanded *the making a laver (or sea) of brass*, Exod. xxxviii. 8. When the world was created it was said, *Let there be lights*, Gen. i. 14. and when the tabernacle was to be built it is said, *Thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold*, Exod. xxv. 31. In the creation of the world there is mention of fowl, that was to fly, Gen. i. 20. and in the tabernacle were cherubims, *that stretched forth their wings on high*, Exod. xxv. 20. In the story of the creation it is written, *GOD created man*, Gen. i. 27. In that of the tabernacle it is said, *Take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother*, Exod. xxviii. 1. In the creation of the world it is said, *The heavens and the earth were finished*, Gen. ii. 1. In reference to the tabernacle it is said, *Thus was all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation finished*, Exod. xxxix. 32. Several other correspondences he mentions which I omit. He adds, that the *tabernacle below was a figure of the tabernacle above*. No wonder then that a ⁿ Christian writer should call the tabernacle *the image of the creation*, when the Jews themselves affirm the same.

PHILO the Jew ^o tells us, that it was needful, that they which built the sanctuary should make use of the same materials, which go to the making up of the universe: He discourses at large of the symbolical representation of the universe in the several parts of the tabernacle; and tells us very expressly, that the ἅδυνα ἡ ἁγία (or the holy of holies) were συμβολικῶς νοητά. i. e. They were spiritually or typically to be understood.

JOSEPHUS the Jew ^p lived in the apostles times, and was a priest and a learned man in the Jewish affairs: He gives us a particular account of the structure of the tabernacle; and adds, that if any man consider the structure of the tabernacle, the vestments of the priests, and the utensils which they used in their legal service, he will conclude that their law-giver was a divine person: For all these things (saith he) were εἰς ἀπομίμῃσιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τοῦ ὅλου. i. e. They were resemblances of the universe. He adds, that for two parts of the tabernacle, they were left common to all the priests, and these (saith he) represent the earth and the sea, which are παῖσιν ἐπιβάλα, left common for all men: But then the third part is assigned to GOD Ἄγ. τὸ καὶ τὸ ἕρανὸν ἀνεπιβάλλον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, because men may not enter into that holy place, where GOD dwells. Where he makes the holy of holies a figure of heaven it self, as the divine author of the epistle to the Hebrews doth.

To what hath been said I shall add the words of Solomon, as he is brought in speaking, in ^q the book of *Wisdom* of the temple, which he built, in these words; *Thou hast commanded me to build a temple (says he) upon thy holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein thou dwellest, a resemblance of the holy tabernacle which thou hast prepared from the beginning.*

To what hath been said, I shall add this, That as the holy of holies was by the Jews allowed to be a type of heaven; so it was the fittest representation of that holy place, where GOD dwells, ^r into which no unclean thing shall enter. Maimonides tells us, ^f that though the whole land of *Israel* was more holy than other lands; yet there are ten degrees of

ⁿ Τῆς κτίσεως τὴν εἰκόνα. Theodor. in Exod. Quæst. 60. vid. Quæst. 72.

^l 3. ^p Joseph. Antiqu. l. 3. c. 8.

^f Maimon. Beth Habbechir. c. 7.

^q Wisd. ix, 8.

^o De vita Moysis.

^r Rev. xxi. 27.

holiness,

holiness, one above another, in that holy land. [1.] Walled cities were more holy than the rest of the land; and hence lepers were shut out of them, and dead bodies were buried without their gates. [2.] *Jerusalem* was more holy than other cities; within the walls of which were eaten holy things, and the second tithes. [3.] The mountain of the LORD's house was more holy than the city; from which were excluded those who were unclean by issues or fluxes, upon child-bearing or on account of menstruous impurities. [4.] The ^tinclosure or intermural space about the court was holier still; which would admit of no gentile, nor of any that were defiled by the dead. [5.] The court of women was holier than that; for it excluded ^uhim who was defiled with such an uncleanness only, as required his washing, and the setting of the sun. [6.] The court of *Israel* was holier still; for that admitted not of a man that wanted expiation. [7.] The court of the priests was holier still; for that did not ordinarily admit any *Israelite* unless upon necessary service. [8.] The space between the porch and the altar admitted of no blemished person of the priests, nor any of them bare-headed, or with garments rent. [9.] The ^xtemple still was more holy; for no man might enter into it with unwashen hands and feet. [10.] The holy of holies was more holy still; for no man was permitted to enter in thither, but the high priest once a year on the day of expiation.

FROM what hath been said it appears, that the holy of holies (in the sense of the learned among the *Jews*) was a type of the highest heavens, into which CHRIST is entered: And this being so great a truth, and so universally acknowledged, that the sanctuary below was a sign or type of that which is above, it is not strange that it should be put for it. It being very usual to put the sign for the thing signified and represented. Thus, says the psalmist, *The LORD is in his holy temple*, i. e. he is in heaven, as it follows, *The LORD's throne is in heaven*. Again, ^x*He heard my voice out of his holy temple*, i. e. out of heaven. And conformably hereunto JESUS is said to have ^a*entered within the veil*, and we are said to have *a liberty of entering into the holiest*, by which heaven is meant, the type being put for the anti-type.

I SHALL take this occasion to give some account of a passage in St. *Matthew*, relating to my present argument: He tells us, that upon the death of JESUS the ^b*veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom*. This is a particular, that requires a distinct consideration: This rupture of the veil not being the effect of the earth-quake mentioned in the next words; for then it would rather have been rent from the bottom to the top; it not being reasonable to suppose that a rent from the top to the bottom should be the consequent and effect of an earth-quake or renting of the rocks. And for that reason I suppose it mentioned here before the mention of the earth-quake and renting the rocks, as that which was not the effect of them, and was of a separate consideration from them.

It will be worth our while to enquire, what veil it was that was rent, and what the renting of it did import, and by that time I have done this, it will appear that this passage hath a relation to the argument, which I am now upon.

^t חיל
xviii. 6.

^u שכול יום ^x היכל
^a Heb. vi. 20. ix. 23.

^y vid. Kimchi in Psal. xi. 4.
^b Matth. xxvii. 51.

^z Psal.

MAIMONIDES ^e tells us, that in the first temple there was a wall between the holy and the most holy place, of the thickness of a cubit: And that when they built the second temple, there arose a doubt among the builders, whether the space that this wall took up, was to be allowed out of the holy or most holy place: and that for that reason they left a space between the one and the other of the extent of a cubit, and built no wall, but instead of that they made two veils, one towards the holy of holies, and the other towards the holy place, leaving a space between them of the thickness of a cubit, where the wall was supposed to stand in the temple of *Solomon*. Of this partition between the holy and holy of holies the words of the evangelist are to be understood.

THERE were indeed two veils in the sanctuary: One at the entering into the holy place: *Exod.* xxvi. 37. Another which divided the holy from the most holy place. *Exod.* xxvi. 35. Which is called *the second veil*, Heb. ix. 3. And that the words of the evangelist are to be understood of this *second veil*, is evident from the words themselves: For he uses the word τὸ καταπέτασμα, which is the very word, that the LXXII make use of, *Exod.* xxvi. 35. Where that veil is mentioned, they having another word for the other veil, *ver.* 37. Besides, this being the principal *veil*, the *Greek* word with the article prefixed, where the subject matter will bear it, will determine the sense to this veil. But besides all this, *Philo* the *Jew*, ^d when he mentions both these veils, calls that which divided the most holy from the holy place καταπέτασμα, whereas he calls the other κάλυμμα, or a *covering*.

It will not be hard to understand what this imported. The *veil* was rent asunder, and the most holy place is thereby laid open, which was shut up before, and none had access to it but the high priest once a year. JESUS hath opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers, he hath brought life and immortality to light, and made manifest the way into the holiest of all, into which we have a liberty to enter by his blood, ^e *by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh.*

IV. I SHALL make it appear from the effects following upon the exaltation of JESUS into heaven, that he did indeed ascend thither, and was there concerned on our behalf, and that therefore our JESUS is the CHRIST. I shall mention two, which were great proofs of our SAVIOUR's ascension into heaven, and of his power there, and his being concerned on the behalf of his church.

THE first is the miraculous descent of the HOLY GHOST at the day of *Pentecost*. *Act.* ii. Our SAVIOUR had promised to his sorrowful disciples a comforter, who should abide with them for ever. This he did before his death, and the better to support them under the sorrow, which his death would occasion. *Joh.* xiv. 16, 18. xv. 26. and chap. xvi. 7. He repeated this promise after his resurrection. *Luk.* xxiv. 49. And before his ascension he commands them, that *they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the father, which (saith he) ye have heard of me.* *Act.* i. 4. This promise he made good. *Act.* ii. to the great amazement of the multitude, which were come together from several nations to *Jerusalem* at the feast of *Pentecost*. The HOLY GHOST, which was then miraculously be-

^e Maimon. Beth Habbechirah. cap. 4.

^d Heb. x. 20.

^d Phil. Jud. de vita Moſis l. 3.

flowed upon the disciples of JESUS, was his advocate, and pleaded his cause: Our SAVIOUR had foretold, ^f that he would bear witness of him. And this the HOLY GHOST did.

(1.) As he testified, that JESUS was a true prophet, when he promised this heavenly gift to his disciples, and did thereby bear testimony to his veracity, and make it appear, that he was not an impostor or cheat. They were now convinced abundantly, that JESUS had made his word good. *Joh. xvi. 7, 10.* And now there was no suspicion left of his being a false prophet or deceiver.

(2.) OF the power and authority which JESUS had. He told his followers, that all power was given him in heaven and earth, *Matth. xxviii. 18.* This he told them after his resurrection, and a little before his ascension into heaven: He gave at the day of *Pentecost* an undeniable proof of it. JESUS had said before his death to the elders, and chief priests, and scribes, that asked him, if he was the CHRIST, *Hereafter shall ye see the son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of GOD, Luk. xxii. 69.* The meaning of which words is plainly this, that they should be convinced e'er long of his great power, which he had in heaven upon his exaltation to that place, and at the day of *Pentecost* he gave a great demonstration thereof. And St. Peter concludes from it, that he is the CHRIST. *This JESUS (saith he) hath GOD raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. Therefore being by the right hand of GOD exalted, and having received of the father the promise of the HOLY GHOST, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear.* And presently afterward he concludes, as he very justly might, *Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that GOD hath made that same JESUS, whom ye have crucified, both LORD and CHRIST. Act. ii. 32, 33, 36.*

SECONDLY, Another great effect following the exaltation of JESUS was the success of his religion in the world, which was a farther argument of the power of JESUS in heaven, and of his being concerned for his church, and an evident proof, that this JESUS is the CHRIST. But for the better speaking to this I shall shew,

FIRST, That according to the prophecies of old all nations were to serve the MESSIAS.

SECONDLY, That these prophecies have been in great measure fulfilled in our JESUS, whose religion did greatly spread over the world.

THIRDLY, That this success of the religion of JESUS is an unexceptionable proof, that JESUS is the CHRIST.

I. ACCORDING to the prophecies of old, all nations were to serve the MESSIAS, and consequently that the partition-wall between the *Jew* and *Gentile* should be thrown down. Thus in those words of *Jacob* (which the ancient *Jews* understand of the MESSIAS) it is said, that unto him shall the gathering of the people be, *Gen. xlix. 10.* That is, the nations or gentiles should obey and serve him. No less is promised than this; *I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession, Psal. ii. 8.* The prophet *Isaiah* foretells also, that it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the LORD's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted

^f Joh. xv. 26.

above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it, Isa. ii. 2. And again, In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people: to it shall the gentiles seek, Isa. xi. 10. And again the same prophet tells us. The LORD will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet chuse Israel, and set them in their own land: And the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob, Isa. xiv. 1. And farther we read: It is a light thing, that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation unto the end of the earth, chap. xlix. 6. To which we may add Isa. liv. as also what he tells us afterwards, The gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising—The abundance of the sea shall be converted to thee, the forces of the gentiles shall come unto thee, chap. lx. 3, 5. We shall hear, what the prophet Hosea also tells us. I will have mercy upon her, that had not obtained mercy; and I will say to them, which were not my people, Thou art my people, Hos. ii. 23. No less perhaps is meant than this in that vision of Zechariah, where Jerusalem is not permitted to come under a measuring line, because she should be inhabited as towns without walls for the multitude of men and cattle therein, Zech. ii. 4. However, sure I am, that the same prophet speaks plainly in these words: Many people and strong nations shall come to seek the LORD of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the LORD, chap. viii. 22. And as plainly still afterwards in these words. Rejoyce greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; Behold thy king cometh unto thee; he is just and having salvation, lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass: And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the heathen: And his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth, chap. ix. 4, 10. To which I shall add the words of the prophet Malachi. From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same my name shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the LORD of hosts, Mal. i. 11. By which we may see, that the gentiles according to these prophecies were to submit to the MESSIAS, and to be taken into the commonwealth of Israel; which because it could not be, unless they forsook their idolatry, we find the prophets foretel also, that they should put away their idols. Thus the prophet assures us. And the idols he shall utterly abolish: In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they have made each one for himself to worship, to the moles, and to the bats, Isa. ii. 18, 20. And another prophet tells us. It shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD of hosts, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall be no more remembered, Zech. xiii. 2: These are as plain words as can be: So that it must be in the days of the MESSIAS, that the gentiles should no longer be strangers and aliens from the covenant of grace. This difference between Jew and Gentile is now to be removed. GOD will not only be known in Judah, but among all the families of the earth.

WE find Philo the Jew § (speaking of GOD's governing the universe)

§ Philo Jud. de Agricultura.

discourſing to the ſame purpoſe. He tells us, that GOD rules his creatures according to right and law, as a ſhepherd and a king, Πρωτοκρεῖς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ λόγον, πρωτόγονον υἱόν, ὅς τ' ἐπιμέλειαν τ' ἱερεῖς ταύτης ἀγέλης, οἷά τι μεγάλα βασιλείως ὑπαρχῶν, διαδέξετο. Καὶ ὁ εἰρηναῖος πρὸς Ἰδὲ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀποστέλλων ἄγγελόν μου, &c. i. c. *Setting over them his right Word, his first begotten Son, who as the substitute or vice-gerent of him the great king, shall take upon him the care of this holy flock. For it is somewhere said, Behold I will send my angel, &c. Exod. xxiii. 20.*

II. THAT these prophecies were in a great measure fulfilled in our JESUS. I say in a great measure. For I cannot but hope, that there are still many prophecies relating to the kingdom of the MESSIAS in this world, in a great measure to be fulfilled. Now if these prophecies are already in a great measure fulfilled, then is this JESUS the CHRIST. That they were in a great measure fulfilled is very evident: For though JESUS himself lived and died in *Jewry*; yet did not his doctrine stay there. There he lived indeed, but yet in *Galilee of the gentiles*, not far off from the poor *gentiles*, whom he came to save also. He tells the *Jews* no less: *I, saith he, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me*, Joh. xii. 32. That is, After his death his doctrine should greatly prevail upon the world, so that all men should come after him. And thus we find, that after his death and resurrection he gives his disciples commission *to go and teach all nations*, Matth. xxviii. 19. or as it is in *St. Mark, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature*, Mark xvi. 15. And to that purpose they have the gift of tongues bestowed on them, that so they might be able to teach all nations, as their LORD had commanded them, *Act. ii.* Now we shall soon find the gospel preached to the gentiles; we read of the *Ethiopian* treasurer, and *Cornelius* the centurion baptized into the *Christian faith*. But what shall I need speak of them? We find *St. Paul* is made a preacher to the *gentiles*, who tells us of the fruit of his preaching also, *viz. the obedience of the gentiles*, Rom. xv. 18. In so much that he is able to say, that the gospel was *preached to every creature which is under heaven*, Col. i. 23. And his success is so great, that the idolatrous gentiles turned *from idols to serve the living and true GOD*, 1 Thes. i. 9. *Tertullian*^h tells us in his time, even in those early days of *Christianity*, how far it had prevailed. *Externi sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissetus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur? Si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere.* Nay, the mouths of the oracles are now stopped, which made so great a wonder in the gentile world. The head of the serpent, that so long had deceived the nations, is now broken by *the seed of the woman*: In a word, those cities and provinces, that lately were full of idols and superstition, receive the doctrine of JESUS, and with it the worship of the only true GOD. Nay, 'tis not long before we have *Christian* kings also in the world: So that the religion of JESUS spreads it self over the world, and rides triumphantly and in great conquest, like the rider of the *white-horse* in the *Apocalypse*, that went forth conquering and to conquer: But I proceed to shew,

^h Tertull. Apolog. c. 37.

III. THAT this success of the religion of JESUS is an unexceptionable proof, that JESUS is the CHRIST.

NOT that I would be thought to make success the measure of truth: or affirm, that the most prosperous cause is always the best. For then the religion of *Mahomet* would bid fair for the truth, and the greatest outrages and rebellions would become innocent and good. Success is no certain sign of a good cause, and therefore not of the truth of a religion, unless it be such a success, as all things considered must only be imputed to the force of truth, and a miraculous providence that makes it prosperous.

I SHALL shew then, that the success of the gospel was such, as doth necessarily infer that JESUS is the CHRIST; and that the religion, which he preached and planted in the world, did come from GOD: Where, as we go along, it will be easy for us to understand, that *Mahometanism* can have no share in this argument. Now it will appear, that JESUS is the CHRIST, and also that the gospel, which he and his disciples preached, comes from heaven; in a word, that the *Christian religion* is not only true, but the only true religion, if we do but well consider its success and progress in the world. Now this will appear,

1. IF we consider the first author, and first preachers of this religion:
2. THE doctrine it self: and,
3. THE manner of its spreading in the world.

1. AS for the first author or teacher of this doctrine, it was JESUS the son of a poor *virgin*, and the reputed son of a *carpenter*. One would have thought him very unlikely to have done any great things. He was one, that was born in a stable at *Bethlehem*, brought up in the obscure country of *Galilee*, set at nought by his country-men, and after many sufferings and calamities, condemned to a *cross*, and hanged among thieves and malefactors, where he gave up the ghost after a short and painful life. He came into the world with no grandeur, he made no noise in it, and he left it by a death most ignominious and disgraceful. And yet did his doctrine spread, and his religion prevailed against all oppositions, and threw down all superstitions and false religions whatsoever. This could not have been, if JESUS had not been the CHRIST. I will make use of the words of one of the ancient writers of the church upon this occasion. ⁱ *Τίς γὰρ τὸ πᾶν τῆς βασιλείας, &c.* i. e. *What king (says he) was ever of so great power, as to fill the ears and the tongues of all the inhabitants of the earth? What king ever made laws so pious and sober as could prevail upon the inhabitants of the whole earth from one end of it to the other? Who ever was able to void the barbarous and cruel customs of the heathen by merciful and gentle laws? Who ever met with so long and great an opposition, and had force enough, not only not to be extinct, but to thrive and flourish under this oppression? Who ever sent about the world a people obscure and scarcely heard of before? Who ever bestowed on his soldiers such a spiritual armour, that they gave proof to their enemies of minds hardy and strong as the adamant? What king ever shewed such puissance and force after his death? Who ever erected such trophies over his enemies? Who ever filled all places, countries and cities of the Greeks and Barbarians, with stately palaces and consecrated temples? And for his disciples, the first preachers of the gospel; Who were they? No princes of an ancient blood, but obscure fishermen. No*

ⁱ Euseb. Histor. Eccles. lib. 10. c. 4.

select orators from *Rome* or *Athens*; but poor illiterate *Galileans*. No great captains or commanders, but men of great simplicity and peaceableness. They were men very unlikely to do any great things, having no reputation for depth of wisdom, or any thing of power or worldly greatness. Such were the first planters of the gospel; And who would look for any great success from so small a beginning? Who would have believed, that such men as these had been big enough to have grappled with the *wisdom* of the *Greeks*, the *power* of the *Romans*, the *malice* of their country-men the *Jews*, and with the rudeness and hardness of all the heathen world? A man might as well have believed, that a few shepherds might have driven *Hannibal* from the gates of *Rome*. Or that a few peasants had been able to force *Xerxes* with his great multitude out of *Greece*; or that a single and unarmed man could be able to put to flight the stoutest regiment or legion of soldiers. A man might as easily have believed, that a few children had been able to take the strongest garrison; as that these men should have been able to have stood up, and prevailed against the devil and all his accomplices; against all the policies, and powers, and all the wit and malice of a wicked world; and so far to prevail too with the preaching of a *CHRIST* crucified, as to persuade the world to forsake their worship of the false gods, whom their fathers had worshipped, and to own a crucified *Saviour*. Certainly they that could do this, as we know they did, had an almighty power to their assistance. None but *God* could have brought it to pass, as is evident to any man, who doth but rightly consider and weigh it. It must be an infinite power, that by such weak means could effect such great things.

2. As for the doctrine itself, if we duly consider it, we shall find it very unlikely to prevail upon the world. Whether we consider,

(1.) *THE Credenda* or matters of faith, which it did contain, and must needs seem very uncouth and strange, if not very unreasonable to the world: As that the world was made, and made of nothing, when *ex nihilo nil fit*, was a maxim in the heathen philosophy. That there is but one *God*, when in the heathen world there were thought to be many gods and many lords. That though there was but one *God*; yet there were three persons, and these three were one. This must needs be a strange doctrine at *Rome* or *Athens*. That they must believe *Jesus* and the *Resurrection* was so strange a thing to the *Athenian* philosophers, that they encountered St. *Paul*, and some called him *babbler*, and others were so ignorant of what was meant by the resurrection, that they took it for a *God*: *He seemeth*, say they, *to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached unto them* τὸ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀνέκστατον, *Jesus and the resurrection*. And they affirmed, that he brought certain *strange things* to their ears *Act. xvii. 18, 20*. He preached *CHRIST* crucified, who was unto the *Jews* a stumbling block, and to the *Greeks* foolishness, *1 Cor. i. 23*. They are taught to place their hopes in a crucified *LORD*, and to own him as their only *Saviour* and *Redeemer*, whom they had never seen or heard of before, and whom none of their philosophers had spoken of. They must believe the resurrection of the dead, which they had not heard of before. And that there is no name under heaven, by which they can be saved, but by the name of *Jesus*: And this they did, which they could never have been persuaded to have done, had not these things been from *God*, to whose miraculous providence this success must be ascribed. But then if we consider,

(2.) *THE*

(2.) THE *Agenda*, or precepts of the gospel; they were such as were very unlikely to have obtained in the world, had not these things been from GOD: For what is it that the gospel teaches them? To deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to walk righteously and soberly in this present world. It forbids not only the doing injuries, but the revenging of them. It forbids not only evil actions, but an evil thought and intention of the heart. It doth not only forbid adultery, but also a wanton glance; and is so far from allowing murder, that it most severely forbids hatred and rash anger. It not only forbids perjuries, but requires of us, that we should not swear at all. It ties our hands, locks up our eyes, chains our thoughts, and restrains all the irregular desires, and warmer propositions of flesh and blood. It will not allow the wisest philosopher to make any ostentation of his parts or learning: Nor the greatest captain or general to boast of his valour; but teaches them both to be very humble and very peaceable. It teaches us to undervalue all the grandeur of the world, all its riches and honours and pleasures, and commands us rather to forgo them all with life it self, than to deny the faith of JESUS. It requires men to love GOD with all their heart, and their neighbour as themselves. To forgive their enemies, to pray for their persecutors, and to do good to those that do evil unto us. It forbids us to give blow for blow, or railing for railing. It commands us to give alms to the poor, and give to every one that asketh, though he be friend or enemy, good or bad, thankful or ungrateful; and when we have so done, it commands us to make no boasts nor brags, but to expect a recompence only from him that sees in secret. It lays a great restraint upon our tongues, which it obliges us most severely to keep in order: It will not allow us to speak evil of our brother, to call him fool or *Raka*. It forbids us to judge another man, as we would escape a severe judgment ourselves. It forbids us to be busy-bodies, or to intermeddle in other mens matters. And is so far from allowing the tongue in lying or swearing, that it may not be suffered in an idle word, or an unbecoming jest. It tells us, we must be blameless and harmless, and then, if it be possible, and as much as lieth in us, we must live peaceably with all men. Unto all this we may add, that it will not allow any other religion: The heathen world must abandon their *idols*, if they receive the gospel of CHRIST. They must forsake that idolatry, under which their fathers prospered long, and they were brought up in: *Diana* of the *Ephesians* must be no longer adored, and all her priests and silversmiths must be laid aside. All idols must be removed where CHRIST comes, and all the ancient ceremonies and solemnities with which they were worshipped, must for ever be disused. That which was but now worshipped, and had been so of old time, must be cast to the moles and to the bats: But who shall persuade and obtain this? None can do it without the help of that GOD, who made heaven and earth. For here is all the power, and malice, and cunning of men and devils to be encountered with. The devil had gotten an old and long possession, the heathen world is strong and mighty, cunning and prejudicate; of a vast extent and a mighty force: Who shall persuade the *Greeks* to leave off their robberies and to live righteously? Or the warlike *Romans* to put up their swords and revenge no injuries? Who shall obtain of the world to throw away their idols, and receive a crucified CHRIST? Who can ever hope, that those nations, that grew to their greatness by blood and violence, should ever learn the way of peace and destroy no more? Will they that boasted in doing injuries be taught to bear them? Or will they who were wont to kill without remorse, be afraid of being angry without a cause

a cause? Will they that were adulterers become afraid of an unchast thought or glance? Will the wise and conceited orators become fools, that they may be wise? Who can expect, that they that had as many gods as territories and provinces, should be persuaded to have but one? Or that those men, that were indulged in their lusts by the example of their gods, or the permission of their laws, should ever accept of a religion, that is so severe, that it requires them all to be rooted out? Certainly this will be too great a work for a few *Galileans* to bring to pass: They might as soon hope to remove mountains, and shake all the pillars of the earth; and yet was this brought to pass by the foolishness of preaching; the fierce warrior becomes tame; the persecutor becomes a preacher; the nations that served many idols, now only acknowledge the one true GOD, and JESUS CHRIST, *whom he hath sent*. Now this could never have been done, had not GOD almighty done it; nor would he ever have done it, had not JESUS been the CHRIST. But it will be the more strange still, that this doctrine should prevail, if we do but duly consider,

3. THE *Premia*, the rewards, or the promises of the gospel to those, that should receive it and obey it. We shall find them such, as were very unlikely to prevail with a wicked and unbelieving world. It promises them *no prosperity* in this world, nor yet *any sensual delights* in that which is to come, as the religion of *Mahomet* doth: And yet these were the things, which the heathen world most admired, who always lived by sense and not by faith: It promises them no kingdoms or consulships, no victories or triumphs, no wealth or honours, nor yet the pleasures of wine or women: In a word, it is so far from offering to them these things, that it teaches them, and obliges them also, to despise them all, to undervalue them, to be dead to all these allurements, and to mortify and root out of their souls all those irregular desires, which transport them after any of these things. The gospel promises *good things* indeed; but they are *spiritual*, and consequently very unlike to obtain upon *carnal* men: They are good things, but they are *unseen*; and so not likely to prevail upon those, that live by *sense*: They are good indeed, but yet they are *removed* and at a *distance*: And who could expect, that the world should deny themselves all their present enjoyments, for the hope of these *spiritual* and *unseen reversions*? Who shall persuade the rich to abandon their wealth for the hopes of the kingdom of heaven? Or who can prevail with the voluptuous to renounce their sensual pleasures for the hope of those joys, that are at GOD's right hand? What rhetorick shall persuade the ambitious man to prefer a future glory, before the honours which he derives from his prince, or acquires by his valour? We find this a very hard matter now, when these men profess the gospel; but how much harder must it needs be then, when the gospel was a stranger to the world, when it had scarcely any friends, and very many and great opposers? What is there offered in the gospel, that could tempt an unbelieving world? Had it offered *riches*, there might well have been a crowd of *covetous* worldlings ready to embrace it. Had it offered *sensual pleasures*, it would have been *welcome* to the *whole herd* of *epicures*: Could it have secured its professors any worldly honours, nothing should have been more acceptable to all that were ambitious: Here are none of those things to be had; but it tells us of things to come, and we must have faith to believe them, as well as patience to wait for them. Now then certainly this religion, which offered no other rewards, could never have prevailed upon the world, as we know it did,
had

had it not been from GOD, and had not JESUS, whom we preach, been the CHRIST. But it will be the more unlikely still, that the gospel should prevail, if we consider,

4. THE *Pericula*, the dangers, afflictions and many miseries, which the embracing the gospel would expose them to, that should entertain it. This rises higher, and makes the success of the gospel more improbable than before. We saw before, that it promises no worldly happiness; but now we shall find, that it exposes its professors to many miseries and afflictions, and tells them sad stories of disgrace and contempt, bonds and imprisonment, and perhaps death it self. It foretells, that they which do live godly shall suffer persecution, and that we must through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of heaven: What I named last brought no temptation to draw the world to this profession, but this, one would think, should bring discouragement enough to affright them from it. Instead of promising ease and pleasures, it rather brings with it great afflictions and tribulations. JESUS tells his disciples, what they must expect. *The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think, that he doth GOD service*, Joh. xvi. 2. Here is little encouragement then for the world to receive the gospel, which is like to bring them into such hazards and dangers. We have a proverb among us, that *men will not make any haste to that market, where they are like to meet with nothing but blows*. A man would easily believe, that men would not be very forward to relinquish their prosperous religion, and entertain an afflicted and a persecuted gospel; to leave the *gainful worship* of the great *Diana*, and to embrace a *profession*, that is *every where spoken against*; to forsake the image that fell down from *Jupiter*, and to worship JESUS, that was hanged on a cross. A man might (one would think) as soon persuade an army to leave their direct and smoother way to their enemies, and to march through dangerous woods, and precipices, and quick sands and lakes. Or as soon obtain of a great tyrant, that he should destroy himself, as to persuade the unbelieving world to venture all their pleasures, wealth and honours, and also their blood in the profession of that gospel, that did not so much as promise them any recompence in the same kind. Yet we know that this was done, the religion of JESUS was gladly embraced upon these terms. The rich were willing to become poor, to part with their possessions here for the hope of a future glory: the honourable were glad to be laid low, and stript of all their properties for the sake of JESUS. Banishment or chains, prisons or death are very welcome for the gospel's sake. No wheels or racks, no rods or axes, no bolts or chains, hunger or thirst, fire or sword shall be able to make them offer to an idol, or deny their LORD. Nay, they were so resolute, that they wearied their persecutors by their patience and constancy; they could not find out torments exquisite and great enough for them: They were not daunted at the cruelties of *Nero* or *Domitian*, or any of the following *Roman* emperors. Nor were they only the great preachers of the gospel, that were thus resolute and hardy, but also the laity, women and children, those of the weaker sex and more tender years. Neither was this religion impaired or weakned by these heavy burthens; but it grew and prospered greatly. This *blood of martyrs proves a fruitful seed*; and very strangely fructifies and brings forth children unto GOD. Even so much did it prosper, that though it had been persecuted under *Nero* and *Domitian*; yet in the days of *Trajan* (those very early days of the gospel) the *Christians* were so numerous, that *Pliny*^k one of his governors over a cer-

^k Plin. Epist. l. 10. ep. 97.

rain province of his was forced to send to *Trajan* to know what he should do with them, and that *propter periclitantium numerum*, because of the multitude of those that were in danger: And he adds, *Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus, etiam vocantur in periculum & vocabuntur*. That is, *There were great numbers of them, of every age, and many of all ranks and qualities, and also of both sexes, that durst profess themselves Christians*. So strangely did the gospel thrive, notwithstanding the cruelties that were inflicted upon the professors of it: And we are also told, that afterwards, in the days of *Dioclesian*, when in the space of thirty days no less than seventeen thousand *Christians* were slain, besides those that were condemned to metals and quarries, that yet then under that most cruel persecution the *Christians* rather increased than diminished: Now this would never have been, had not *JESUS* been the *CHRIST*, and had not *GOD*, who had promised him the *heathen for an inheritance*, by his over-ruling hand brought it to pass in despite of the utmost opposition.

BUT from the doctrine it self let us proceed now,

3. To the manner of it's spreading and propagation; and we shall find, that it was also very unlikely to have prevailed, had it not been from *GOD*, and had not *JESUS* been the *CHRIST*. Nay, Do I say unlikely? I may truly say, it had been utterly impossible, that it should have got that ground which it did, had it not been from *GOD*, and had not that *GOD*, who made the world, given it his blessing. Let us then well weigh these following particulars.

1. THAT the gospel was not propagated in the world by humane eloquence, or excellency of speech. The first preachers of it were men of great plainness and simplicity, bred up not in the schools of the learned, not in wisdom of the world, not in any of the famous academies, or under the teachings of the wise philosophers; but they were illiterate *Galileans*, they were men of mean trades and occupations, men that had not been used to speak in senates and audiences of princes; men not used to defend causes, not brought up in the cunning of advocates and proctors, and mercenary pleaders. Such men might have been thought to have done much by the strength of their parts, and the quickness of their wit, and might have been judged sufficient to have made a weak cause defensible: They had none of the advantages of dignified persons, which might commend them to princes and great states: so that they being poor and obscure, their wisdom was likely to be the less regarded, it being a most certain truth, that *the poor man's wisdom is despised*: Upon these disadvantages did the first preachers of the gospel set forth into a cunning, wicked, and potent world. Indeed it is true, that *St. Paul* was a man of learning, bred up at the feet of *Gamaliel*, and so doubtless well versed in the learning of the *Jews*, and very fit to deal with them: But then he was made the doctor of the *Gentiles*: And we hear what he tells his *Corinthians*: *I determined not to know any thing among you, save JESUS CHRIST, and him crucified. And my speech, and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom.* 1 Cor. ii. 2, 4. He was a man much hated by the *Jews*, and likely to do no great matters among the *Romans*, whose prisoner he was, when he came to *Rome*. He was a man of learning, but of no authority; a man of understanding, but yet of mean presence, and contemptible speech: 2 Cor. x. 5, 10. So that the progress of the gospel may not be ascribed to any great eloquence, or rhetorick, any skill or artifice of men, but only to the power of *GOD*: 1 Cor. ii. 5. For by the *foolishness of preaching* *GOD* taught the world *wisdom*, by *weak things* he overturned the *strong*, and by things which *are not*,

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he overcame things *that are*. He that did destroy the walls of *Jericho* at the at the noise of a shout, and overcome the *Canaanites* by the hands of a woman, and discomfited the *Midianites* great army with trumpets, and the breaking of pitchers, and killed the great *Goliath* with a stripling and his sling, it was he and he alone, that enabled the first preachers of the gospel, and gave that success to very weak, and very unlikely means. This he did and none but he could do, and therefore this is a sufficient proof, that the gospel comes from GOD, and that that JESUS, whom we preach, is the very CHRIST.

2. NOR yet was the gospel propagated by force of arms, as the religion of *Mahomet* hath been, which has made its way in the world by the power of the sword. But *Christianity* was not thus planted; it denounced no war to those that refused it, it gave out no menaces to that purpose: This it neither *did*, nor *would*, nor *could* it do. The senate of *Rome* shall not need to fear the *Galileans* sword; JESUS sent abroad no fighting men; there is no horse prepared for this battel, no spears or bows: These are the servants of the prince of peace, who are so far from war, that they come to require the nations to learn war no more, and to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks. The gospel had no potent princes or states that favoured it, that stood up for its defence and maintenance; there were none of these powers, that took upon them the title of *defenders of the faith*. Nay, they were so far from protecting it, that they were its avowed enemies, and drew their swords against it. So that the first preachers came naked and unarmed into a furious, potent, and idolatrous world, preaching the gospel of peace, and the severe religion of a crucified JESUS. The armour, which they had, was spiritual, and an armour of light, an armour which the victorious *Romans* had neither used, nor yet feared. They were girt about with *truth*, which was all their *military girdle*: They put on the *breastplate of righteousness*, the *shield of faith*, and the *helmet of salvation*, and the *sword of the spirit*, which is the *word of GOD*; and had their *feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace*: Eph. vi. This was the armour of the first preachers of the gospel: And who could expect that they should therewith overcome mighty kingdoms and provinces? And yet with these preparations did they succeed and conquer the greatest nations, and brought them into the obedience of the gospel: Let us hear what the apostle says to this purpose: *We do not war* (says he) *after the flesh* (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through GOD, to the pulling down of strong holds) *casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of GOD, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of CHRIST*: 2 Cor. x. 3, 4, 5. This is evident then, that they did not force the gospel upon the world; they did not convey it by the sword, or battel-bow; they neither did, nor could do this: and yet for all this it succeeded, it conquered, and it triumph'd also over all the power, the policy, and the stratagems of the devil and all his instruments. And it got that ground without blows and force, which it could never have gotten with it. To what then must this victory be imputed? Not to the sword and spear; but to the energy and force of truth, and to the mighty blessing and miraculous providence of GOD. It was GOD that brought this to pass, which men could never have done: And this is a sufficient evidence, that this religion comes from GOD: Had it been a lye, it could never have had that success by these unlikely means: Had it been from the devil, or the world, sure it would have made use of the instruments and stratagems of war, to have made room for it in the world. But that which is from GOD,

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needs none of these assistances and helps. And this doubtless is a very good argument of the truth of the *Christian* religion, that it did not make its way by the power of the sword, nor was it preserved by any such method. The religion of *Mahomet* indeed spread far, but it was by the help of such weapons as those. It owes much, if not most of its success, to the instruments of war, and the dissensions and backslidings of *Christians*, under God's permission. Nay, What was it else that did uphold idolatry, but the instruments of war and slaughter? False religions are forced to use this force and violence, which the truth which comes from God, and hath his blessing, doth not need. The pure and undefiled, and primitive doctrine of the gospel did not use, nor yet need these aids. Indeed the *apostatized* church of *Rome*, which hath falsely called herself the *catholic church*, since she left the true faith of the gospel, hath betaken herself to these carnal weapons. And 'tis easie to know the cause of it also: For when she wanted the evidence of truth, she then was forced to run to the power of the sword. By this sword she cut asunder those knots, which she was not able to untie: And whom she could not confute, she would condemn to the fire and faggot. The secular power must be called in, to uphold her grandeur and authority. St. *Peter's* keys are not sufficient unless she unsheath his sword: She is now bolstered up by the powers of this world, and when she wants aid from the sword of the spirit, she will derive it from the sword of princes. Her proceedings shall need to be no objection against what I have said. Who though she call herself the *catholic church*, is very far from deserving that name, and hath rather shewed herself by these her actions to be the *synagogue* of *Satan* than the *church* of *CHRIST*: She hath declared her cause to be bad, which could not be maintained and upheld without the assistance of secular force. The first planters of the gospel used none of these weapons. We read of none, whom they burned for hereticks, no common-wealths interdicted for hindering their worldly greatness, and no navies or armies raised against those, that would not acknowledge them as their superiors. These have been the pitiful arts of that *unclean church* of *Rome*; which is an argument, that however she vainly boasts her self to be *catholic*; yet she doth not shew her self in these things at all to be *christian*. For the church of *CHRIST* never got its growth by these secular weapons.

3. IT was propagated by sufferings, by patient enduring of tribulations: Prayers and tears were the only weapons of the primitive, and undefiled church of *CHRIST*. The blood of *martyrs* was that fruitful seed, that did so strangely increase and multiply: Which is an argument, that *JESUS* was the *CHRIST*, and this religion came from God: Had it been otherwise, it had not been possible, but that those first persecutions had quite rooted it out of the world. Had it not been of God, it must needs have so fallen out. We see in the greatest rebellions how soon they are stopped, when the chief heads and leaders are taken and punished. This puts an end to any insurrection or confederacy: And so would it have done by *Christianity* also, had it not been from heaven, and been accompanied with truth and righteousness. So that fire and sword cannot vanquish it, prisons and chains, and death it self cannot stop its course: It must needs be, a good cause that bears up against all the malice, the menaces, and the punishments, that a wicked world could devise or inflict. Besides, that persons of all sorts and degrees should seal this doctrine with their blood: young as well as old, rich as well as poor, people as well as their teachers, women as well

as men, those that were remote and far distant from one another. *Nemo gratis malus*. It cannot be imagined, that so many persons of all sorts, and so remote from one another, should conspire and consent together to bear witness to a lye: That they should venture their lives, and all that which the world calls good, upon an untruth. Certainly no man can be so fond, as to believe this: This martyrdom of *Christians*, and the growth of *Christianity* under it, is a good proof that *JESUS* is the *CHRIST*, and that the religion of *JESUS* came from *GOD*. For certainly had it not been from *GOD*, it could never have born up from so small a beginning against so mighty an opposition: And therefore it was a wise speech of *Gamaliel* to the men of *Israel*, who were so forward to persecute the first preachers of the gospel, *I say unto you*, says he, *refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought. But if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight against God*: Act. v. 38, 39. And this he well persuades from the destruction of *Theudas* and his accomplices, and also of *Judas the Galilean*, and those that obeyed him. To which may also well be added this, that whoever since hath pretended himself to be the *MESSIAS*, or his forerunner, hath been so far from persuading it, that he hath indeed come to nought, and miserably cheated and abused his credulous followers. Thus we know, that about two and fifty years after the destruction of the ¹ *Jewish* temple by the *Romans*, there did arise a certain man, that pretended himself to be the *MESSIAS*, and was called בר כוכב the son of a star (alluding its like to the prophecy, *Num.* xxiv. 17.) but this man was destroyed by *Adrianus* with many thousands of the *Jews* besides: So that now the *Jews* are not ashamed to call him בר כוכב or the son of a lye. *Maimonides*^m tells us of another, who deceived the poor *Jews*, under a pretence that he was the forerunner of the *MESSIAS*, who having boasted vainly that he should rise again after his death, in token that he came from *GOD*, was beheaded by a certain *Arabian* king, and so perish'd and left the *Jews* that gave him credit in great calamity and distress.

It is a very easie thing, ⁿ to give an account of the cheats and impostors, who have risen in the several ages of the world, under a pretence of being the *MESSIAS*, or his forerunner; by whom the *Jews* have been miserably imposed upon, and deluded from time to time. This is reported, not only by the *Christian* writers, but by the *Jewish* also. The *Jews* have often been frustrated in their expectations, and the cheat hath quickly been discovered. And they have for many generations expected their *MESSIAS* in vain. There hath appeared no man under pretence of the *MESSIAS* or his forerunner, but he hath soon come to nought. And no wonder; for a lye, though it may prevail for a while, will not obtain long. The heat of persecution will fetch off its paint and false colours. 'Tis truth alone that can endure a trial. *Facile res in suam naturam recidunt, ubi veritas non subest*. A lye may for a little while out-face the truth, and prevail upon the easie and credulous part of mankind, especially where it meets with no severe and potent opposition. But when once the authors of a forgery are discovered, when they are brought to punishment who contrived the cheat, and were the abettors of it, then it falls to the ground, and spreads no farther. It hath not power enough to stand up against so great a violence. But *Christianity* prevailed in spite of all the malice, force and combined endeavours of the devil and all his instruments to root it out.

¹ Buxtorf. Lexicon. Rabbinic. in כוכב. ^m Maimonides Epistol. ad Judæos Massilienses. ⁿ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 6. Hieron. Catal. Scrip. Eccl. in Agrippa. Origen. contra Cels. p. 44. Vorstii observat. ad R. David Gantz. p. 292. Juchasin. fol. 38. Zemah David. p. 150.



CHAP. X.

What was predicted of the MESSIAS, was fulfilled in our JESUS. This appeared in the birth of JESUS, in his office and character, in his works, in his sufferings and resurrection, and the spreading of his doctrine. The adoreable providence of GOD in bringing events to pass. This is shewed in very many particulars. And this is a farther proof, that JESUS is the CHRIST.

IF what hath been said before be duly considered, we shall upon sufficient evidence conclude, that our JESUS is the CHRIST, and that the *Christian religion* came from GOD. Not that I have said all, which might have been said, in so weighty an argument; but that which hath before been insisted upon, is sufficient to convince a lover of truth.

THAT there was a MESSIAS promised, and described in the *old Testament* is not contested between the *Christians* and the *Jews*; nor do the *Jews* deny, that JESUS lived, and that he suffered by the hands of their forefathers, as we say he did. We believe the writings of the *old Testament*, which the *Jews* themselves acknowledge to be divine. And neither they nor any man living have any just cause to call in question the authority of the books of the *new Testament*, which gives us an account of the birth and life; of the miracles and doctrine; of the death and resurrection; of the ascension, and intercession of JESUS. Here's nothing reported in these books in it self incredible; nothing that is light and trifling; nothing unbecoming of GOD; nothing against good manners; but we have the same reasons to believe the truth of these things, which we have for any other history, which we do believe without doubting: The same we have and much more. Allowing then but the truth of the matter of fact, which we have no shadow of reason to call in question, it will abundantly appear from what hath been said, that JESUS is the CHRIST.

FOR there was not a word that fell to the ground, which was predicted of the MESSIAS, but it was fulfilled in our JESUS: There was nothing so minute or small, but it was accomplished and fulfilled.

LET us to this purpose recollect those particulars mentioned before, and consider their exact accomplishment in our JESUS.

I WILL begin with his *birth*. We find, that the first promise, which was made of the MESSIAS, was under the character of the seed of the *woman*, Gen. iii. 15. And this woman was to be a *virgin* also according to a prediction afterwards, *Isa.* vii. This was fulfilled in our JESUS, who was *made of a woman*, Gal. iv. 4. and *born of a virgin*. Mat. i. 18, 22, 23. As for the *lineage* and *kindred* of the MESSIAS that is also predicted, *viz.* that he should be of the *tribe of Judah*, of the *family of Jesse*, and the house of *David*, Micah v. 2. Gen. xlix. 10. *Isa.* xi. 10. Jer. xxii. 5. This was also fulfilled in our

our JESUS, *Luk.* i. 27. 69. *Mat.* i. 1. The *place*, where the MESSIAS was to be born, was *Bethlehem*; and this was fulfilled in our JESUS, *Micah* v. 2. with *Mat.* ii. 5, 6. Again, JESUS was born at that time, when the MESSIAS was to be born according to the predictions of the *old Testament.* *Gen.* xlix. 10. *Dan.* ix. *Hag.* ii. *Mal.* iii.

IF the MESSIAS was to be a *prophet*, and like unto *Moses*; so was JESUS also; *Deut.* xviii. 18. *Joh.* vi. 14. If he was to live in *Galilee*; so did JESUS. *Isa.* ix. 1, 2, 3. *Mat.* ii. 22, 23. with chap. iv. 14. If the MESSIAS be described as *peaceable*, as *righteous*, as *lowly*, all this agrees to our JESUS also, *Isa.* ix. 6. xi. 5. *Zech.* ix. 9. with *Mat.* xi. 29. and chap. xii. 18. If the MESSIAS was to appear in the *second temple*; so did JESUS. *Hag.* ii. 7, 9. with *Joh.* xviii. 20.

THE very works, which the MESSIAS was to do, JESUS did, *Isa.* xxxv. 5, 6. with *Mat.* xi. 4, 5. And they were such works, as none could do without the assistance of GOD himself.

IF the MESSIAS was to suffer; so did JESUS: He died after the same manner, and at the same time, and in the same place, and under the same circumstances, which were predicted of old concerning the the MESSIAS. The very Person which betrayed him, the price for which he was sold, the company that suffered with him, the usage which he was to receive in his last minutes, these things were foretold of the MESSIAS, and accomplished in our JESUS. The very parting of his garments, the scoffs of the multitude, his behaviour and his last words, the exempting his bones from being broken, these things were predicted, and prefigured of old, and all fulfilled in JESUS; and so was his honourable burial and interment, as I have shewed before at large in the seventh chapter of this discourse.

IF the MESSIAS was to rise from the dead; so did JESUS. He rose again the third day, as he himself had foretold, and as had been predicted of the MESSIAS: Of the truth of the matter of fact we have the utmost evidence. After this he went up into heaven, and sent thence the miraculous gift of the HOLY GHOST, and his religion was preached to every creature.

AND as it was universally preach'd, so it spread universally also; and that it did so, is an argument that it came from GOD. From a *small* and *unlikely* beginning it came to a very *great increase*. It prospered under afflictions and the severest persecutions. It put to flight the devil and his kingdom, who made head against it with sword and buckler, without striking a stroke. It prevailed upon *warlike* nations without the *instruments of war*. It triumphed over the *wise* without any worldly *eloquence*. It vanquished the *strong holds* of the *devil* by instruments, that were very *weak* and *inconsiderable*. It advanced by prayers and tears, by patience under sufferings, by meekness and gentleness. Thus it conquered and grew big in spite of all the power, the malice and cunning of the devil and all his instruments: No fire could consume it, no enemies sword could destroy it, no proscriptions could banish it out of the world. It was too strong for the powerful tyrant, it feared neither his rod nor his axes; nay, it despised his greatest torments, and most studied cruelties.

IT is farther to be considered, that as all, which was predicted of the MESSIAS, was (as hath been shewn) fulfilled in our JESUS; so these accomplishments came to pass by a most stupendous and adoreable providence of GOD; in such a way and such a manner, through so many unlikelihoods
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and seeming contingencies, as speaks a miraculous and over-ruling providence of GOD. Here's nothing of the wisdom and craft of men, nothing of their power and co-operation to be acknowledged: *The stone which the builders rejected, the same became the head-stone of the corner*: And from thence we may very justly infer, that *this was the LORD's doing*: And if we attend to it with due application of mind, it will be *wonderful in our eyes*. This consideration must needs strike every pious and devout soul with a profound sense of the unspeakable wisdom, as well as goodness of GOD, in contriving our salvation by such ways, which men could never have devised, and in making good and accomplishing what he had promised and foretold, by ways and means to human wisdom very unlikely, and very disproportionate. I shall look back upon what I have said concerning the completing the predictions in our JESUS, and shew the wonderful providence of GOD in bringing events to pass.

CHRIST was to be born at *Bethlehem*, and so it must be: GOD had foretold it, the *Jews* expected it, and the *chief priests and scribes*, when they were consulted by *Herod*, where he was to be born, tell him the same *Mat. ii. 4, 5*. It was very unlikely, that JESUS should have been born there, for he was conceived at *Nazareth*, there his mother lived when she was great with child, at a great distance from *Bethlehem*, but she removes to *Bethlehem* in her own tribe upon an occasion of a decree of *Augustus Caesar* *Luk. ii. &c.* who therein though unwittingly was an occasion of fulfilling a divine prophecy.

AGAIN, the MESSIAS was promised under the character of the *seed of the woman*, that expression doth not exclude the woman's relation to a man, but will admit the woman to be espoused and betrothed. It was afterwards predicted, that he should be born of a *virgin*: It was not likely indeed that this should be verified in JESUS. For besides that what was foretold was against the course of nature, (*viz.* that a *virgin* should conceive and bring forth a son) so it was very probable, that she that was espoused to a man (and in the sense of the law his wife) would not continue a *virgin*. But GOD had foretold this, and he will make his word good: And JESUS was born of the blessed *virgin*, even after she was espoused unto *Joseph*. She continued a *virgin* though she was *betrothed*, and so far had upon her the obligation of a *wife*. Thus at once was JESUS the seed of a *woman* (as that word implies her betrothed to a man) and the son of a *virgin* also. This was a most surprising thing to the blessed *virgin* her self: She said unto the *angel*, who told her what should come to pass, *How shall this be?* *Luk. i. 34*. I shall add to this head the words of a very excellent person, which he spake upon this occasion. *I am fully persuaded* (says he) *that if either Jew or Atheist would but search the scriptures with hearts as void of prejudice, and minds as free from other thoughts and cares, as most men bring to famous plays or comedies: This contemplation would enforce the one to acknowledge, that the prophecies in old time came not by the will of man: The other, that JESUS the son of Mary was he, of whom Moses and all the prophets spake.*

CHRIST was to be born of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the house and family of *David*: And to that purpose that tribe and that family must not only continue, but continue so distinct, that it might be known who belonged to the one and the other. It is not a common thing, that any family and kindred continues so many hundred years: And indeed it was
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not likely that they should have continued, and continued distinct and separate, considering the great changes that passed upon, and threatned them either with utter ruin or confusion, They were in great danger of one and the other in the days of *Abaz*, and in the captivity of *Babylon*: And in after times the house of *David* lay neglected for many years; but so it was, they are not quite destroyed till this son of *David* is born: The birth of *JESUS* makes good, what *GOD* had promised of old time. And as the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* affirms, it was near the time when *JESUS* lived, and he came to the *Jews* themselves, who had the opportunity of knowing the truth in this matter, so that it was *evident to them that our LORD sprang out of Judah*, *Heb. vii. 14.* And *JESUS* was known to be, and commonly owned to be the son of *David*, *Mat. i. 1.* What *GOD* had promised of old, he (and he was only able to do it) in due time made it good.

THE MESSIAS was to be born before the destruction of the second temple, and while the *Jews* were a distinct people and polity: He was to add glory to the latter house; and to appear, before the *Jews* were quite scattered abroad. This was foretold of the MESSIAS, *Gen. xlix. 10. Hag. ii. Mal. iii.* The *Jews*, before *JESUS* was born, were in great measure in the hands of the *Romans*, and *Herod* of an *Idumean* extraction had for some time lorded it over them; but then he is born whilst the *Jews* continue a distinct people, live by their own laws, and in their own land; and goes into that temple, which according to the foregoing prophecies he was to enter into, and render glorious by his presence and conversation. The great deliverer comes at his appointed time, *viz.* at the declension of the *Jewish* polity, and before the expiration of the times predicted of old. And though the *Jewish* affairs were very low, and their polity near to an end; yet is *JESUS* born before their final destruction which was then very near. For the counsel of *GOD* shall stand.

IT was not very likely, that he who was born at *Bethlehem*, beyond the intention of his mother and reputed father, should thence go into *Egypt*, and at his return go into *Galilee* and live there: But both the one and the other were predicted of the MESSIAS, and how unlikely soever they were to come to pass, they were fulfilled in our *JESUS*. He was carried into *Egypt* upon occasion of the cruelty of *Herod*, and at his return thence into *Galilee*; upon occasion of *Archelaus* his reign in *Judea*, and the warning, which *Joseph* received from *GOD* in a dream, *Hosea xi. 1.* with *Mat. ii. 15. Isa. ix. 1, 2, 3.* with *Mat. ii. 22.*

WHO would have expected a prophet then in *Israel*, where prophecy had ceased ever since the days of *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, and there was now no such kind of men known among the *Jews*? Or that this great prophet, who was born in *Judea*, and near the great city of *Jerusalem*, should live in the remote and obscure country of *Galilee*? Who would have expected, that he should live in a country, from whence there was hardly ever known any prophet to proceed, and where he was likely to continue with little notice, regard, or observation? Who would have expected, that he that lived in so obscure a country, should do so great and stupendous works, to the wonder and astonishment of those that saw them? And that such an illustrious person should proceed from so obscure a country? *Joh. vii. 41.*

IF we go on to consider the death of *JESUS*, we shall find all things agree to predictions of old, and came to pass in such a manner, as speaks a miraculous providence of *GOD*. That he who was born should die, hath
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nothing of wonder in it. But it is very strange, that he should deliver him to death, who at the same time pronounced him innocent. That he should die upon a cross, whom the people were so forward to have *stoned*! That he should be *crucified*, who (if he had been guilty) should by the law of the country have been *stoned*! That he, who had so many *enemies*, should yet be betrayed by one of his own *disciples*! That he who had the *bag*, and had all therefore that JESUS had, should betray him for so vile a price as *thirty pieces of silver*! That the money, for which he was sold, this *price of blood*, should be employed in a work of *mercy*, to buy a *field* to bury *strangers* in! That he should drink *vinegar* on the cross instead of a *narcotick* potion of *myrrh-wine*, contrary to the constant custom and usage of the country where he suffered! That the soldiers should cast *lots* for his *coat*, contrary, to their constant custom, when they had *parted* his *garments*, and did so by them, who were crucified with him! That he should die among *thieves* and *malefactors*, who spent his time in *doing good*! That he who lived so *usefully* should be *scoffed* and *taunted* at, when he hung upon the *cross*; and that the multitude, who were wont to pity the *dying criminal*, should put off all humanity, and in a *set form of words* deride him in his greatest misery! That JESUS should hold his *peace*, who suffered wrongfully, when his *enemies* were *impatient* and *clamorous*, and the whole creation *groaned*, and was *disordered*! That when it was the custom to *break* the *bones* of the *crucified*, and 'twas practised at that time upon them, who suffered with JESUS, and they who were concerned, came with an intention to break his also; that yet a *bone* of *him* should *not be broken*! That he who was *crucified* (which was a *Roman* punishment, and none ° of the *Jewish* capital ones) should be *buried* also contrary to the practice of the *Romans*, who did not bury those, who died upon a cross! That he who died among malefactors, should not be left exposed with them also! That he who died so *ignominious* a death, should have an *honourable burial*! That persons of the *highest rank* and character should agree together in his honourable interment! These things are so strange and so surprizing, so much beyond what any history besides doth afford us, that if we believe but the matter of fact (which we have all the reason in the world to believe) we cannot but find great cause to adore the wise GOD, who accomplished in JESUS, whatever was foretold of the MESSIAS.

IF we now proceed to the consideration of the resurrection of JESUS, we must be forced to acknowledge the over-ruling hand of GOD. That he who died, rose from the dead, was an argument beyond exception of a divine power: Man could contribute nothing toward so stupendous a work. Nay, there was all done, that could be done by men, both to hinder his resurrection (which JESUS had foretold) and to hinder the spreading of it and the belief thereof in the world. His enemies were prepared to do all which they could, and they did it; by making his *sepulchre sure*, by *sealing the stone*, and by *setting a watch*, Mat. xxvii. 69. This they did to prevent the resurrection of JESUS. But all this would not do. They who had power to put JESUS to death, have no power to hinder his resurrection. When this succeeded not, the next course, which they had to take, was to hinder the *belief* of the resurrection of JESUS. Though they could not hinder him from rising again; yet they apply themselves vigorously to *stifle* the

° Casaubon Exercitation. p. 464. edit. Francf. 1615.

truth: This was their next care. To this purpose they *give large money to the soldiers*, that they might give out, that *his disciples came, and stole him away by night*, Mat. xxviii. 13. But they labour in vain; JESUS was risen; there were so many witnesses of this truth, that there is no stifling of it.

AND after all this, JESUS, having sufficiently convinced that generation of the truth of his resurrection, ascends up into heaven, and his holy religion is preached in the world. It prevailed in spite of all the opposition, which it met with. It was embraced by men, who were curious and inquisitive: It approved it self to the consciences of all the lovers of truth. And though it was opposed by power, and craft, and the combined force and malice of *Jew and Gentile*; it prevailed against all by *patience*, and *meekness*, and the divine blessing, which did attend it: These things duly considered do abundantly prove, that JESUS is the CHRIST, the son of the living GOD.

Who would not (says an excellent person) *acknowledge the divinity of this person, and the excellency of this institution, that should see infants to weary the hands of hangmen for the testimony of JESUS? And wise men preach this doctrine for no other visible reward, but shame and death, poverty and banishment? And hangmen converted by the blood of martyrs springing upon their faces, which their impious hands and cords have strained through their flesh? Who would not have confessed the honour of JESUS, when he should see miracles done at the tombs of martyrs, and devils tremble at the mention of the name of JESUS? And the world running to the honour of the poor Nazarene, and kings and queens kissing the feet of the poor servants of JESUS? Could a Jewish fisherman and a publican effect all this for the son of a poor maiden of Judea? Can we suppose all the world, or so great a part of mankind can consent by chance, or suffer such changes for nothing? Or for any thing less than this? The son of the poor maiden was the son of GOD, and the fisherman spake by a divine spirit, and they caught the world with holiness and miracles, with wisdom and power bigger than the strength of all the Roman Legions.*

IN a word, the things foretold of the MESSIAS, and fulfilled in JESUS were so many, and so *strangely fulfilled*, so much without any human assistance, and so *contrary to all expectation*, and all the endeavours used to hinder the foretold event; that he, who considers these things with care, must believe that JESUS is the CHRIST, and that his religion is true.





C H A P. XI.

The Christian religion is more excellent than that given by Moses, and consequently the best in the world. The Pagan religion not worthy of regard. The wiser heathens guilty of great inconsistencies and evil principles. The Stoicks upon sundry accounts very blameable. The law given by Moses came from GOD. In what sense it was a perfect law. It was not unalterable. A general distribution of the precepts of that law. The defects of it. I. As a rule of life: Many of its precepts not good in their own nature; They obliged the Jews only, and were annexed to their land alone, or some part of it: Many of them were political. II. The reward annexed to the obedience of that law was but temporal. III. It was not attended with the promise of divine assistance. IV. Nor was there that hope of pardon, which was afterward given in the gospel. The sacrifices allowed for that purpose were very defective: This is shewed at large. For some sins no sacrifice was allowed; Sacrifices were not pleasing to GOD of their own nature; The expiation did not depend upon the value of the oblation; He that brought an expiatory sacrifice was not allowed to eat any part of it; The repetition of the sacrifices another argument of their weakness; In some cases the sacrifice was but one of those things required in order to pardon; The legal sacrifices were not designed to continue for ever. That the defects of the law of Moses are supplied in the Christian religion: Of the excellent precepts of the Christian religion; Of the promise of eternal life therein clearly revealed, and of the great moment of it; Of the divine assistance attending this religion; Of the assurance of pardon from the Christian religion, and the sure foundation, which it lays for the quieting the consciences of men. The usefulness of the foregoing discourse: A more particular inquiry into the great ends or causes, for which the law of Moses was given. The conclusion of this discourse.

THAT JESUS is the CHRIST, and consequently that the religion, which JESUS and his followers taught, came from heaven, hath been in a great measure demonstrated already; for the farther proof of this truth I shall consider the religion it self, which JESUS and his followers taught, and prove, that it is a more excellent and perfect religion, than

than that which was delivered to the *Jews* by the hands of *Moses*, and consequently incomparably the best religion in the world.

I SAY the best in the world: for so it must be, if it once appear, that it is more perfect, than that which was taught the *Jews* by *Moses*. For though the religion of *Moses* was defective when compared with that of *JESUS*; yet it was true however, and came from *GOD*.

BUT as for the *pagan* religion, how ancient soever it was; yet it was *false* and *impious*, not revealed by *GOD*, nor *worthy* of him, *inconstant* and *various*, *trifling* and *silly*. It carried men away from *GOD* to the creature. It taught men to worship not only the host of heaven, but stocks and stones and dumb idols; the very creatures which they did eat, the evils which they feared, and the very devils themselves, whom they did not love. It prescribed impure rites and ceremonies, and put men upon cruelties to their own flesh, and to their own children. It was so gross and so silly, that the wiser sort of heathens, though they complied with the usages of the vulgar; yet they derided those fopperies, and were therefore esteemed atheists by the common people.

It must be granted, that among the heathens there were a number of men, who had a better sense of things, and have taught many good lessons of morality: But these men discoursed uncertainly, and as rovers for want of a revelation; And when they said any thing of a future state, they were wavering and doubtful. And the *Stoicks* themselves, who were a most considerable sect among the wisest of their philosophers, did trifle at a great rate, and allowed of some things manifestly evil, as well as notoriously false. I will not here take the pains to examine the inconsistency of their principles, and to shew how differently they acted, from what they taught: That is done by ^p *Plutarch*: I cannot but take notice, that they maintained some principles, that were immoral and impious, and such as could not come from *GOD*. They ^q gave men liberty to murder themselves, and to go out of this world without the leave of him, who sent them into it: And this evil and impious doctrine was the common and received and avowed principle of the sect, *Exerce te, ut mortem excipias, & si ita res suadebit, accersas. Interest nihil, an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos*; says *Seneca*. It is true, that ^r *Seneca* elsewhere explains himself, and seems to allow this liberty only in an useless old age, or in extreme necessity: But as that liberty is upon no account to be allowed; so it is manifest, that he speaks inconsistently with himself: For elsewhere ^t he doth not only allow a wise man to kill himself, *Si multa occurrunt molesta, & tranquillitatem turbantia. i. e. If many troubles arise, which disturb him*; But also, when he suspects, that troubles will come upon him. For he goes on thus, *Nec hoc tantum in necessitate ultimâ facit, sed cum primum illi cœperit suspecta esse fortuna, diligenter circumspicit, numquid illo die desinendum est. Nihil existimat suâ referre, faciat finem an accipiat*. So that upon the whole matter a man might lawfully kill himself, when ever he thought it convenient. This is a most wretched and detestable principle, a manifest invasion of *GOD*'s peculiar, and practising upon his prerogative. Besides that, it is a mean thing to allow a liberty of doing so great an *evil* to rid our selves of some present trouble, or some thing which we fear. For by the same reason a man may be allowed to kill another man, who stands in his way,

^p Vid. *Plutarch de repugn. Stoicorum, &c.* ^q *Arian. Epictet. l. i. c. 24. Marc. Antonin. l. 5*
^r *sest 21. Seneca Epist 69.* ^t *Epist. 58. Seneca Epist 70.*

and obstructs his ease and quiet. And indeed by the same reason he may do evil, that good may come of it, and chuse to *offend* rather than to *suffer*. Thus vain were those men, who were destitute of a divine revelation, and followed their own foolish imaginations; who under the profession of a great degree of wisdom allowed the greatest immorality. From the books of *Moses* the unlawfulness of self-murder sufficiently appears. When GOD commands not to kill, he forbids self-murder as well as killing another man. For if bearing false witness against our selves be a sin against the ninth commandment, which forbids our doing it against our neighbour, the killing our selves must needs be a sin against the sixth, as ^t St. *Augustine* argues well. And when after the flood the shedding of man's blood is forbidden, *Gen. ix. 6.* it is forbidden for a reason, which reaches to self murder, as well as the killing of another; *For in the image of GOD made he man.* ^u *Nam si homicida nefarius est, qui hominis extinctor est: Eidem sceleri obstrictus est, qui se necat, quia hominum necat.*

ANOTHER principle full of impiety, which the *Stoicks* maintained, was this, that a man's happiness was from himself, and that he need not seek it of GOD, or be beholden to him for it. So that in this matter they taught men to live without dependance upon GOD. ^x *Unum bonum est, quod beatæ vitæ causa, & firmamentum est, sibi fidere.* i. e. *There is one good thing, which is the cause and basis of an happy life, and that is that a man trust to himself.* And afterwards he puts men not upon prayers to GOD, but upon making themselves happy; and derides those, who expect their happiness from above, and seek it by prayer: Thus vain and haughty were these men, who pretended to wisdom: Whereas in truth nothing speaks truer wisdom, than for a creature to live in a constant sense of his necessary dependance upon his Creator.

THEIR ^y condemning all passions was also a foolish and an evil principle, and very destructive of the great ends of life. They destroyed the man in order to make him *wise*. And pretended that to be a fruit of wisdom, which is the greatest folly, and the way to happiness, which is indeed the most certain obstruction to it: For we can go as well without legs, as without our passions: 'Tis by them, that we pursue what is good, and fly from evil. They are the *wings* of the *soul*, and without them we are unactive creatures. 'Tis great wisdom to govern them, but to desire to be rid of them is folly, and an impeachment of the wisdom of our Creator. They are the objects of virtue, and minister to it. They are good *servants*, and whilst they are retained as such, they are of great use to us, but they are indeed bad *masters*. We may not pity the miserable, as *Seneca* ^z tells us, but he allows us to *help* him: But if we have no *compassion*, our relief will be very *slow* and *slender*.

THIS may seem too great a digression: And indeed it is not, what I mainly designed to speak to. I did not intend to compare our religion with that of heathens: It is not worth our while to do it. But by what I have said of the best of the heathens, we may see how vain and foolish their principles were. I shall compare the religion of JESUS with that, which GOD himself delivered to the *Jews* by *Moses*. And shall shew the defects of the one; and the supplies, which are made in the other.

^t Aug. de Civitate. l. 1. c. 20. ^u Lactant. de falsa Sapientia. c. 18. ^x Seneca Epist. 31. Quid votis opus est? Fac teipsum felicem. Ibid. Quam stultum est optare, cum possis a te impetrare: non sunt ad cœlum elevandæ manus Epist. 41. ^y Seneca Epist. 116. ^z Seneca de Clementia, l. 2. cap. 5.

IT must be granted, that the law, which was given by *Moses*, came from heaven; and that it was a very great blessing to the *Jews*, to whom it was given. It was one of these crowns (which the *Jewish* masters mention) with which they were adorned; It made their condition much better than that of their neighbours, The words of *Moses* to the *Jews* imply no less. *What nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law, which I set before you this day?* The giving the law to the *Jews* was a special dignation and favour. *He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel: He hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgments they have not known them.* This was a great treasure, which the *Jews* had, when the neighbouring countries were not admitted to the favour of a divine revelation. The study of this law is frequently pressed upon them: And the devout *Psalmist* doth upon all occasions express the great esteem which he had for it. It was *sweeter* to him than *hony*, more *valuable* than *gold* and *silver*; 'twas the *joy* of his *heart*, the *desire* of his *soul*, the *delight* of his *eyes*, and the great *comfort* of his *life*. *JESUS* himself shewed all due reward to the law of *Moses*. He professed, that he did not come to destroy the law and the prophets, he puts the people upon searching the scriptures; he was circumcised according to the law; he wore such a garment, as the law of *Moses* prescribed; he observed the *feasts*, which the law appointed; and when he had healed the leper, he sends him to the priest to do according to the law of *Moses*: The *Jews* had no cause to quarrel with our *LORD* in this matter. *St. Paul*, who was the apostle of the *gentiles*, yet allows, that the giving of the law to the *Jews* was a singular privilege and advantage. He reckons it their great benefit, that unto them were *committed the oracles of GOD*, and that to them pertained the *covenants, and the giving of the law*. Deut. iv. 8. Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20. Psal. xix. 10. Ps. xl. 8. Ps. cxix. 70, 72, 92, 97, 136. Mat. v. 17. Joh. v. 39. Luk. ii. 21. Mat. x. 20. Luk. ii. 41. Joh. ii. 13, 23. and ch. vii. 2. Mat. viii. 4. Rom. iii. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 4.

AND as the law of *Moses* came from *GOD*; so it must also be granted, that it was (as it is called by the *Psalmist*) a *perfect law*. That is, it was well fitted for that *people* to *whom*, and for *that time* in which, and for those *ends* for which it was given. It taught them their duty to *GOD*, their *neighbour*, and *themselves*; and laid before them such precepts, as concerned them as *men*, as *members* of a body *politick*, and of a *church*. It was so full and so complete, that it wanted nothing for the end, for which it was designed. It was expressly provided, that they to whom it was given, should neither add to it, nor diminish from it. *Ye shall not add unto the word, which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the LORD your GOD, which I commanded you.* It was indeed full of rites and ceremonies, but it required nothing immoral, and did not allow of the least shadow of idolatry: Its precepts were *just*, they were *consistent*, they were *plainly* revealed, and sufficiently confirmed. Indeed many rites and ceremonies were prescribed: But as they were of *GOD's* own appointment; so they were ordained for wise ends also, *viz.* to keep the people from *idolatry*, to which they were prone, and from the foppish and superstitious usages of their neighbours; for a proof of their obedience to *GOD*, and for the fore-shadowing of some better things to come: they were many of them very instructive, and were so many sacraments or symbols of very weighty things. Psal. xix. 7. Deut. iv. 2.

NOTWITHSTANDING

NOTWITHSTANDING what hath been said, it doth not follow that the law of *Moses* was never to be altered: The *Jews* might not add or diminish, but GOD himself was not bound by that law. It stood upon divine authority, and was revealed by GOD, but it doth not thence follow, that the same authority, which set it up, could not take it away; GOD nowhere tells us, that this is his last revelation, and that he intended it should be taken as such. Neither is GOD obliged to reveal his mind all at once. He may make what laws he pleaseth, and add to them when he will. Nay GOD himself doth expressly declare, that he would make a *new covenant*; And it is added, *Not according to the covenant, that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt*, Jer. xxxi. 31, 32. It reflects no dishonour upon GOD to say, that he reverses some constitutions of his own, that he alters or adds to his own laws. All the laws, which proceed from him, are not of the same importance and moment: The *Jews* themselves will own this, and the thing is very evident and plain. This appears from the greater or less punishments assigned to the transgressors of these laws. There were some sins so great, as admitted no sacrifice to expiate them. There were others, which were easily atoned for. We do not call the wisdom of GOD in question, nor disparage his law, when we shew how far short it comes of the gospel. For all this while we do but compare one divine revelation with another. GOD made the heaven and the earth, and all that which he made, was good: It is no reflection upon his wisdom, or goodness, or veracity to say, that GOD will make a new heaven and a new earth. For GOD who promised to make a *new covenant*, promised to make a *new heaven* and *earth* also. *Isa* lxvi. 22.

THESE things I thought fit to premise, that I might proceed in this weighty argument with the greater caution: I shall now consider the law of *Moses* more particularly in order to the proving this, that the gospel of CHRIST doth excel it.

THE whole body of the law of *Moses* comprizeth those precepts given by him, which were either *moral*, *ecclesiastical*, or *civil*. The *moral* law concerned them as *men*, and was given at mount *Sinai* in ten distinct precepts or commandments. These are called the word or *words* of GOD, and the *ten words*, and the *words* of the *covenant*; (word in scripture phrase signifying an intire sentence, or precept) *Psal.* cxlvii. 19. *Exod.* xx. 1. *Deut.* iv. 13. x. 4. *Exod.* xxxiv. 28. *Gal.* v. 14. *Mark.* vii. 13. with *Matth.* xv. 6. The other laws, which *Moses* gave, are expressed by *statutes* and *judgments*, *Psal.* cxlvii. 19. as the *moral* are by word, or *words* in the same place.

As for *statutes* the ^a *Jewish* writers tell us, that they are to be understood of those precepts, the reason whereof is not revealed, or at least is not obvious and plain: Such were the laws concerning *divers kinds*, concerning the *scape goat*, and the *red heifer* and the like: And to these belong the ceremonial and ritual precepts, which concerned the *Hebrews* as they were a *church*.

JUDGMENTS are such precepts, as are more agreeable to reason and such as might (at least in some measure) be found out by it. Such are those,

^a Bechai in Legem. fol. 185. Abravenel, fol. 177.

which

which relate to adultery and theft, &c. These have relation to a *polity* or civil society: As for example, the several specialities contained under the general prohibition of *theft* (where *Abraham* reckons up no less than ten) are called judgments; and so are those precepts called, which we find in *Exod.* xxi. &c. and that whole section of the law is called משפטים, or *judgments*, containing several *judicial* laws, or laws which respected the *Hebrews* as they were a *commonwealth*, or *civil society*.

THESE statutes and judgments contain the laws of their *church* and *state*: And *Judaism*, as considered in contradistinction to *Christianity*, consisted in the solemn profession of, and obedience to these laws, which God had given to the *Jewish* nation.

I SHALL now proceed to what I mainly intended to speak to, *viz.* to shew,

FIRST, The defects of that law, which was given by *Moses*.

SECONDLY, That these defects are made up and supplied by the gospel of JESUS CHRIST.

THIRDLY, The use and application of this doctrine.

I. THE defects of that law, which was given by *Moses*. For it will appear, that it is defective if compared with the gospel. The divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* argues very strongly to this purpose. *For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second. For finding fault with them he saith, Behold the days come, saith the LORD, &c.* This he infers from the very words in the prophet, where God declares himself in this matter; and it is very evident, that the words of the prophet are by this divine author truly applied to the times of the MESSIAS, whose miraculous birth is predicted in the very same chapter in those words, *A woman shall compass a man*: For ^b it is evident, that those words do refer to the stupendous manner of the birth of the MESSIAS; I shall therefore proceed to shew the defects of the law of *Moses*, as compared with the *gospel*, and that in the following particulars, *Heb.* viii. 7, 8. with *Jer.* xxxi. 31. and with *ver.* 22.

1. IN its *precepts* and *commands*, as it was a rule of life. These precepts are not such as perfect human nature, and make men better who obey them; but, obedience to them was necessary, only because it was commanded. They were not such things as tend immediately to make men better in their tempers and inclinations. They were good, because they were commanded; they were not therefore commanded because they were antecedently good. We doubt not, but that God commanded them for wise ends during the minority of his church; but as they were not to endure for ever (of which I may have occasion elsewhere to speak more largely) so are they far from being of equal moment and value with the laws of JESUS.

THESE ^c laws of *Moses* were given to the *Jews*, and not intended to oblige all mankind. The *Jews* themselves frankly confess this. And several of them were of that nature, that they could not be supposed to concern any of the rest of the world. Such were all those laws, which were founded upon something, which had happened to that people, and of which the observances required were but *memorials* or *testimonies*: Thus the *passover*, being appointed in remembrance of their deliverance out of *Egypt*, was a peculiar law to that people, who were delivered thence. The other nations were

^b Vide Dr. Pocock Not. Miscell. in Portam Mosi. pag 348.

^c Cosm. par. 1.

not under the same obligation; nor do we find, that the *Jews* went about to impose their law upon the neighbouring countries. The world had continued considerably above two thousand years before the law of *Moses*, and there were in the world very considerable examples of piety in that time: When the law was given, it was given to the *Jews*; but they admitted of *profelytes* to live among them, who did not undertake an obedience to the laws of *Moses*. The things themselves, which *Moses* requires, are not things in which all men are concerned: Indeed generally speaking they are of that nature, that they cannot belong to any, but to them only to whom they were revealed. All men are bound to be just, and to speak the truth, to worship God, and to be chaste, and the like: But for wearing fringes on garments, or frontlets between the eyes, for eating or forbearing such or such meats and drinks, &c. no man could be obliged to these laws, but those persons who had received them from heaven. For the *Jews* do confess, that the reason of their laws is not always to be found out, and consequently the laws themselves cannot be supposed to oblige mankind. For though the will of God be reason enough for our obedience; yet it is so only to them, to whom it is made known. And therefore those laws of *Moses*, which were not founded in any other reason than the will of God, could never be designed to oblige all the world. *Cicero*^d affirms it to be the opinion of the wisest men, that a law is something eternal, wisely governing the whole world by its affirmative and negative precepts, and that the prime and ultimate law, *Mentem esse omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis dei.* i. e. is the divine mind governing all things with reason. We do not question the wisdom of God, who by *Moses* gave laws to the *Jews*, we only say, that they were not intended for the whole world, which would have been concerned in them, if they had been agreeable to the necessities, and the best improved reason of all mankind, and had been written in the hearts of all men.

AND as these laws were only given to the *Jews*; so many of these laws did not oblige them in any place besides their own *land*, to which they were annexed, which they would have done, if they had been laws good antecedently, and such as had been founded upon the eternal reason of things. The *Jews* do allow, that so it was; and do frequently in their writings distinguish between those laws, which obliged them *within* the *land*, and those, which obliged them *without* the land of *Israel*. And there are a very great number of precepts, which were annexed to that very land, in which they lived, and to which they were not obliged any longer, than they kept the possession of that land. So that what was their duty, whilst they lived together in *Canaan*, ceased so to be, when they were *dispossessed* of it, and were scattered abroad into other countries. I shall not go about to number up the precepts, which were annexed to that land: I should too much enlarge, if I should give in the full number of them: I shall however name some. The *Jews* acknowledge, that the *sheaf*, that was first reaped, must be of the *growth* of *Canaan*, and so must also the *first-fruits* be, which are elsewhere mentioned in their law, and the loaves of *shew-bread* must be made of the corn of that country. The laws which concerned *tithes*, the *sabbatical* year, their year of *jubilee*, their *festival* rites, their cities of *refuge*, their *expiation* of an *uncertain* murder, and very many others did only oblige them in their own land.

AND there were many other laws, which were restrained to the *place*, which God should chuse, and to the *sanctuary*; and those precepts were

^d Cicero de Leg. l. 2.

determined to that very place. If the same thing were done elsewhere, it was an abomination. The difference of place made a great difference in the same action. That would pass for an *act* of *obedience* in one place, which in another would be an *act* of *rebellion*. The very many laws concerning *sacrifices*, and the rites of offering them up, did all belong to the *sanctuary*: The precepts concerning the *shew-bread*, the offering *incense*, the dressing the *candles*, the *vestments* of the *priests*, the *Sota* or woman suspected of adultery, and very many others were peculiarly annexed to the sanctuary or temple: And when that was destroyed and out of the *Jews* possession, they were discharged from all those precepts. And then for the city of *Jerusalem*, after God had made choice of that place, there were a very great number of the precepts of *Moses*, which were to be performed there, and obliged them no where else. Thither they were to go three times a year to appear before God, and to worship him at the solemn times appointed: They might not keep their festivals in another *place*: There they must eat their *peace-offerings*, their *first-fruits* and (the greater part at least of) their *second tithes*, and there they must keep their *passover*, Deut. xvi. 2. so that upon the whole matter, these laws (and they are not a few in number) cannot be kept any longer, than they kept in the possession of their land. And God by his providence hath rendered these precepts unpracticable. Besides, as the laws about sacrifices were annexed to a certain place; so the offering them up belonged only to one family, *viz.* the sons of *Aaron*: No man else might sprinkle the blood, nor might any of that family do it, who had a *blemish*, which rendered him incapable; and it might be that he would be rendered so by some *natural* and *not culpable* infirmity. So that the *Jews* are not now able to *practise* a great part of the law of *Moses*. Their *temple* is destroyed, and their *sacrifices* fall with it: Their *city* is *taken* from them, and they are now discharged from their *festival* appearances: They are not *obliged* to pay *tithe* of that land, which they do not *possess*, nor to build *cities of refuge*, where they have no *inheritance*. It will be hard to find the *genuine priests* and *Levites* after so long a dispersion: And *if the priesthood be changed, there must of necessity be a change also of the law*: Heb. vii. 12. There can be no sacrifice without a *priest*, without a *temple*, or an *altar*.

MANY were the laws, which were *political*, and concerned them as they were a *community* or body *politick*, which could last no longer than they continued in that condition. When the frame of their government was dissolved (as it was, when they were dispersed into several countries) those laws were rendered unpracticable; and consequently were never intended to continue for ever. All ^f those laws concerning setting a *king* over them, and about *capital punishments* in criminal cases; concerning the *dividing* their *land*, and preserving their *land-marks*; about destroying the *idolatrous* cities, and their making of *war*; those concerning *servants*, and *buying* and *selling*, and *damages*, and *succession* unto the estates of the deceased, &c. are not now to be practised by the *Jews*, who live in strange countries, and must not pretend to any *jurisdiction* or liberty inconsistent with the *laws* of those countries, in which they live.

OF such a sort were many, I may say, most of the laws of *Moses*: They were very *minute* things, which were prescribed, and the observation of so

^e Euseb. Demonstr. l. i. c. 6, 7.

^f Origen, contra Celsum. l. 7.

many things was very *difficult* and *uneasie* to the *Jews*, as well as very *costly*, when they were in their own *land*; but now are *impossible* to be observed. They were never *easy* under the *yoke*; but now by the providence of GOD they are released from bearing of it. It is true, there was no *evil thing required* by their law; but yet for their hardness of heart and *stubbornness* some things were *suffered* and *permitted*, which were at least *imperfections* and *defects*: Such were *polygamy*, and *divorces*, and the *liberty* of *exacting* a strict *reparation* for all the *wrong* or *damage* which was received.

2. I CONSIDER the *reward*, which was added to the law of *Moses* to encourage the obedience of the *Jews*. It will appear, that the *reward* was proportionate to the *precepts*: They were *temporary* and *topical*, they were *minute* and *imperfect*; and the *reward* annexed was of the *same nature* and *kind*; it was *temporal* and of this *lower world*. Such as *long life*, *victory* over *enemies*, *plenty* and *prosperity*: Things very fit to work upon carnal minds, and to invite a people of a worldly temper to obey those precepts, which *Moses* laid before the *Jews*.

THERE is no express promise of eternal life to be found in the law of *Moses*: This is nowhere inserted into the *pact* or *covenant*, which GOD made with that people. I grant, that the holy men under the law of *Moses* (and before that law was given also) had the expectation of a future state of bliss. But this was not expressly promised in that law, nor as a reward of their obedience to it. There were a sect of the *Jews*, called the *Sadduces*, who allowed that the law of *Moses* was from heaven, and yet denied a future state: This they would scarcely have done, had eternal life been expressly promised in that law. I do not question, but that the hope of eternal life was to be found among the more pious and devout *Jews*: I grant, that it was insinuated under temporal promises, and especially under that of a *land flowing with milk and honey*: But then *the earthly Canaan lay so fair and open to their prospect* (as an excellent person expresses it well) *as easily intercepted the view of the heavenly*; and their faith must remove, at least overlook, that mountain, before it could come to any sight of the horizon, and extended sky. If any of the *Jews* had any sight of heaven, it was such a sight as *Moses* had of the land of *Canaan*; he saw it at a distance from the top of *Pisgah*, but did not see it as *Joshua* the son of *Nun* saw it, who went over *Jordan*, and took possession of it, according to the express promise, which he had before received to that purpose.

Now then it cannot be supposed, that there should be many men of eminent virtue under that religion, the precepts whereof were *temporary*, and the promises but *temporal*. And they, who were arrived to an high pitch of sanctity under that dispensation, attained to that degree from an higher principle, than the letter of the law of *Moses* would have raised them to. It must be granted, that the hope of riches and plenty hath a mighty force and influence upon men; but it is only upon *carnal worldlings* that it hath this influence; and the love of this world is generally so far from advancing piety, that it obstructs it, and is the root of all evil. The *Jew* obeyed the law of *Moses* for the sake of worldly prosperity; and when he had obtained it, it would be a temptation and a snare to him: The very reward of obedience was a temptation to rebel. And though plenty and prosperity are promised often in the law of *Moses* as a *reward*; yet they are often mentioned as a *snare* too: The *Jews* are often cautioned against sinning against GOD,

when they are blessed with worldly prosperity. Such promises might have some influence in inclining men to obey the *letter* of the law; but they did not move men powerfully to obey the inward and *spiritual* meaning of it.

3. ANOTHER great defect in the law of *Moses* was, that it did not furnish the *Jews*, to whom it was given, with *power* and *ability* to obey. It did rigorously command obedience; but it did not help men to perform it. They had not that power assured to them from GOD's promise, by which they might be enabled to obey the *moral* precepts, which they had received. The plentiful effusion of the HOLY GHOST was a blessing reserved for the times of the MESSIAS, or the latter days, and is therefore promised as a future blessing by the prophets themselves. The law was written, which *Moses* gave; it was not kept from the *Jews*: But the writing it upon their hearts was promised as a part of the *new covenant*, which GOD would make with them. The letter of the law was that, which the *Jews* regarded, they did not give obedience to the inward and spiritual meaning of it. The law of *Moses* made nothing perfect, it did not *reform* as well as *teach*: They who were exercised in the precepts of *Moses*, were not *renewed* by them: The law was weak and ineffectual, and it did not give life and power to obey. Hence it is, that it is called *flesh* in the *new Testament*, to intimate the weakness of that law. It was a shadow of good things to come, and consequently was not attended with the *power*, which accompanied those better things, when they were exhibited. *Isa.* xxxv. 7. with chap. xlv. 3. *Joel* ii. 28. with *Act.* ii. 17. *Jer.* xxxi. 33. with *Heb.* viii. 10. *Heb.* vii. 11, 18, 19. *Gal.* iii. 21. *Rom.* vii. 8. chap. viii. 3. *Gal.* iv. 9. *Heb.* x. 1.

4. THE law of *Moses* was defective, when compared with the gospel, in that it gave not the *assurance* of pardon, nor laid that *foundation* for the *easing* and *quieting* the *consciences* of men, which the gospel of CHRIST is attended with. The law of *Moses* was a *yoke*, which the *Jews* were never able to bear. They were subjected to the curse of that law, *who confirmed not all the words of it to do them*. It consisted of very many precepts, and they were very *nice* and *operose*, such as required great *attention* and *heed*, *cost* and great *labour*, very uneasy to be *observed*, and yet the neglect of any of them exposed the neglectors to the curse of that law. Hence it is, that the law is called by the apostle the *ministration of death* and of *condemnation*. And that state, in which the *Jews* were under the law of *Moses*, is represented not only as a *state of minority*, but as a state of bondage and *slavery* also, *Act.* xv. 10. *Deut.* xxvii. 26. with *Gal.* iii. 10. *2 Cor.* iii. 7, 9. *Gal.* iv. 3, 24.

AND indeed it must needs be such a condition, that the *Jews* were under; and it will be evident that such it was, when it is considered, that they were greatly straitned between the great *difficulty* in *keeping*, and the great danger of *breaking* those laws. They must be uneasy in their own minds, who are perpetually in danger of offending and of being punished. There was no way left for them for perfect ease and quiet to their consciences, if the law was considered as a *covenant* of works. There was not that provision made then for such a peace of mind, which was made afterward in the time of the MESSIAS. It is true, that there were sacrifices allowed, and prescribed in that law for the atonement and expiation of the offender; but there are many things to be considered, which do speak the defectiveness of sacrifices under the law, and shew the necessity of some better provision:

And

And to that purpose I desire, that the following particulars may be duly considered.

FIRST, That for some sins there was no *expiatory sacrifice* allowed in the law of *Moses*, and consequently the offender was left without *hope of pardon*, notwithstanding the provision made under the law by sacrifices for the obtaining of it. In many cases the sinner was to *bear his own iniquity*, and could hope for no pardon from any sacrifice whatsoever. And there are very many *sins* of this sort: Such were wilful *murther*, and *blasphemy*, and many other sins of which we may see *Lev. xx.* And indeed all those sins which were committed with *an high hand* were of this sort: And whatever hope there might be for the sinner, who was surprized, and sinned ignorantly; yet if he it did *presumptuously*, and was guilty of those sins which admitted no atonement, he was left without hope from the law of *Moses*, and was to die the death. And if the supream magistrate did not condemn him, GOD declared, that he would *set his face against him*, and *cut him off*.^s But of this I have before discoursed: *Psal. li. 16. Levit. xxiv. 17. and ver. 13. Numb. xxxv. 31, 32. Levit. xx. 5.*

SECONDLY, That where sacrifices were not only *allowed* but *prescribed* by GOD himself; yet they were not things of their *own nature* pleasing unto GOD: And GOD did declare this frequently to the *Jews*, and declared it after such a manner, as might well beat them off from *relying* upon the sacrifices, which they brought to procure their pardon and atonement. I might heap up scriptures to this purpose; but I shall content my self with these that follow. *I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices, or thy burnt offerings to have been continually before me: I will take no bullock out of thine house, nor he-goat out of thy folds.* Again, *I desired mercy and not sacrifice.* And, *I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, &c.* Again, *To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; And I delight not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs, or of he-goats: Bring no more vain oblations, &c.* Again, *He that killeth an ox, as if he slew a man: He that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck: He that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swines blood: He that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol,* *Psal. l. 8, 9. Hos. vi. 6. Jer. vii. 22, 23. Isa. i. 11, 13. lxvi. 3.*

GOD did indeed not only allow, but in certain cases command sacrifices. But GOD required obedience to his covenant antecedently to sacrifices. This was his first intention, and not sacrifice; for that he required only *consequently*, and as a remedy when the sin was committed. Sacrifice, like repentance, was but *tabula post naufragium*: It was the way of reconciling sinners, when they had offended. Sacrifices were enjoined after the law, which was the rule of life, was given: And not only the moral law was given, before sacrifices were commanded; but the *political* law was delivered, before the particular laws about the kinds and rites of sacrifice were given out. GOD would have them obey, and rather *not need* than *bring* a sacrifice. For a sacrifice was but a substitute upon the failure of obedience, it was the sinners refuge. *Hath the LORD as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the LORD? Behold to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.* And Solomon adviseth us to be

more ready to *hear* (i. e. to *obey*,) than to *give the sacrifice of fools*. 1 Sam. xv. 22. Eccl. v. 1.

AND this is no more than what the *Jews* themselves are forced to confess. *Maimonides*^h acknowledgeth, that GOD put a great difference between that part of his worship, which consisted in oblations, and that which consisted in prayer and supplication: That oblations and sacrifices were but the second intention of GOD; and that prayers and supplications were agreeable to his first. He adds to my present purpose. *That though oblations and sacrifices were offered up to the honour of GOD; yet the Jews had not the liberty in that matter, which the ancients enjoyed. For the Jews might not offer them up in any place, or at any time. They might not build a temple where they pleased, nor offer what they list, nor by the hands of any men indifferently, but they were determined to a certain place, and to certain persons, who were of the family of the priests; which are diminutions of that kind of divine worship: whereas prayer and supplication were allowed in every place, and by every person.* Now this is an argument, thatⁱ sacrifices were not of their own nature things acceptable and pleasing to GOD; for if they had been so, they would not have been required of the *Jews* with such restraint, as we find them attended with. 'Twas obedience that GOD required, and sacrifices in the second place, and not for their own sakes: This the *Jews* themselves will allow.

GOD did not accept an expiatory sacrifice for the sake of the oblation: It was then only welcome, when it was a testimony of the repentance and the devotion of the offerer. There was no sacrifice, that was in its own nature good; and separately considered accepted with GOD. If the sacrifice was *piacular*, then it was the *contrition* of the offerer, which gave it a *sweet savour*: If it was *eucharistical*, it was accepted only as it was a *pledge* or *token* of the *grateful resentment* of GOD's *mercies* in him that brought it, or an *argument* of *homage* in him who presented it. Sacrifice was a federal oblation; it was never welcome alone: It was at best but *πυρὸς τερεή*, i. e. *The element of the fire. The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the LORD.* And the unrighteous man, who kills an ox, is as if he slew a man. GOD looks at the offerer. *Cain* who hated his brother, was unwelcome to GOD's altar; and our SAVIOUR would have the uncharitable man reconciled to his brother, before he offer his gift. The contrite and thankful, the penitent and humble, will not be rejected. Holy dispositions and tempers are always pleasing.

Hæc cedo ut admoveam templis, & farre litabo.

IF^k an and an evil unjust man offer (says *Philo*) his victims go for nothing, and his sacrifices are profane; his vows are infamous and very destructive: These do not destroy sin, but rather bring it to remembrance. But if the offerer be holy and righteous, the sacrifice remains, when the flesh is consumed; yea though there be no oblation offered up: For nothing is more truly a sacrifice, than the piety of a soul, who is a lover of GOD.

THIRDLY, That where sacrifices were offered by GOD's command, and according to his direction in all respects, and where an expiation or atonement was effected and obtained; yet in that case the *expiation* did not proceed from the *worth* and *value* of the oblation. And things were so

^h More Nevokim. p. 111. c. 32.

col. 4. Abravenel præfat. in Levit. c. 4. M. Ben Israel & concillat. p. 181.

ἀμάρτημάτων ἀλλ' ὑπόμνησιν ἐργάζονται. Phil. Jud. de Vita Moſis, l. 3.

ⁱ Vid. Bechai in Legem, fol. 135. col. 2. & 137.

^k Οὐ λῦσιν

ordained

ordained, that the *Jews* might be sensible, that the sacrifices did not of their own force, or upon the score of their value procure the offerers pardon. And to that purpose I shall annex an observation ¹ of *Maimonides*. He tells us that, *By how much a sin was the greater by so much the oblation was of the less value*: And he gives several instances to this purpose, where under the law of *Moses* the greater crimes were expiated with the cheaper sacrifice. Nor is this the single opinion of *Maimonides* only, *Abravenel* ^m assents unto it. If this be so, there cannot be a more evident proof than this, for the purpose for which I make use of it, *viz.* to prove, that the sacrifices did not procure the offerers pardon upon the score of their intrinsick value. For if they had, the greater offences would have required the *most costly* sacrifices.

It is also otherwise very evident, that the sacrifices and purifications under the law did not reconcile the offerer and the unclean upon the score of their own vertue, and intrinsick worth; no more than the brazen serpent cured the *Israelites* by its own inherent vertue: The *scape-goat*, that did bear upon him all the iniquities of the congregation, did not remove the sins of the people by any inherent vertue or sanctity: Nay, it was so far from it, that the man, who let him go, was defiled by him, and might not, till he had washed his cloaths, and bathed his flesh in water, come into the camp. Levit. xvi. 26. The water of purification was of a very extensive use for the purifying those, who were legally unclean: The ashes of a red heifer was of principle moment as an ingredient in that water; but those ashes did not purifie from any vertue of their own: The priest who ministred in that preparation, was obliged to bathe his flesh, and wash his cloaths, and so was he who burnt the heifer: And whereas a man, who was legally *clean*, was to gather up those ashes, which were the principal ingredient in the water of purification; yet that very man, who was clean before he gathered the ashes, was by gathering of them rendered unclean, and likewise obliged to wash his cloaths. Numb. xix. 7, 8, 9, 10. However, as these ashes served to purifie the people, who were unclean; so it appears that they did it not upon the score of their inherent vertue, because they defiled him that was clean before. Well then might the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* say, *It is not possible, that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins*, Heb. x. 4. There was no proportion between the guilt and the sacrifice.

FOURTHLY, The offerer, who brought an *expiatory* sacrifice, was not allowed to partake of the offering, which he brought; and consequently had the less hope from that oblation, which he offered up. It was the custom of the *Jews* as well as of the ancient heathens to feast upon their sacrifices: and when they did so, it was a token of reconciliation: Eating and drinking together was a federal right, and a token of friendship, as ⁿ I have elsewhere shewed: And as it was esteemed so among men; so it was between God and the *Israelites*: Where the *Israelites* were admitted to partake of the sacrifices, it was allowed them as a *sign* of their being *reconciled*, and as a *token* of God's favour and good will to them. But this was never allowed them, when they brought piacular or expiatory sacrifices; in that case they did never partake of the altar. For the burnt offering, which was a sacrifice expiatory, was entirely consumed: Neither priest nor people did partake of it. The skin was the priest's, but all the flesh was entirely consumed. As for the *sin* and *trespass-offerings* the priests generally speaking (but not always)

¹ More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 46.
the Lord's Supper, chap. 1.

^m Abravenel in Legem. fol. 251. col. 3.

ⁿ Discourse of

were allowed a *share*; but the people who brought these offerings, were not allowed to partake of them: In *peace-offerings*, which were *eucharistical* (and took in *vows* and *free-will-offerings*) where the offerer did not come to make *atonement* for his sin, a part was offered upon the altar, a part was allowed to the priest, and a part was also allowed to the people, who brought the sacrifice. This was a pledge or token of the favour of GOD, when they were admitted to partake of the altar. But when the people were not allowed this liberty (as they were never allowed it when they brought expiatory sacrifices) when the eating of blood was universally forbidden, and the eating the flesh of placular sacrifices was not allowed to the people; they could have but faint hopes of pardon and GOD's favour, from these victims which they brought. This denoted the imperfection of those sacrifices, and that they could not be confided in or relied upon: They were consumed, when they were offered; there was no part left to nourish the offerer, and to give him any just hope, that GOD was appeased, and his justice satisfied, and that he was received to his favour again. If he had been admitted to partake of the *altar*, he might have looked on himself as GOD's guest and *friend*, one that *eat* of his *meat*, and consequently in his favour. But it was quite otherwise. The sinner brought his offering to the altar, imparted to it his guilt, it died in his room or stead, and this is all that he had to do with it. It did not come back to him from the altar, no part of the flesh was left for him, as a token that GOD was satisfied with the rest, and he had no nourishment out of what was thus offered: The sinner imparted death to the beast which he sacrificed; but that did not impart life or nourishment to him back again.

FIFTHLY, Another argument of the weakness of those legal sacrifices may be drawn from the repetition of them. They are weak remedies, which must be frequently renewed: It is an argument, that they had not power to remove sins, and to rid the offerer for the future from the like miscarriages. They did neither secure the offerer against the *power*, or against the *guilt* of his sins for the time to come. And this argument is used by the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and it is a most unexceptionable one. *The law* (says he) *can never with those sacrifices, which they offered year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect. For then would they not have ceased to be offered; because that the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins. For in those sacrifices there is a remembrance again made of sins every year.* Heb. x. 1, 2, 3. The return of the sacrifices, which were constantly offered at their stated times, was an argument, that the disease was not cured, which they were brought to remove. If the remedy had been powerful, it would at once have removed the cause; But as an argument that it was weak, it was frequently repeated. Thus it was under the law of *Moses*; *Every priest standeth daily ministering, and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins.* Heb. x. 11.

SIXTHLY, Those sacrifices under the law, as they were *carnal* in themselves, so they were in their effects also. Those *gifts and sacrifices could not make him, that did the service, perfect, as pertaining to the conscience.* Heb. ix. 9. They did not mend the mind of the man, they did not reform his inward temper and inclination: The *Mosaical* observances were but *carnal ordinances*; and the *blood of bulls and goats*, and the *ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean*, they did indeed *sanctify*, but it was only to the *purifying of the flesh.* ver. 10, 13. These things did remove the *carnal* and *legal* uncleannels; but they did not cleanse the heart of him, that was *spiritually* defiled.

Those

Those oblations and purifications did remove some *legal pollutions* and *impediments*: As for example; He who was under a legal impurity, was excluded from the camp or city, and from the company of his brethren; he might not be admitted to the mountain of the LORD's house, who was under the legal uncleanness of *issues* or *flux*: He that was defiled by the dead, might not come into the *Chel*, or inclosure about the courts of the sanctuary: There were other legal uncleannesses, which debarred men of the liberty of going into the court of *women* and that of *Israel*: But all these restraints were taken off by the sacrifices and purifications allowed and prescribed in the law of *Moses*. And this is that sanctifying to the *purifying of the flesh*, which the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* mentions. But alas, these things did not purify or quiet the conscience of the sinner. They neither made him better for the future, nor did they remove the *horrors* of his conscience upon the account of his greater crimes and immoralities.

HE might come into the congregation, who was before excluded, and he might be admitted to the sanctuary, who by the law was before denied that liberty; but still the man was the same, when these legal impediments were taken out of the way. He was not renewed in his mind, he was not eased in his conscience, nor secured any more by this course against future evils, either here or hereafter.

SEVENTHLY, It is evident, that where sacrifice was allowed toward the obtaining pardon, yet sometimes the pardon was not obtained by the sacrifice; for the peculiar sacrifice was but one of the conditions, upon which the pardon of the offerer did depend: So that supposing the sacrifice offered up exactly according to the law; yet the sinner was not thereupon remitted. In case of trespass and wrong there was required by the law of *Moses* confession of the *sin*, and *restitution* also of the principal, and sometime the *addition* of a *fifth* part as well as a sacrifice. *Numb. v. 7.* As in some cases no sacrifice was admitted; so at other times where it was allowed, yet it did not restore him to favour, some other things being also required necessary to his pardon as well as that. The *Jews* themselves tell us, *That the day of expiation did not procure the pardon of those sins, which men committed against their brethren, till they had given satisfaction to their brethren, whom they had injured.* If they had injured them in words, they were bound to *appease* them, and to be reconciled; if they had done it in their goods, they were bound to make *restitution*.

EIGHTHLY, It was a very hard thing for the *Jew* to know, whether he was pardoned or not: And notwithstanding the provision made by sacrifices; yet that provision could not ease the sinner's mind. We will suppose the greatest care used to obtain pardon by an expiatory sacrifice; yet the offerer would be left uneasy in his own mind. In such a multitude of precepts, and of that nature also, which the *Mosaical* were, it was almost impossible for a man to know, whether he had transgressed or not, and consequently whether he was obliged to bring his sin or trespass-offering. Hence it was, that the *Jews* appointed a trespass-offering, which they call *אשם תלוי* or a *doubtful trespass-offering*, which they thought themselves obliged to bring, when it was a doubtful case, whether they had transgressed or not.

° Joma cap. 8.

LASTLY, It is very certain, that these sacrifices of the law of *Moses* were not to continue for ever. The *Jews* were given to understand so much, and GOD taught them this more ways than one. He annexed them to a certain place, and to a certain family, who were to offer them up; and when that place was no longer in the possession of the *Jews*, they were discharged from all their obligation to offer sacrifices at once. And besides that, many of them were but types and shadows of things to come, and were therefore in due time to cease. GOD did expressly foretel this to the *Jews*, and the *Jewish* writers themselves are forced to confess no less. Of the MESSIAS the prophet *Daniel* foretels, that he should cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, *Dan.* ix. 27. That is, all the offerings made by fire whatsoever. The author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* tells us the same of burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin. *Heb.* x. 6. That is, such sacrifices which were expiatory. And there is a saying to this purpose among the *Jewish*^p writers, *that every Corban or sacrifice should cease; but that the sacrifice of praise should never cease.* And this saying of the *Jews* relates to the days of the MESSIAS. The sacrifices allowed in the law of *Moses* were of very little moment in their own nature: They were never designed to continue longer than the city, the temple and altar stood, to which they were annexed. The^q expiatory sacrifices were shadows of an invaluable oblation, and the others were *eucharistical*, which as to the main continue still. We now offer up our spiritual sacrifices, our prayers and our alms, and our whole selves to the great creator and governor of heaven and earth, the GOD and Father of JESUS CHRIST. The^r holy flame upon the altar, during the law of *Moses*, was (says *Philo* the *Jew*) *σμβολον & ινχαριστια*, a symbol of thanksgiving; Those things were types or symbols (he tells us) of spiritual things, and that the grateful mind of a wise man is GOD's altar.

THUS I have given some account of the defects of the *Jewish* religion, as it was delivered to them by *Moses*, and as it stands compared with the religion, which our JESUS taught. I shall now proceed to shew,

II. THAT these defects are made up and supplied by the gospel of JESUS CHRIST, and that the *Christian Religion* is thereupon very far preferable to that of the *Jews*.

AND to the making this evident I shall

I. CONSIDER the precepts of the *Christian Religion*, and look upon them as a rule of life, and we shall find them the most accurate rule, that ever was made known to the world. There is not any religion whatsoever parallel to the *Christian*.

THE precepts of this religion are agreeable to the reason of mankind, they tend to perfect humane nature, and render it like the divine: They approve themselves to the consciences of all wise and considering men; and those very men, who do not obey them, cannot but approve of them, and have an inward veneration for those who conscientiously observe them.

As to that duty, which we owe to GOD, we are taught to perform it in a manner becoming his divine majesty, and his adorable perfections. We are directed to believe him, to fear him above all, to love him with our whole heart, to trust in him, and depend upon him in all our straits and

^p Midrash Tillim in Psal. lvi. 12. vid. Abravanel de cap. fidei cum Vorstio c. 13. ^q vid. Seder Tephilloth fol. 6. c. 3. Venetiis Anno. 1566. ^r Phil. Jud. de Victim. offerent.

needs, to submit quietly to his government, and to do his will: To worship him with pure hearts, to pray to him with great fervour and constancy; to give him hearty thanks, and to do what we do for his glory.

AND these duties are founded upon the greatest reason. For if we believe his *veracity*, we are obliged to give *credit* to his *revelation*, though we be not able to comprehend what he doth reveal. He that is *almighty*, ought to be *feared* above all, and he, who is only *good* and most *beneficial* to us, ought to be *loved* with our *whole heart*. Upon whom shall we *trust* and *relie*, but upon him who is *able* and *willing* to help them that trust in him? Is it not fit, that we should *submit* to him, who is *infinitely wise*, and who *governs* all things in *heaven* and *earth*? And whose *will* should we *do* but his, who is without *iniquity*, and who is just and right? If he is a *spirit*, it is fit, that we should worship him in *spirit* and in *truth*. And since we know that he *hears*, it is very reasonable, that we should at all times, and with great ardor *pray* unto him. And since we *receive* all good things *from* him, it is but just, that we should *praise* him as the *author* of all, and that we should *glorifie* him as the ultimate *end* of all.

As for the duties, which we owe to one another, the *Christian Religion* gives the most incomparable rules. It requires a *patient submission* to our superiors and governors, even then when we suffer wrong. It teaches us the most *exact justice*, and the greatest *humanity*, and *mercy* to one another. It obligeth us to pray for our greatest enemies, and to forgive them, who do us the greatest wrong. It allows us to do no wrong to another, and to return none which is done to us. It is so far from allowing us to kill those, who are of another religion, that it permits us not to hate them. There is no *friendship* so inviolable and *sacred*, no *justice* so *impartial*, no *charity* so *unfeigned*, *extended* and *fervent*, no *gentleness* so *exemplary*, as that which obtains among the genuine followers of JESUS. They who are such, live at perfect peace with one another; they think no evil, and are far from doing it: They love one another with a pure heart fervently.

As to our selves, our holy religion recommends to us the *profoundest humility*, the greatest *meekness* under calumnies, *patience* under sufferings, and *contentedness* in every condition: It teaches the most *unbroken fortitude*, the most *unspotted chastity*, and the most *unshaken constancy*; it teacheth us strict *temperance* in eating and drinking, great *moderation* in the use of bodily exercises, painful *diligence* in our several callings, and a singular *modesty* and *gravity*; it put us upon the greatest *simplicity*, and *candor*, the greatest *contempt* of worldly things, and the greatest *hunger* and *thirst* after *spiritual*.

THIS holy religion commends to our care and to our thoughts whatsoever things are *true*, *honest* (or venerable) *just* and *pure*, *lovely* and of *good report*, that have any thing of *virtue*, and any just title to *praise*, Phil. iv. 8. There is nothing commanded, that is mean and low, and unbecoming the greatest rank of men, the highest birth, or the most refined wits. Here's nothing required of us, that is *unreasonable* and *unaccountable*. We must be very *humble*, but here's room too for the greatest *fortitude* and *courage*: We must be *modest*, but may not be *sneaking* and *cowardly*, and *afraid* to appear for the *truth*. We must be *grave*, but need not be *morose*, *just* but not *inclement*, *long-suffering* but not *stupid*, and *courteous* but free from *foolish affectation*: Here we are taught true *greatness* of mind but not *insolence*, *poverty* of spirit without *dejectedness*, and a *contempt* of the *world*

without *haughtiness*; *fortitude* is commended but not *audacity*, *constancy* but not *contumacy*, and *diligence* but not *anxious carefulness*. This religion teaches us to prefer the *publick good* before our *private*, to prefer what is *just* to what we judge *commodious*, and to *abridge* our *selves* of our *own* liberties for the good of others.

WHAT ^t *Celsus* objected of old against the *Christians*, that they shunned the *dedication* of *altars*, of *statues* and of *temples*, did but import, that their religion was *spiritual*, and so indeed it is, and 'tis a great perfection which belongs to it. It is not charged and burthened with ceremonies, and ordinances, and ^t *rudiments of the world*, as the law of *Moses* was. But what was enigmatically and symbolically taught in the law of *Moses*, is plainly delivered in the *Christian Religion*: We are taught to offer up *fervent prayers* instead of *incense*, to *pare away* all *superfluity* of *naughtiness* instead of *circumcising* the *fore-skin*; we have our *sacrifices of praise* instead of the *bloody sacrifices*, and are taught to offer up to GOD our *souls* and *bodies* instead of the *holocausts* prescribed in that law: We are required to pay a *reasonable* service instead of that *bodily* one, which GOD required of the *Jews* by *Moses*.

THOSE things, which our religion requires, are good in themselves, and the practice of them makes us better, and are therefore of general and universal good to mankind, and the whole race of mankind is concerned in them. They are not *municipal* or *topical* laws, which oblige only in one place or country; but they oblige every where, in all times, and all persons whatsoever. *The Christian* ^u (says *Origen*) *looks upon every place as a part of the universe, and upon the universe as the temple of GOD, and therefore prays in every place*. We are all united by the religion of JESUS into one body, and are all concerned in his holy laws; The difference between the *Jew* and *Gentile* is quite taken away, and we are *all one in CHRIST JESUS*. This difference was once very great. The *Jews* were tied to certain ordinances and observations, which rendered them very different from the *Gentile* world, and they thought they could not converse with them by their religion, and did despise them greatly: Hence it was, that there was a great enmity between the one and the other; and thus things stood till JESUS came, and till he suffered: But by ^{*} cancelling those *distinguishing laws* and *ordinances*, which he did by his cross, he *abolished the enmity*, and *made peace*: He did thereby reconcile both to GOD having *slain the enmity*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. Gal. iii. 28. Ephes. iii. 6.

THERE were some things allowed in the law of *Moses* upon the account of the hardness of the *Jews* hearts, and for the time of the *Mosaical* dispensation, which are now by the better law of JESUS superseded, such were *polygamy* and *divorces*: And many other things were required during that minority of the church, which we are in no wise obliged to: Our religion is full of the most weighty principles, and commends to us those things, which are of the greatest and highest importance whatsoever. I proceed to consider

2. THE *reward* annexed to our obedience of these holy precepts, and that is *eternal life*. The *Jews* were engaged to obey their law by promise of temporal *rewards*: Those rewards were very suitable to that *carnal people*, and very *proportionate* to those rudiments of the world. Thus

^t Vid. Orig. contra Celsum, l. 8.

^t Col. ii. 20.

^u Origen contra Celsum. l. 7.

^{*} Eph. ii. 14, 15.

we do with children, when they go to school, to learn their first elements. We allure them with knacks and toys, that we may engage them to lay the foundation of more manly wisdom.

—*pueris dant crustula blandi*
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.

GOD did thus by the *Israelites*. He invited them to obey those ordinances by the promise of victory, plenty, and long life: He designed all this while greater things, and though he did not clearly promise; yet he did intend to bestow the blessing of eternal life to his sincere and faithful servants. But the clear promise of eternal life was a blessing, which GOD reserved for the times of the gospel. The good men under the law *obtained indeed a good report by faith*: And by the great things which they did and suffered, they gave proof, that their faith was sincere, and accompanied with an hope that extended beyond this present state: But still the express promise of eternal life was reserved for the days of the MESSIAS: And this is the clear meaning of the words of the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*. Where ^y speaking of the holy men of old time, he adds. *And these all having obtained a good report by faith, received not the promise. GOD having provided some better thing for us.* This is the great perfection of the *Christian* institution, that it gives the clear promise, and sure hopes of eternal life. And 'tis mentioned as doing so, when it is compared with the *Mosaical* institution. *For^z the law made nothing perfect*, i. e. it did not perfect those very men who lived under it, and submitted to it. For it not giving a full pardon for offences, and not affording express assurance of eternal life, it was not powerful enough to perfect those, who were under it. But then follows what the gospel doth. *But the bringing in of a better hope did, by the which we draw nigh unto GOD.* Where we find the gospel called the *bringing in of a better hope*, and that must be the hope of eternal life; for the hope of temporal good things was brought in by the law of *Moses*.

AGREEABLY hereunto it is also said of JESUS, that he was *made a surety of a better testament*. Heb. vii. 22. And a *mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises*. Heb. viii. 6. And it is elsewhere said of JESUS, that he hath *abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel*. 2 Tim. ii. 10. And the ^a author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* speaks to the same purpose elsewhere. He tells us, that there were two parts of the sanctuary, which he calls two tabernacles; and that *the priests went always* (i. e. constantly twice every day) *into the first tabernacle accomplishing the service of GOD*. viz. to offer incense, and to take care of the lamps: *But into the second went the high priest alone once every year not without blood, which he offered for himself and the errors of the people*. Thus the high priest, at the day of expiation only, was admitted into the holy of holies: The meaning of this is expressed in the following words. *The HOLY GHOST this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all*

^y Heb. xi. 39, 40.

^z Heb. vii. 19.

^a Heb. ix. 6, 7, 8.

was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing. The meaning of which words is plainly this; that^b the holy Spirit by this appointment in the *Mosaical* institution did intimate, that the way to heaven was not laid open during that dispensation; And this will evidently appear, from what hath been said before to this purpose. St. Peter^c blesteth the GOD and father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, *which according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope* (or an *hope of life*, as it is in another Greek copy, and that of *eternal life* also, as appears from the following words) *by the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST from the dead. To an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you.*

HERE we have an encouragement incomparably great, and such as will sufficiently move us to obedience. The hope of eternal life is enough to engage us to obey the precepts of JESUS, and to reconcile us to all the labour and difficulty, which may at any time attend upon our obedience. *Eternal life* imports more than we can express or comprehend: something more excellent than what our eye hath seen, our ear hath heard, or our shallow mind is able to conceive. Crowns and scepters, feasts and triumphs, worldly success and prosperity are but little and faint resemblances of the eternal, unspeakable, and inconceivable happiness. This is *clearly* revealed, the *promise* is *often repeated*, the thing promised is expressed by words of the *highest* import, and in such a *manner* as speaks the thing it self too big to be expressed, and too *glorious* to be comprehended by men, who dwell in the body. It is a reward stupendously *great*, and therefore very *powerful*; it is *spiritual*, and therefore engageth us to be so too; it is *conditional*, and therefore is fitted to secure our *duty*. The *faint hope* of riches, of honour, of *temporal* good things hath a mighty force: The hope of heaven, where it is well-grounded, believed, and considered with due application, will be of greater force to render us *patient* and *diligent*, and *fervent* in our obedience. I proceed to consider

III. THE *help* and *power* to obey this religion, which the religion of JESUS is attended with. The laws of our SAVIOUR have the promise of divine assistance annexed to them. The effusion of the HOLY GHOST was a blessing reserved for the days of the MESSIAS; Our SAVIOUR promised this divine aid, and made good his word, as hath been shewn before: The^d prophets of old did foretel, what our JESUS made good: And when JESUS did promise the *holy Spirit* to his followers, he did promise him as a comforter, who should abide with them *for ever*. Indeed the miraculous gifts of the HOLY GHOST were not designed to continue in the church any longer, than the *reason* and the *necessity* of them continued. When the *Christian* doctrine was *planted* and *universally* received, then *miracles* ceased. But the *holy spirit* continues still in the church of CHRIST, and doth renew and purifie the hearts of the sincere believers. We have the utmost assurance, that^e we shall receive this *holy spirit*, who^f helps our infirmities, and^g is greater in us,

^b Vid. Chap. ix.
Joh. xiv.

^c 2 Pet. i. 3, 4.
^e Luk. xi. 13.

^d Joel ii. 28. Isa. xxxv. 7. xlv. 3.
^f Rom. viii. 26.

^g 1 Joh. iv. 4.

than

than he who is in the world. The ^f gospel is *the ministration of the spirit*, and of such a spirit as doth not kill (as the letter of the law did) but *giveth life*: 'Tis by ^g *faith*, and not by the law that we have the *promise*, and the assistance of the *spirit*. The gospel ^h is a state of *liberty*, of *ingenuity* and *freedom*: We are by this *spirit* freed from the greatest slavery and bondage; from the dominion of our lusts, and the dread and horrors of our conscience. We are enabled to obey, and endued with power to do, what our religion doth command. Hence it is, that the gospel, as it is ⁱ considered in opposition to the law, is called *grace*, or the *grace* of GOD in the new *Testament*; because it is accompanied with power or grace enabling us to yield obedience to the precepts of JESUS CHRIST. And our obligation to conquer our sins under the gospel is now inferred from our having embraced it. ^k *Sin shall not have dominion over you: For ye are not under the law, but under grace.* i. e. Sin shall no longer over power you now; for ye are not under the law (which did indeed rigorously *require obedience*, but did not *help* you to *obey*) but ye are under *grace*, that is, ye are now admitted to a *covenant of grace*, where you have not only assurance of pardon upon your sincere repentance; but are encouraged also by the promise of eternal life, and offered assistance to enable you to obey.

ON the other hand the law was weak, and had not this promise of the *Spirit* annexed unto it. And upon the account of its weakness it is very frequently called ^l *flesh* in the new *Testament*, as the gospel is called the ministration of the *Spirit* upon the account of that power enabling us to obey, with which it is attended. And the *legal* ordinances are called *weak* and ^m *beggarly elements*, or *rudiments*. And indeed the law of *Moses* might be justly called weak, as compared with the doctrine of the gospel; for the law was not able to effect, what the gospel hath done; it ⁿ *gave not life*, it did not furnish men with power to yield an inward and spiritual obedience: Sin was *forbid* indeed by the *law*, but not *kept under* and *restrained*. It *directed* mens obedience, but it did not *powerfully assist* them. It was a yoke, but not an easie one, or like that which JESUS puts upon us, but such as the *Jews* knew neither how to ^o *bear* or to *break*. And hence it is, that they who were under the law are represented as in a state of slavery and servility. Whereas the law of *Moses* was weak, and they to whom it was given did transgress it, and were obnoxious to a curse, GOD ^p doth promise to the *Jews* to enter into a new and better covenant with them; *After those days, saith the LORD, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their GOD, and they shall be my people.*

I SHALL in the next place take into consideration

IV. THE *assurance of pardon* of sin, which the gospel gives, and consequently the foundation, which it lays for the *quieting* our *consciences*, far beyond what was done by the law of *Moses*. I have be-

^f 2 Cor. iii. 6, 8. ^g Gal. ii. 3, 5, 14. ^h Gal. iv. 6. Rom. viii. 3.
ⁱ Rom. v. 21. Gal. v. 4. Tit. ii. 11. ^k Rom. vi. 14. ^l Rom. vii. 5.
Gal. iv. 9. ^m Phil. iii. 3. with Rom. viii. 3. Gal. iii. 3. Heb. vii. 16. ⁿ Gal. iii. 21.
Rom. vii. 5, 8. Act. xv. 10. ^o Gal. iv. 3, 24. ^p Jer. xxxi. 33.

fore shewed the defectiveness of that provision by sacrifices, which was made in the law of *Moses*: I shall shew, that this is supplied in the covenant of grace made by *CHRIST*. And this was foretold very particularly as a special and peculiar grace belonging to this new covenant, as it is distinguished from that between *GOD* and *Israel* by the mediation of *Moses*, which *GOD* had promised to make. *GOD* promises not only to *write the law upon their hearts*, and consequently to work in them the saving knowledge of himself, but more especially assures them⁹ of their pardon and remission. *For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.*

THERE is nothing bears so hard upon a man, as his guilt. And in many things we offend all. We are all guilty more or less, and consequently obnoxious to the horrors of our conscience, and the wrath of *GOD*. This is the great torment of life, and there is no trouble like it. A guilty mind bears harder upon us than any outward *trouble*. And then he that hath sinned is anxious and suspicious, he is not easily assured of his pardon: he that broke the law of *Moses* was liable to the curse of it. And though sacrifices were allowed, yet I have shewed the defects of that provision.

BUT the gospel gives us the utmost assurance of our pardon, upon terms that are gentle and reasonable, and by no means to be refused. Whatever our sins have been, yet upon our repentance and sincere obedience for the future, we are sure of *GOD*'s favour, and of his being reconciled to us: He beseecheth us now to be reconciled to him upon these gentle and easie terms: This is the tenor of this new *covenant* or *covenant of grace*, of which *JESUS* is the *mediator*: He hath procured this for us, he hath *purchased* this by his *merits*, *sealed* it by his own precious *blood*, *assured* it to us by his *resurrection*, and *powerful intercession*; he *confirmed* it by *stupendous miracles*, *proclaimed* it to all the world by his *messengers*, and *given* us the *signs* and *evidences* of it by his *holy sacraments*, and *solemn institutions*. There is nothing wanting to insure this our pardon unto us: Here's no shadow left for our doubt or anxious fears; but we have all the possible^r assurance, which we can desire. *While we were yet sinners CHRIST died for us: Much more then being now justified by his blood we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if when we were enemies we were reconciled to GOD by the death of his son: much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life.* These last words contain an argument invincible, and altogether unanswerable, and such as affords the strongest consolation: If *GOD* looked after us when we were his avowed enemies, if even then he gave up his most dear Son to death, and at so great an expence restored us to favour, surely he will now not abandon us to destruction. He that was so kind to his enemies, will not now forsake his friends. So great and dear a love will not be extinguished. It was a great price (and an instance of the greatest love) by which we were reconciled, when we were enemies; 'twas by the death of the son of *GOD*. We had little reason to expect this favour and this expence. But now we may be saved without his giving up his Son again to death and need not therefore doubt, but that we shall be saved by his life. The *Jew*

⁹ Jer. xxxi. 34.^r Rom. v. 8, 9, 10.

under the law of *Moses* had great cause to fear, for when he transgressed (and that he did when-ever he continued not obedient to all the words of that law) he put himself under the rigour and curse of the law. But GOD hath now made a better covenant with us, and given us the greatest hopes of pardon upon our repentance, and sincere (though it be not sin-less) obedience to the laws of CHRIST.

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AND he ^u who was himself a *blasphemer* tells us, that he *obtained mercy*: nor doth he only tell us that, but also that he therefore obtained mercy for a *pattern to them, who should hereafter believe*. Our SAVIOUR goes on, ^x *Whosoever speaketh a word against the son of man it shall be forgiven him*. There were those, who spake against CHRIST. The person of JESUS was contemned and reproached for the meanness of his birth, the poverty of his condition, or freedom of his conversation, and afterwards for the ignominy of his death: But this sin did not exclude the possibility of repentance, and the hope of pardon.

HERE's pardon for every sin; the gospel invites and receives the vilest sinners; but shelters them not, if they continue to wallow in their mire. We may learn, what sins have been forgiven from the words of the apostle. *Such were some of you; but ye are washed, &c.* They had been *fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, effeminate, abusers of themselves with mankind, thieves, covetous, drunkards, revilers, extortioners*. Such the *Christian* doctrine found them, but it did not leave them such: They were cleansed of these impurities; They were *washed, sanctified and justified* in the name of the LORD JESUS, *and by the spirit of our God*. It was a wretched plight, in which the gospel found men, when it first advanced in the world: They were ^z *foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another*: Good GOD, what a wretched condition was this! How was thy creature, made after thy own image, deformed! What a darkness and disorder hath spread it self upon the intellectual world! Men retained the same shape and figure, that they had from the beginning; They were of an erect or upright stature; They were not overgrown indeed with horns, and hoofs, and claws; but otherwise they were at best but ^a *brutes in human shape*: Their *manners* were *crooked*, their *minds* were *bowled down to the ground*, and they were *salvage* and *ravenous* as *wolves* and *bears*. But were these creatures out of the reach

^t Matth. xii. 31.

^z Tit. iii. 3, 5.

^u 1 Tim. i. 13, 16.

^a Ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια. Phil.

^x Matth. xii. 32.

^y 1 Cor. vi. 9, 11.

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^y 1 Cor. vi. 9, 11.

^z Tit. iii. 3, 5.

^a Ἀποβρωμῶν ὁμοίᾳ. Phil.

of this mercy tendered in the covenant of grace? By no means. These men were saved by the *washing of regeneration* and *renewing of the HOLY GHOST*. Our LORD came to call sinners to repentance; And the greatest sinners were pardoned; Those who had *worshipped idols*, who had been *possessed by devils*, and who had persecuted the *church of CHRIST*. In a word, by our ^b JESUS, *all that believe are justified from all things, from which we could not be justified by the law of Moses*.

It is true indeed, that * our SAVIOUR hath said, that ^c *Whosoever speaketh against the HOLY GHOST, it shall not be forgiven him.* And it is the only sin which is excepted. But those words of our SAVIOUR, if rightly understood, are no objection of weight against what hath been said before, *viz.* that the gospel affords a pardon for all manner of sin. For this supposes, that men assent to the truth of the *Christian* doctrine and embrace it. Now that *sin* against the HOLY GHOST, of which our SAVIOUR speaks, is of such a nature as supposeth the person guilty of it to be one, who not only doth not assent to the truth of the *Christian* doctrine, but resists the evidence and confirmation of it, which was effected by the HOLY GHOST, and doth calumniate and blaspheme the divine author of that evidence. Those Pharisees, who imputed what our SAVIOUR did to the prince of the devils, did not believe the doctrine of CHRIST. Nor can any man, who assents to the truth of the *Christian* doctrine, be guilty of that sin against the HOLY GHOST, of which our SAVIOUR speaks. The HOLY GHOST in that place is not considered as the *third person* of the *Trinity*, and the *author of holiness* in us, (in which respect every act of profaneness might in some sense be called a sin against the HOLY GHOST) but is considered there as a *witness* to the truth of the *Christian* doctrine. And upon that account that *blasphemy* is said to be unpardonable. He that was guilty of that sin, was one who rejected the *Christian* doctrine. It is no disparagement to the most effectual medicine in the world, that it doth not cure that diseased person, who refuseth to apply it. The gospel affords a pardon for every sin; but there is no hope for him who rejects it.

It was a charge of old against the *Christian* religion, that it invited and gave hope of pardon to the most profligate sinners. *Celsus*^d long ago objected it against our most holy religion. He says, that in other mysteries the profane were dismissed, and none was called in, but he *who had pure hands*, who was *wise in speech*, *free from vice*, &c. But (says he) among the *Christians* are called in ^e *ὅσοι ἀμαρτωλοί, &c.* *Whoever is a sinner, a fool, or childish, or miserable; such* (says he) *doth the kingdom of God receive*. But, as *Origen* answers well, these vile men are not presently admitted to the participation of the *mysteries* of this religion, but to the *cure* which it works upon them. It gives them pardon upon their amendment.

THE *Jews* from their sacrifices had hopes of pardon; but they were but faint hopes, if compared with what we have under the gospel of CHRIST. GOD hath given us the utmost assurance. For, 1. He hath given up his beloved son to death. ^e CHRIST our *passover is sacrificed*

^b Act. xiii. 39.
^c Matth. xii. 32.

* See Archbishop Tillotson's most excellent sermons on this subject.
^d Origen contra Celsum. l. 3.

^e 1 Cor. v. 7.

for us. He was that ^f lamb of GOD, who takes away the sin of the world. Here's a sacrifice without ^g spot, of an infinite price and value, a sacrifice of a ^h sweet-smelling savour. A sacrifice which GOD provided and accepts. Our SAVIOUR hath washed us from ⁱ our sins in his own blood. We are by the gospel brought ^k to JESUS the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. The blood, which JESUS shed, doth not only speak better things than the blood of the legal sacrifices ordained by the hands of Moses, but also better than the sacrifice, which Abel offered up. For though Abel was a righteous person, though he offered a ^l more excellent sacrifice than his brother, and GOD did declare his acceptance of his sacrifice by a visible token from heaven; Though Abel offered his sacrifice by faith, and be justly celebrated among the worthies and the faithful; Though GOD bore witness to his righteousness, and though he being so long since dead yet speaketh; yet for all this the blood, which he offered, is not to be compared with the blood of JESUS. And could any thing have been said more to the advancing the value of the blood of CHRIST, and its efficacy to procure our pardon, than that it speaks better things ^m than that of Abel? This sacrifice needs not to be repeated, as the legal sacrifices were. This sacrifice purges the conscience, the legal ones did but sanctify to the purifying of the flesh. This sacrifice is of value sufficient to procure pardon for the whole race of mankind, and is not confined in its virtue or effects to any certain people, as the legal sacrifices were. 2. The resurrection of JESUS from the dead gives farther assurance of our pardon. When our LORD gave himself up to death as our surety, he undertook our ransom, but when he arose again, he assured our discharge. He ⁿ was delivered for our offences, that is a foundation of some hope; But then he was raised again for our justification. If death had detained our LORD, his death would not have afforded us any hope; Our hope was raised with our SAVIOUR. 3. Our SAVIOUR's entering into heaven, and intercession there on our behalf doth still give us farther assurance of our pardon and forgiveness. If ^o any man sin we have an advocate with the father, JESUS CHRIST the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. Again, ^p Him hath GOD exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a SAVIOUR, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. The Jews expected pardon of their sins on their great day of expiation, when the high priest went into the most holy place with ^q blood which he offered for himself, and the errors of the people. Their high priest had sins of his own to be expiated, and the blood, which he offered, was the blood of a beast, and upon both accounts the peoples hope was the more languid. But blessed be GOD, we are better provided for, and our hope is more firmly built. We have an high priest the most perfect, and spotless: Such ^r an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens;

^f Joh. i. 29. ^g 1 Pet. i. 19. ^h Eph. v. 2. ⁱ Rev. i. 5. ^k Heb. xii. 24.
^l Heb. xi. 4. with Gen. iv. 4. ^m Heb. ix. 12, 13, 14, 25, 26. ⁿ Heb. x. 2. ix. 13, 14.
^o 1 Cor. v. 15. ^p Heb. ii. 9. ^q Joh. iii. 17. ^r Rom. iv. 25. ^s 1 Joh. ii. 1, 2.
^t Act. v. 31. ^u Heb. ix. 7. ^v Heb. vii. 26, 27, 28.

Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the peoples: For this he did once when he offered up himself. For the law maketh men high priests, which have infirmity: but the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore. Here is nothing wanting toward the quieting our consciences, and the securing our pardon. JESUS is our high priest, our patron and advocate with GOD. There ^f are but three things required to render a priest the most excellent, and perfect in the highest degree, and they are all to be found in our JESUS. First, That he have sufficient power with GOD to render him propitious to those, for whom he undertakes. Secondly, That he have so much good will for those, whose advocate he is, as to incline him to use his power for their advantage. Thirdly, That he always live and continue in that authority and power, and with that good will. Our JESUS hath sufficient power with GOD: He hath all ^t *power in heaven and earth*, and a ^u *name above every name*, and he hath great good will for those, for whom he undertakes. He hath been acquainted with the infirmities of humane nature, an *high priest* that is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, having been *tempted like as we are*. He is at once a ^x *merciful* as well as *faithful high priest*; And, besides this, He ^y *ever lives to make intercession*. He continueth ever, and hath a *priest-hood* that is *unchangeable*, or which *passeth not from one to another*. So that the *death*, the *resurrection*, and *intercession* of JESUS (as our high priest) lay a sure foundation for the quiet of our conscience. These three are put together by St. Paul ^z to my present purpose. *Who is he that condemneth?* (says he) *It is CHRIST that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of GOD, who also maketh intercession for us.* 4. The *holy spirit*, which JESUS did not only promise, but bestow upon his followers, is still a farther pledge of our pardon and forgiveness, and indeed of our future glory and happiness. For so the *holy Spirit* is said ^a to be the *earnest of our inheritance*. The Greek word, which we truly render *earnest*, signifies a part of price or wages, which is given in hand to secure the receiver of the whole sum. And such is the *holy Spirit* to us: He gives us full assurance, that we shall be admitted to the whole inheritance. The ^b *Spirit it self beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of GOD; and if children then heirs, heirs of GOD and joint-heirs with CHRIST*: We are elsewhere said to be, by ^c the *holy Spirit of GOD, sealed to the day of redemption*: And that expression is of the same import with the former. We seal and mark things that are of the *greatest value*, and which are to be *preserved and kept safe* as a *peculiar*. And this was the reason, why those who were designed to be preserved are said to be ^d *sealed and marked*, for by this they were set aside to be preserved from the common destruction. We do by receiving the *Spirit* receive a great assurance of our pardon and future glory. The apostle's argument is very strong, *If ^e the Spirit of him that raised up JESUS from the dead, dwell in you, he that raised*

^f D. Outram. de sacrificiis, p. 290.

^t Matth. xxviii. 18.

^u Phil. ii. 9.

^x Heb. iv. 15. with v. 2. ii. 17. ^y Heb. vii. 24, 25. ^z Rom. viii. 34.

^a Eph. i. 14.

² Cor. i. 22. v. 5. Eph. iv. 30.

^b Rom. viii. 16, 17.

^c Eph. iv. 30.

^d Rev. vii. 3. Ezek. ix. 4.

^e Rom. viii. 11.

up CHRIST from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. We are now rendered secure of our future inheritance and glory, how mean soever our present condition be. Our ^f SAVIOUR hath given us the earnest of the spirit and taken from us the earnest of our flesh, and carried it into heaven, as a token that his followers shall be translated thither. So says one of the ancient fathers of the church. 5. The sacraments, which JESUS hath instituted, and annexed to this covenant of grace, do give us farther evidence and assurance of our pardon and forgiveness. By baptism we are received into the church of CHRIST, where pardon is to be had, and into a state of pardon and forgiveness. John the baptist is said to baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, Mark i. 4. And Ananias said, Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, Act. xxii. 16. Baptism was a pledge of salvation; and they who received it, were marked out not for destruction but for deliverance and safety. And thus it was understood of old to be a pledge of safety: When John the Baptist saw the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Matth. iii. 7. Repent and be baptized (says ^g St. Peter to the Jews) every one of you, in the name of JESUS CHRIST for the remission of sins. And presently after that he added, Save your selves from this untoward generation. The same apostle elsewhere, speaking of the ark of Noah, wherein they were saved who entered into it, adds, The ^h like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, &c. And the sacrament of the LORD's supper is also a pledge of God's favour, and our reconciliation: We are admitted to feast upon the great sacrifice, which was offered upon the cross. This was not allowed in sacrifices under the law, which were expiatory, to the people. We partake of the body and blood of CHRIST; of that body which was offered upon the cross, and of that blood of the new testament, which was shed for many for the remission of sins. Matth. xxvi. 26. 6. Our LORD JESUS sent forth his messengers into the world to declare pardon to the penitent. He took care that ⁱ repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations. They were entrusted with the power of the keys, to bind and loose, to let into the kingdom of God, and to exclude from it.

It is easie to shew, that the Christian religion doth upon other accounts, besides what have been named, excel the law of Moses: It had a better mediator, and was better confirmed: It was more successful, and farther spread, and affords both more, and more conspicuous examples than are to be found under that law; It is attended with greater motives to obedience, as well as greater motives of credibility. The Jews are pressed to obey God, because he brought them out of Egypt. The motive had great force, but 'twas peculiar to that people. We are constrained by the love of God in CHRIST JESUS. We are moved by the love of CHRIST, which passeth knowledge. His death and passion, the comforts of the HOLY GHOST, the unspeakable love of

^f Quemadmodum nobis arrhabonem spiritus reliquit, ita & a nobis arrhabonem carnis accepit, & vexit in cælum pignus totius summæ, &c. Tertullian. de resurr. carnis. ^g Act. ii. 38, 40.
^h 1 Pet. iii. 21. ⁱ Luk. xxiv. 46.

GOD, and hope of pardon, and of eternal life; these are our motives to obedience. These are great enough to thaw and unlock the most obdurate heart, and to work upon the most benumbed minds. I proceed to consider

III. THE usefulness of the foregoing discourse. And that is very great, where it is duly weighed and considered. It would be of great use to the *Jew*, would he but consider it and lay it to heart. And it is of very great use to the *Christian*, to awaken him to the greatest regard to his holy religion, and to a very hearty embracing of it. I shall at present only consider this one advantage, which it will afford us, *viz.* that it gives us a fair occasion of inquiring into the great ends and causes, for which the law of *Moses* was given.

I WILL not here undertake to insist upon all the causes of the law of *Moses*: Much less will I go about to inquire into the reason of the particular precepts of that law. I make no doubt, but that GOD gave the *Jews* that law to keep them from idolatry, and to that purpose to preserve that people separate from the neighbour nations. Many of the rites appointed (I doubt not) were therefore prescribed, because they ran counter to those rites, which did obtain among idolaters then in being. I will only consider the ends of this law, as far as my present argument is concerned. And that I shall do in the following particulars.

1. THE law was given to restrain the *Jews*, and keep them from a loose and licentious course of sinning. The promise of the MESSIAS was made to *Abraham*, above four hundred years before the giving of the law: But though the MESSIAS was then promised; yet GOD did not think fit to send him presently: In the mean time the *Jews*, the children of *Abraham*, whom GOD had chosen for his church, were to be restrained from living as they list. They were very prone to wickedness, and needed a restraint in the mean time: Therefore was the law given, and given with great solemnity and terror; It denounced many evils against transgressors, and left them liable to a curse, the more effectually to oblige them to obedience. It was not given as GOD's last revelation, nor to give life and to justify them. ^k *Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions.* GOD did not think it fit, that they should be left unrestrained: ^l *The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient.*

2. THE law was given, as that which contained *types* and *shadows* of good things to come, and was therefore given, that they might have among them a *pledge* of those spiritual good things to be bestowed in the days of the MESSIAS. The great promise, which GOD made to *Abraham*, was the promise of the MESSIAS; this promise was renewed afterward, when *Isaac* was born; and it was repeated by *Jacob* to his sons before his death. The MESSIAS was the desire and expectation of the more wise and devout *Israelites*. They received a law in the mean time full of *types*, and *shadows* of what they were to expect in the latter days, or the days of the MESSIAS. Hence it is, that the gospel,

^k Gal. iii. 19.

^l 1 Tim. i. 9 with Gal. v. 22.

as it is distinguished from this law, is called *truth*; not as *truth* is opposed to *falsehood*, but as it is opposed to *types* and *shadows*, and as it speaks the *substance* of that, which was but symbolically represented before. Thus it is said, that ^m the law was given by *Moses*, and that grace and *truth* come by JESUS CHRIST. And the gospel is called ⁿ the *word of truth*. Our SAVIOUR tells us, that ^o he is the *way* and the *truth*; and tells the woman of *Samaria*, that the ^p *true* worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in *truth*; They that obey the gospel, are said to *walk* in the *truth*, and obey the *truth*; And *heaven* is called the ^q *true* *tabernacle*. The law had a ^r *shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things*. The priests under the law are said to *serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things*. That law was a pledge of a better, and the things therein commanded were but a ^r *shadow of things to come*. *Moses* ^r was faithful as a servant *for a testimony of those things, which were to be spoken, viz. by JESUS and his followers*: For so the *Syriack* hath it, for those things which were to be spoken by him.

3. To dispose men for the reception of the gospel of CHRIST. It was well fitted for this end: And that this was the end of it, is very evident from the words of the apostle. ^u *The scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of JESUS CHRIST might be given to them that believe. But before faith came, we were under the law, shut up unto the faith, which should afterwards be revealed; Wherefore the law was our school-master to bring us unto CHRIST, that we might be justified by faith*. Whoever duly considers what hath been said above of the nature of many of the *Mosaical* precepts (which were of their own nature things very minute) of their symbolicalness and reference to better things to come, of the malediction to which the transgressors of the law were subject, and the defectiveness of the legal sacrifices, and the slender hope of pardon, which that law afforded, will easily understand, that the *law was a school-master to bring men to CHRIST*. The law shewed men their disease, but did not cure and heal them, and only referred them to some better provision, which our LORD hath made for us in the gospel.

WHAT hath been said doth sufficiently prove, that the *Christian Religion* doth very much surpass that of the *Jews*; And also that our JESUS is that very CHRIST, who was promised from the beginning, and was the hope and expectation of the faithful in the old *Testament*.

^m Joh. i. 17. ⁿ Eph. i. 13. ^o Joh. xiv. 6. ^p Joh. iv. 23. ^q Heb. viii. 2
^r Heb. x. 1. viii. 5. ^r Coloss. ii. 17. ^r Heb. iii. 5. ^u Gal. iii. 22, 23, 24.

The End of the First Part.

A
DEMONSTRATION
OF THE
MESSIA S.

In which the Truth of the
CHRISTIAN RELIGION

Is defended, especially against

The J E W S.

PART II.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, RICHARD,
Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.

IGNATIUS *ad* PHILADELPHEN.

Τὸ δὲ Ἐυαγγέλιον ἀπάρετισμά ἐστιν ἀρθερείας· Πάντα ὁμοῦ καλᾶ ἐστιν, εἰς ἀγάπην
πιστεύοντες.



THE
P R E F A C E.



THE following papers were in a great part written many years ago. They were design'd for the press; and I had in my preface to the first part intimated such an intention. Many things since fell out, which hindered me; which I will not trouble the reader with.

Perhaps some may expect an account, why I publish them at all, rather than an apology for my not doing it sooner. I will deal clearly in that matter. Some years are past, since I was engaged in the theological Lecture of the honourable Robert Boyle Esq;. What I delivered on that occasion is intirely contained in the first three chapters of the following discourse. I was very much sollicitated to print those lectures; but I was not willing to do it, they being but a part of what I designed for this volume: Nor did I care so far to impose on the reader, as to reprint in another edition, what he had bought seperately before. Hereupon, being pressed by some, who ought not to be denied, I did at last consent to publish those lectures with some other papers, which lay by me; and thereupon did put the following papers together.

As for the work it self, I hope it will be the more favourably received upon the account of its design. It is a defence of our common Christianity. It meddles not with any of the angry and contending factions among our selves; It calls for no fire from heaven, nor for the sword of the secular power against those who divide from us. It advanceth no propositions, that can create any jealousy in princes, or beget any misunderstanding between the clergy and layety: It meddles not with the little opinions which divide the church, and which are the darlings of the several de-

magogues among us. It erects no new schemes in divinity ; nor doth it quarrel with any, that can deserve the name of Christians. We have long enough drawn down our swords against each other, and have been gladiators in this fighting theology. It is high time now that we turn our force against the common enemy of all revealed Religion. This is the utmost of my design.

This was also the design of the honourable Founder of the Lecture abovementioned ; and to this purpose I heard him discourse most pathetically, one of the last times, when I had the honour to wait upon him. He declared, that he thought, we were concerned now to defend our common religion : And accordingly he took care, that his Lecture should be employed that way, and not upon the disputes agitated between the several divided parties professing Christianity. I have often reflected upon that discourse of that very excellent person ; and it gave me encouragement to pursue those studies, which tend to that excellent end.

I do think it high time so to do, and do more and more think so ; since atheism and contempt of all revealed religion have so much prevailed of late years. We have lived to see Moses derided, his history ridiculed and exposed ; and the writings of the new Testament made the matter of drollery and profane contempt. We have those among us, who are forward to carp at and find flaws in the sacred volumes ; and that industriously make it their business to run down the inspiration, and overthrow the credit of these Holy Oracles.

I have to do with the Jews in the following papers, who impugn Christianity, and object against the writers of the new Testament. Some among us use the same objections ; and the answers given to them will be of as great force against the Deists, and profane scoffers among our selves, as against the Jews.

I have taken all possible care to inform my self, what it is that the Jews have to object against Christianity. To that purpose I have read over their several printed Nizachons, and R. Isaac's book, which he calls Chizuck Emunah, which are books filled with objections against Christianity, and treat of that matter, ex professo. I have also considered a Portuguese manuscript, which I often quote, in the following papers, under the character of MS. Lusit. Some account whereof I ought to give the reader. It is as follows. I own, that I received it from my learned and worthy friend the late Dr. Cudworth. The doctor had the curiosity to visit Menasseh Ben Israel, when he was in England ; and being desirous to know of that Rabbi, what the Jews had to object against Christianity, he delivered him the aforesaid MS. as that which contained the Jews objections against the new Testament.

Testament. He did not indeed own it to be of his own composing (the Jews are too cautious and reserv'd in that matter) but I have some reason to believe it to be his; and more to think it to be esteemed as a master-piece at that time among the Jews. Be that as it will, I think it will do no hurt to a Christian, that well understands the Christian religion. I do not know of any thing of moment in it, which is not considered in the following papers; if any such thing there be, I shall think my self obliged to consider it elsewhere. I have also considered the papers of that subtle Jew, with whom Mr. Limborch was concerned, which are printed with Mr. Limborch's answer. I have upon occasion consulted Abravenel's commentary upon the latter prophets (as the Jews call them) in which that Jew attempts to overthrow the Christian belief. I heartily wish some Christian would consider that commentary throughout, as C. L' Empereur hath done on Isaiah LIII. Whatever else that Rabbi was, I can affirm this, that in his disputes against the Christians he did not proceed fairly.

I did formerly draw up the substance of the Jews objections against the Christian religion all together into one body, and intended it for the first chapter of the following discourse: But upon second thoughts and advice of friends I did afterwards divide them; and so ordered it, that the objections and answers might lie together. It was thought, that some might read the objections, and never look after the answer, that lay remote. 'Tis great insincerity to do so. And tho' they may do so still, if they will; yet they cannot do it so compendiously, as they might otherwise have done.

I have in the following controversy with the Jews dealt with all sincerity and uprightness. I have represented their objections with all advantage on their side; and have been so far from concealing the force of their objections, that I have rather given them greater poygnancy, than the objectors had done. I have used no artifice in my answers, and laid hold of no pretexts that would not bear. I think a Christian ought in these matters to be scrupulously just, and to use all imaginable simplicity. Our holy religion needs no arts or shifts. It is built upon sure grounds; and needs not fear the strongest reasoning and the greatest wits, that make head against it.

As for my answers to the Jewish objections, the reader will think it is his part to judge of them. I have found it hardest to satisfy my self; and that hath always been my first care. I am not (I hope) so vain, as to over-value what I have done. I hope it may however be of some use to the younger students in Theology. I do not pretend to write for the learned. I do not suppose, that I have said all, that the argument will
bear

bear ; or what some others might have said, that have both more learning, and greater advantages and helps, than ever I could pretend to. I am aware, what some may object, against what I have offered upon Mark xi. 13, 14. But that did not lie before me in the Jews objection, and I was not obliged to run out of my way so far. It is enough, that that matter be debated, when it shall be laid before me. Act. vii. 16. is a difficult place, and I could have been glad to have had better light : But yet I think the difficulty much abated, if it be not quite removed, by what I have offered upon that occasion. I hope, that the Jew doth not think, that a book is to be rejected, because there are some difficulties in it, or seeming inconsistencies ; for then he must reject their law and their prophets, unless they are able to account for all the difficult places to be found in them. As for the Genealogy, I do freely own, that it is a perplexed argument. But yet I cannot forbear to say, that the Jews have no cause to triumph (as they are known to do) upon this account. The main question in that whole debate is, Whether JESUS was of the family of David, or not ? That he was so, was owned by the Jews in our SAVIOUR'S time, who had the best opportunity of being informed in that matter. Nor are the later Jews able to offer any proof against it. They now quarrel with the Evangelists, and perplex the Christians with objections against them, as not proving it. Whereas that might be a clear proof, when it was first written, which may not be so to us at this distance. As for the *Διασημα*, or Teflara-decads, they are clearly adjusted in the following discourse ; and I think the Reges Omiffi are fully accounted for ; as also the second Cainan, and many other things, and enough offered to stop their mouths, and to quiet the mind of any honest and inquisitive Christian. I have not failed to represent their objections fairly ; and have given them their full force. And as to my answers, I have used no manner of artifice or trick, nor affirmed any thing without sufficient ground.

On the other hand, I heartily wish, that I had no cause to complain of the unfair dealing of the Jews in their disputes against Christians. This they are too often guilty of.

The reproachful language, which they bestow upon JESUS, and his Followers, and upon his Gospel, are by no means to be excused. Their fictions and their blasphemies in their Toldoth and other books are intolerable.

They^a represent JESUS as a magician ; and speak of him and the gospel in terms importing the greatest contempt and scorn. This doth not

^a Nizach. vet. p. 34.

commend their cause : It rather gives a suspicion, that they use railing for want of argument. Their fore-fathers did so. Instead of answering JESUS, they threw stones at him. If Josephus the Jew be not mistaken, this practice is directly against the law of Moses. He tells us, that one of his laws was this, that no man should blaspheme the Gods, which other cities received.^b I am sure, that nothing can excuse this practice ; and that the Jews are never to be tolerated in any Christian kingdom or country, with such a liberty as this.

Again, they relate things as written in the gospels, and by the Christian writers, which were no where written or owned by them. One of their authors relates a story of JESUS, that he bid a man climb a tree, and that upon it, he declared he could not help him. He^c relates, how JESUS wept for the death of his mother ; and the conference, which he had with Peter and another man ; and the search, which Augustus made for him on his birth ; with several other things, which the gospels no where mention. This is foul practice ; and where men take a liberty of saying what they please, they may disparage the best religion in the world, and hinder their admirers from receiving it.

I will not digress so far, as to shew (which I might easily do) that the Jews, instead of considering the merits of the cause, by little arts and poor arguments, endeavour to prejudice their people against Christianity and Christians.

This I will affirm, that to perplex Christians, they do insist upon arguments, which have no force at all ; and 'twill be hard to conceive, but they themselves must know it. Abravenel upon Isaiah vii. 14. hath advanced a notion about a natural and an instituted name, and which he magisterially dictates ; which upon examination appears to be void of all manner of truth. He hath boldly asserted another opinion to perplex Christians, in his commentary upon Haggai, concerning the importance of that expression of the former and latter house, and to support his cause, which upon examination appears to be false, and so notoriously so, that it will be hard to conceive, that he could be ignorant of it, at that time when he wrote those words. These things I have considered in their proper places. As for the Portuguese MS. (which yet must be allowed to be a master-piece) many of the objections contained in it are such, that they are not worthy of any regard or notice. The reader will find, how very weakly the Jews argue from the following places, which are particularly considered in the ensuing discourse. Matth. i. 25. chap. v. 34, and 43. Mark ii. 26. Luk. xxiii. 34. Joh. ii. 20. Gal. iii. 16.

^b Antiqu. l. 4. c. 8.

^c Nizach. vet. 236, 247.

I find, that I shall be obliged to reserve some of my papers, that are prepared for the press, for a Third part. This Second part would otherwise swell beyond its due proportion.

I cannot promise any thing more. But if GOD should give me time and strength, what I farther design toward the compleating this work, shall be under (at least) the following Heads or Lemmata.

A discourse concerning the perpetuity of the law of Moses.

Another concerning the predictions of peace in the days of the MESSIAS.

Another to prove, that the promises of the MESSIAS were not conditional.

Another concerning the true notion of the last days, as used in this argument.

A particular discourse upon Gen. xlix. 10.

Another upon Haggai ii. 6, &c.

An historical account of the false Christs, that have arisen in several ages of the Christian church.

These above-named are ready for the press. But I design also to add to them as follows.

A discourse shewing, That the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is delivered in the new Testament, is no sufficient bar to the Jews embracing Christianity.

An inquiry into the grounds of that belief, that the Jewish nation shall be converted.

And what we are to do towards their conversion.

This must be divided into two parts, shewing.

First, What Christian kingdoms and states may do to this purpose.

Secondly, What other Christians are bound to do; especially men of learning, and more especially the clergy, who set themselves about so good a work.

I have nothing farther, but to request the reader to pray to almighty GOD, that what is here offered may have due success.

A DEMON-

A
DEMONSTRATION
 OF THE
MESSIAS.
 PART II.



C H A P. I.

Of the Jewish infidelity. The Christian doctrine wants not sufficient motives of credibility. The Jews have as much reason to own JESUS as a prophet sent by GOD, as to believe the divine mission of Moses. The miracles, which JESUS did, were as great an evidence, that GOD sent him; as those, which Moses wrought, were of his mission. Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3. considered. An answer to an objection. What Moses predicted, and came to pass afterwards: This was not so clear an evidence of his divine mission, as the fulfilling of the predictions of JESUS was of his being sent by GOD. This matter considered at large. Of tradition: That the Christian tradition is as unexceptionable, as that which is pleaded in behalf of the Jews. Of the books or writings of Moses. They are worthy of belief. The Jews have the same, and greater reason to receive the four gospels, which they have for receiving the writings of Moses. Some corollaries from the preceding discourse. An objection answered. The principal causes of the Jews infidelity from themselves. Their love of the world, malice and pride. Rom. ix. 4. explained. Some other causes. Over-valuing of rites, implicit faith, and an opinion of their oral law. How it may be said, that GOD hardened the Jews. That matter explained, with some texts of scripture relating thereunto; particularly Joh. xii. 39, 40. Exod. vii. 13. Of the Jews want of means of salvation. The stumbling-blocks, which Christians have laid before the Jews. The Christians evil lives, and weak arguments. The corrupt doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. The sects and quarrels of Christians. Some other particulars to be considered. The conclusion.

Z

IT



It is one of the most amazing things in the whole world, that the nation of the *Jews* should obstinately continue in their unbelief to this day. Their forefathers had great advantages of knowing the truth of things; and our *JESUS* gave sufficient proofs, that he was the *MESSIAS*: The *Jews* in succeeding times have been often baffled in their expectation of a *MESSIAS*, and have outlived the times, that by their prophets and other wise men have been assigned for his coming into the world: and yet after all they continue to reject our *JESUS*, and live in an expectation of a *MESSIAS* still to come. 'Twill be worth our while to make a strict inquiry into the causes and occasions of their infidelity; in which inquiry we may receive a great advantage, if we be not wanting to our selves.

BUT before I proceed to that, I shall shew, that they do not want sufficient means of conviction, and that the *Christian* doctrine doth not want sufficient motives of credibility. Not that I intend in this place to enlarge upon that argument; this would be too great a digression here, and I have^a elsewhere said something of this matter. All that I design here, is to convince the *Jew*, that he hath as much reason to own *JESUS* for a true prophet, as he hath to believe the same of *Moses*: and to make it evident, that by the same arguments, by which he or any other man is convinced, that *Moses* was a true prophet; by the same and greater he may be convinced, that *JESUS* is the *CHRIST*: Moreover, that the four *Evangelists*, which report the works and doctrine of *JESUS*, are altogether as credible, not to say much more so, as the five books of *Moses*. If this be made good against the *Jew* in this place, I gain my design, *viz.* to shew, that the reason of the *Jews* infidelity is not to be fetched from any want of credibility in the *Christian* doctrine.

AND here I demand of the *Jew*, Why he believes *Moses* to be a true prophet, and embraceth the *Jewish* religion? That he was born of *Jewish* parents, and bred up in that Religion, is not sufficient to justify him in persevering therein. For then the *Turk* and *Pagan* will be also in as good terms as he, or any other; and had it been his chance to have been born of *Christian* parents, that alone would have justified him in his continuing in that profession. But this is so lewd a principle, that the *Jew* will not own it. 'Tis not safe for any man to venture his soul upon such hazards. For though it be an happiness to be born of parents professing a true religion, and this gives us a great advantage; yet we ought to have more to say for our religion: And we have our reason given us to little purpose, if it doth not serve us to examine the grounds of our belief.

I DEMAND then of the *Jew*, Why he believes *Moses* to be a true prophet? In answer unto which the *Jew* may well be supposed to reply, that he believes this, (1.) Because many miracles were wrought to confirm their fathers in this belief. (2.) Because what he predicted did come to pass. (3.) That they have an unexceptionable tradition of the matters of fact. (4.) Because the writings of *Moses*, (which contain the Religion, that he taught and *GOD* confirmed) are worthy of belief.

FIRST, Because many miracles were wrought to confirm them in this belief. The reason is strong and good; because it is incredible that *GOD*

^a *Demonstration of the Messiah; Part I. Ch. VI.*

should

PART II. *of the MESSIAS.*

3

should confirm by so great a number of miracles any doctrine, which is false. And therefore *Moses* was justly received for a true prophet; because he did those works, which no man, but he that was assisted and sent by God, could do. But if for this reason *Moses* was received for a true prophet; for the same, *JESUS* ought to be acknowledged to be the *MESSIAS*. He professed himself to be the *CHRIST*, and did confirm his doctrine by miracles, which did much surpass any that ever were wrought by *Moses*. I have^b elsewhere compared the miracles of *JESUS* with those of *Moses*: *JESUS* did more than *Moses*, and was the *author* of mightier works than *Moses* was the *instrument* of. They argued a *greater power*, and a *greater goodness*. Those which *JESUS* did, were generally so many *rescues* and *reliefs*, not *plagues*; as many of those were, which *Moses* wrought. This power of working miracles was *inherent* in *JESUS*, and was imparted by him to his followers. And whatever the *Jews* plead in behalf of *Moses*; that he had power over all the elements; 'tis certain that the power of *JESUS* was not restrained and limited; his works were various, and the effects of his power reached the whole creation. The devils felt it; it laid restraint upon the sea and the winds; it wrought upon the fish and the loaves, upon the swine and the water, upon the fig-tree, and upon the grave. He healed every disease, he raised several from the dead, and raised himself on the third day.

BESIDE the many miracles which *JESUS* did, there were many more wrought upon his account, or by his power. I will not insist upon the wonders of his birth; tho' he was born of a virgin, and his birth predicted by an angel, notified by a new created star, declared by the *eastern* wise men, published by an heavenly host, and foretold several hundreds of years before. When he was baptized, the heaven was opened, and the *HOLY GHOST* descended in a visible form, and a voice proclaimed him to be the Son of God. After this, he^c received from the Father *honour and glory* in his stupendous transfiguration on the mount. At his death great were the miracles that testified of him: The sun was darkened for several hours together; the vail of the temple was rent without any natural cause; the earth trembled; the rocks rent; the graves gave up their dead bodies, and they after the resurrection of *JESUS* went into *Jerusalem*, and appeared unto many. After all, he rose from the dead, gave proof of his resurrection, ascended after a miraculous manner into heaven, and sent the *HOLY GHOST* upon his followers on the day of Pentecost, and enabled them to confirm by miracles the doctrine, which he had taught.

AND these miracles were *not done in a corner*. They were publick, and notorious, and permanent in their effects. The doers of them were watched and observed, and were never convinced of fraud or artifice. And whereas in the *monkish* miracles in after times there was a strict eye upon those, who should dare to call them in question, 'twas quite otherwise in the first times of *Christianity*; when that religion was suspected, and the professors of it hated by *Jews* and others. Then were men not only permitted to detect the fraud (had there been any) but had all encouragement so to do.

Object. BUT the *Jew* may possibly object, against what hath been said in behalf of the *Christian* doctrine, that we ought not to receive him for

^b *Demonstration of the Messias, Part. I. Ch. VI.*

^c *Matth. xvii. 2 Pet. i. 17.*

a true prophet, that preacheth down the law of *Moses*, which was confirmed by unquestionable miracles, tho' he be able to work miracles in confirmation of his new doctrine; because 'tis possible a false prophet may, for the trial of our faith and constancy, be permitted to work true miracles. For thus ^d 'tis written, *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder: And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other Gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken,* &c. To this I answer,

1. THAT our JESUS did not preach down the law of *Moses*, which GOD had confirmed by miracles. He was so far from it, that he observed that law himself; and tells us, that ^e he did *not come to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil*. And therefore the objection hath no force at all, because it supposeth that for a truth, which is notoriously false.

2. NOR can the text alledged be applied to our JESUS with any shadow of truth. Because the prophet there mentioned is supposed to invite men to idolatry, and to say, *Let us go after other gods* ver. 2. and to turn men away from the GOD, who brought them out of *Egypt*, ver. 5. This JESUS never attempted to do: He was so far from it, that he put men upon the worship of this GOD. And when he was tempted by the devil to fall down and worship him, he ^f rejects the temptation with indignation, saying, *For it is written, Thou shalt worship the LORD thy GOD, and him only shalt thou serve*, where our SAVIOUR refers to *Deut. vi. 13.* and adds a word to the text: For whereas in the *Hebrew* text 'tis, *Him shalt thou serve*; our SAVIOUR (very agreeably to the context, and version of the LXXII, and to prevent all cavil and subterfuge, and all pretext for giving any religious worship to a creature, on pretence of directing it ultimately to GOD) renders it thus. *Him only shalt thou serve.*

3. THAT tho' I should grant (which I do not think my self obliged to do from the text alledged) that such a prophet might be assisted to work some miracles, in confirmation of his false doctrine, and that even when he would draw men from GOD to idolatry; yet doth not this come up fully to the matter in hand. For besides, that the *Christian* doctrine doth not invite men to any idolatry, it doth not follow from hence, that GOD will ever assist any false prophet so far, when he invites men to idolatry, as that he shall be able to work *more* miracles to confirm his false doctrine, than *Moses* ever wrought in confirmation of the truth. Be it so, that GOD may permit, for his peoples trial, a false prophet to work a sign or two in confirmation of idolatry; is it therefore credible, that he will continue to assist such a false prophet to work *greater* miracles, than ever were wrought by that prophet, whom he sent? Either miracles are a divine testimony, or they are not. If they are not, there is no reason, why they should prevail upon the *Jews* to receive *Moses*: But if they *are*, 'tis certain that the *greater* and *more* they are, the stronger is the testimony; and if JESUS did more than *Moses*, we have more reason to receive *him* for a true prophet, than the *Jews* have to acknowledge *Moses* for such an one.

4. THO' we do not question, but that the law of *Moses* was from GOD; yet (as I have proved elsewhere) it was never designed to oblige all mankind, nor to endure and continue for ever. We are misrepresented, when we

^d Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

^e Matth. v. 17.

^f Matth. iv. 10.

are said to oppose the divine law. This is a charge, which can never be made good against JESUS or his followers. The law of *Moses* was partly *moral*; all of which kind is taken into the *Christian* religion, and obligeth for ever. Another part was *ritual* and *typical*; and that was of no use, when the type was completed, and the ritual unpracticable. Another was *political*, which fell of it self, when the *Jewish* polity fell. Those precepts, which were annexed to the land of *Canaan* and the *temple*, ceased upon the destruction of that temple and the *Jews* being dispossest of that land. These laws were not pulled down, but they fell of themselves.

I RETURN therefore to the *Jews*; And we will take ^g their own words to this purpose. *We know* (say they) *that God spake to Moses: As for this fellow* (viz. JESUS) *we know not, from whence he is.* This ^{is} the language of them to this day. But I would fain learn, Why *they* should reject JESUS, who believe *Moses*? What excuse will they have, who believe one sent from GOD, upon less grounds than those, which they have to entertain him, whom they yet reject? Either they *have* good ground to believe *Moses*, or *not*. If *not*; Why do they believe *Moses*? If they *have*; yet they have the same and greater still for believing JESUS. I solemnly declare, that I do not see, how they can excuse themselves upon their own principles: Either they are guilty of too great credulity in believing *Moses*, or of too great infidelity in not believing JESUS.

WHEN GOD was sending *Moses* to *Egypt* to demand the *Israelites*, he ^h said, *They will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice. For they will say, The LORD hath not appeared unto thee.* Upon this he was commanded to cast his rod on the ground, and it became a serpent; and to take it by the tail, and it became a rod; and all this was done, that they might believe, that GOD had appeared unto him. After this, he is required to put his hand into his bosom, and he pulled it out leprous; and upon putting it in again, it turn'd as his other flesh; that if they hearkened not to the voice of the first sign, they might believe that of the latter. If none of these would do, he was impowered towards gaining belief to turn water into blood. From whence I collect two things, (1.) That the power of working miracles, tended to gain, a belief, that GOD sent him. (2.) That the greater number of miracles, which he should do, would have the greater force to this purpose. And if this be true, then the miracles, that JESUS did, are a good evidence of his mission from GOD: And that he wrought more than *Moses* did, gives us still a greater ground to receive him, than *Moses* gave the men of *Israel*.

SECONDLY, Another reason why, the *Jews* believe *Moses*, is, because what he predicted did come to pass: And no man is able without an extraordinary divine help to foretel truly future contingencies, which depend upon the free will of rational creatures. This *Moses* did, and therefore is to be received as a true prophet. A late ⁱ *Jew* urgeth this argument; and gives an instance from the words of *Moses*, where he predicts the dispersion of the *Jewish* nation for their sins: and particularly their oppression by a nation from a-far, whose language they did not understand. To this he adds the prophecy of *Daniel*, who predicted the destruction of the *Jewish* temple after seventy weeks, or 490 years, and the ceasing of sacrifice in the middle of the last week. This *Daniel* was an exact observer of the

^g Joh. ix. 29.^h Exod. iv. 1, 10.

Limborch. Amic. Collat. Script. II.

ⁱ Deut. xxviii. 49. Jud. Anon. in Phil. a

law

law of *Moses*, and received him for a true prophet; and the event of things confirmed his prophecy, and consequently that of *Moses* was likewise confirmed. I will at present admit of this *Jew's* reasoning, and grant, that this is a good proof, that *Moses* was sent by GOD, because he foretold futurities. But certain it is, that we have according to this rate of arguing not only the same; but much stronger evidence, that JESUS was sent by GOD: And if for this reason the *Jews* were bound to believe *Moses*, they were for the same reason and much greater obliged to believe JESUS. Did *Moses* predict future contingencies? And did the event confirm his predictions? So did JESUS also, and not any the least thing failed, which he foretold. And there were many things, which JESUS foretold. He foretold his own death; the time when, the instruments by whom it should happen to him; the place where, and the kind and manner of his death. That he should be betrayed by one disciple, denied by another, and that they should all be offended at him. He foretels also his own resurrection, and the very time within which it would happen: He foretels the wonderful effusion of the HOLY GHOST on the day of *Pentecost*, the sorrows that his followers would meet with, and the success of his holy religion in the world. He foretels the death of St. *Peter*, and that St. *John* should survive him. He foretels the destruction of *Jerusalem* forty years before it happen'd; and most graphically describes it, and the coming of false prophets.

AND since the *Jew* thinks fit to mention *Daniel*, as a disciple of *Moses*, I may also add, that the disciples of JESUS did foretel futurities, which are since come to pass. Thus St. *Paul* doth not only foretel the coming of false teachers, but^k he doth most graphically set forth the very doctrines, which these men should teach, viz. the doctrine of *demons*, and prohibiting marriage and meats. This we know the church of *Rome* hath done. And elsewhere he^l foretels the apostacy from the primitive *Christianity*, and the revelation of the man of sin, and son of perdition; whose coming is after the working of *satan*, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders. And these things have come to pass: and we do expect farther the verification, of^m what he foretels of the destruction of that wicked one; whom the LORD shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. And the *Apocalypse* contains many predictions, a great number of which are already fulfilled, and the rest are approaching; and we doubt not, but they will in the due time, that is there prefixed and set down, be fulfilled also. That some of them are already fulfilled, is an argument à posteriori of the truth of the prophecy; and must be so admitted by the *Jew*, who owns *Moses* to have been a true prophet before that prediction of the captivity of the *Jewish* nation by the *Romans*, which he supposeth him in that place to predict, came to pass.

BUT before I leave this matter, I will compare what the *Jew* says in behalf of *Moses*, with what hath been said in behalf of JESUS; and shew, how very short the one comes of the other.

AS for *Moses*, it is said, that he predicted the captivity of *Israel* for their sins, and dispersion into all countries by the *Romans*; and that this was fulfilled afterwards. I will take it for granted at present, that so it is, and that *Moses* in that place foretels this captivity and dispersion for their wickedness. I say, I will take it for granted; for I do not own it as cer-

^k 1 Tim. iv.

^l 2 Thess. ii. 3, 9.

^m ver. 8.

rain. Is this such a clear demonstration, that *Moses* was a true prophet? Yes, will the *Jew* say, because the event, which happened about 1500 years afterward, confirmed this prediction.

IT is not my business to speak in diminution of *Moses*, or to question his divine mission; but only to shew, that the *Jew* hath the same reason to believe *JESUS* sent from *GOD*, and greater reason also.

AND this will abundantly appear in the present case. For whatever force there is in this argument for the confirming the prophecy of *Moses*, 'tis very certain, that it could not operate till about 1500 years after the prediction, *viz.* till the time of the destruction of the second temple. In our SAVIOUR's time this could not have been pleaded; and yet then was *Moses* justly received as a true prophet. So that *Moses* was a true prophet and owned for such an one, before this could be said for him. And therefore the *Jew* ought to lay no great stress upon it, because it is not needful to the gaining belief to the prophet *Moses*, since he was received, and that justly also, without it.

AGAIN, *Moses* would have been a true prophet, if the *Jews* had not been captivated and dispersed by the *Romans*. Be it so, that he predicts that calamity for their sins: Yet I would know, if such a prediction do necessarily infer the event. Their obedience, or timely repentance through *GOD*'s mercy might have revoked the sentence; and yet *Moses* would not therefore have been a false prophet. Certain it is, that predictions of future calamities do not infer the certainty of the event. These denunciations are often but conditional, and not absolute predictions. They declare what men may expect, and that justly also, if *GOD* doth not mercifully interpose. *Tet forty days* (says ⁿ *Jonah*) *and Nineveh shall be overthrown*: And yet was this overthrow prevented, and *Jonah* still reckoned among the true prophets. *Set thy house in order: For thou shalt die and not live*; says ^o *Isaiah* to king *Hezekiah*. And yet we know, that the king recovered, and we justly believe *Isaiah* to be a true prophet. *R. Maimonides* ^p tells us, *That when a prophet denounceth woes*, ver. 9. *if he say, Such a man shall die, such a year shall be a famine or war, and his words do not come to pass, he must not therefore be esteemed as a false prophet. For GOD is merciful, and perhaps repentance may intervene.* *GOD* hath ^q set up a standing rule to this purpose: *At what instant I shall speak, concerning a nation and concerning a people, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it: If that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil, that I thought to do unto them.* So that all predictions of evils to come do not declare *GOD*'s internal and unalterable purpose: The agreeable event is not necessary to make good the prophet's mission.

UPON the whole then, *Moses* predicts the captivity and dispersion of the *Jews*, in case they provoked *GOD* by persisting in their sins: He mentions not the *Romans*: And he, who had tryal of the perverseness of the *Jews*, might without the *highest degree of prophecy* foretel their sufferings. Make the most of it, if this be admitted, as a good proof that *Moses* was sent by *GOD*, we have greater proofs from the predictions of *JESUS* that *GOD* sent him. For

ⁿ *Jonah* iii. 4.
^q *Jer.* xviii. 7, 8.

^o *Isa.* xxxviii. 1.

^p *H. Jesud. Hattor.* c. 10.

I. JESUS foretels *many* things; and if this *one* prediction of *Moses* with the event that fulfilled it speak *Moses* to be a prophet sent by GOD, why should not JESUS be admitted as such, who foretold *many* things, which afterward came to pass?

II. JESUS predicts such things as were *presently* to take effect, and at farthest in that very age when he foretold them. The men that were then alive, could be witnesses, both of the prediction, and of the event, by which the prediction was made good. Such were the predictions of *Peter's* denial, the treachery of *Judas*, of his own *death* and *resurrection*, of the *effusion* of the HOLY GHOST, and destruction of *Jerusalem*, &c. whereas that of *Moses* was not made good till about 1500 years afterward; and consequently, before *that* time there was not any proof of the truth of his prophecy.

III. JESUS predicted such things, which if they had *not* taken effect, they would have proved him to be a *false* prophet; and if they *did*, they must needs prove him a *true* one. Whereas what *Moses* predicted, if it had *never* come to pass, would *not* have proved him a *false* prophet, as I have shewed before: And when it *did* come to pass, it could not bear any *proportion* to that evidence, which was gained to the mission of JESUS by the fulfilling of *his* predictions. When JESUS foretold, that he should be put to death, and rise again; that he would after that meet his disciples in *Galilee*, and after his ascension send the HOLY GHOST; had *not* these things come to pass, he might justly have been reputed a *false* prophet: but then the *coming to pass* of these things did abundantly prove him to be a *true* one.

IV. THE *things*, which JESUS foretold, and afterward came to pass, were of that *nature*, that they proclaimed him to be sent by GOD: For they were things above the reach of a created understanding to foresee. They could not be foretold from the series of *natural* causes. They were things of another nature, and such as none could foresee and foretel without a *divine assistance*, and consequently a *divine mission*. That he should foretel his own *death* hath *nothing* of *wonder* in it; but to foretel the *circumstances* of it, its kind and manner, *hath*. To foretel the denial of *Peter*, and the time within which, and the several times that he should do it, is very strange. But then to foretel his own resurrection, and the precise time when it should happen, and the other things concerning the gift of the HOLY GHOST, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, are most undeniable proofs (considering these predictions were made good) that GOD sent him. And if the *Jews* had cause to believe *Moses*, because what he foretold came to pass, we have much more cause to believe JESUS.

THO' much more hath been produced in behalf of JESUS, than what can be said for *Moses*; yet I think it is fit, before I dismiss this weighty subject, to be more particular still; and then it will farther appear, that if the fulfilling of the predictions of *Moses* prove *him* to be a true prophet, the punctual completion of the many predictions of JESUS will be a more ample proof of the divine mission of our SAVIOUR.

FIRST,

FIRST, Let us consider, what JESUS predicted concerning the destruction of the Jewish temple; an event which was to happen about forty years after his death. *There shall not be left* (says JESUS speaking of the temple) *one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down*; Mark xiii. 2. This was exactly fulfilled in the time of Titus, who commanded the city and temple to be intirely ruined: And this was put in execution to that degree, that, as Josephus^r tells us, there was not left so much as any marks of an inhabited city. Eleazarⁱ in his speech to the Jews doth affirm, that the city was taken away from the very foundation, and that the temple was dug up. Maimonides^t tells us also, that after this upon the destruction of Bitter, the temple was ploughed up by Turnus Rufus. Our SAVIOUR's words were exactly fulfilled, as appears by the testimony of the Jews themselves.

THIS prediction and the fulfilling of it are the more to be considered; because it was very unlikely, that what was predicted should ever come to pass. For^u certain it is, that Titus the Roman Caesar, who vanquished the Jews, did endeavour to preserve the Temple. Titus tells the Jews, that he would preserve the Temple even against their wills. Nay more than that, he^x did preserve it for some time, even to the damage of his soldiers. He commanded his soldiers not to burn it, and to quench the fire. And Josephus^y tells us expressly, that the temple was burnt ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, i. e. against the will of Caesar. And Caesar^z charges the Jews justly with burning the temple themselves.

SECONDLY, What JESUS predicts concerning the destruction of Jerusalem; That it should be laid even to the ground, Luke. xix. 44. and trodden down of the gentiles, xxi. 24. This was so exactly fulfilled, that Josephus^a tells us, That ἀπαντὰ τὴ πόλιν περὶ πολλοὺς ἔτους ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὥς μηδὲ πόποις οἰκηθῆναι τίς οὐκ ἔτι παρεχόν τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα. i. e. That they who were employed in ruining the city, did so level the whole compass of it, that there were no marks left, that could assure those that came to that place afterwards, that it had been inhabited. That it was trodden down of the gentiles, all the world knows.

THIRDLY, I consider what JESUS predicted as to the signs, which were to go before this lamentable destruction. And here are several particulars, v. g.

(I.) MANY shall come in my name, saying, I am CHRIST, and shall deceive many. This JESUS foretels, Mat. xxiv. 5. The meaning is, that many should arise, and delude the people with the hopes of delivering them from their miseries; which was that which the Jews hoped for from their MESSIAS; as appears from those words, Luke xxiv. 31. Of this sort was^b Theudas (I do not mean him mention'd in the Acts of the apostles) in the time when Fadus was procurator of Judea. This impostor persuaded the multitude to follow him to the river Jordan; and pretended that he would divide the waters, and afford them an easie passage; and by these means he deceived many, says^c Josephus, and lost his own head also. Such were those mentioned by Josephus under the character of Πλάται καὶ ἀπασιδῶντες, i. e. impostors and deceivers, that^d under the pretence of religion drew the people into the wilderness, and promised them there signs of their deliverance, and were deceived to their own destruction, in the

^r De bello Judaico, l. 7. cap. 1. ⁱ Περὶ τῆς ἐκ βαθεῶν ἀνέγερσαι. l. 7. c. 34. ^t Maimon. H. Taanith. c. 5.

^u Joseph. de bello Judaico, l. 7. c. 10. ^x Ibid. c. 22. ^y Ibid. c. 26.

^z Ibid. c. 34. ^a Joseph. de bello Judaico, l. 7. c. 1. ^b Joseph. Antiquit. l. 20. c. 2.

^c Joseph. de bello Judaico, l. 2. c. 23. ^d Περὶ ἡμαρtn θηασμῶ.

time when *Felix* was governour. Such ^e an one was the *Egyptian* false prophet, who *deceived* no less than 30000 of the people, a great part of whom the *Romans* destroyed. Several others are mentioned by *Josephus* in the same place, who pretended to deliver the people from their servitude. He tells ^f us afterwards, that the *Jewish* affairs grew worse, and that the country was full of robbers, and of such men, *οἱ ὅχλον ἡπάτων*, i. e. who *deceived the people*. Many such there were, as *Josephus* tells us ^g in another place. I need not mention *Simon Magus* who boasted himself to be the power of *GOD*; nor *Dositheus*, mentioned by ^h *Origen*, who pretended to be the *MESSIAS*.

(2.) *JESUS* adds, *Ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom*; Mat. xxiv. 6, 7. *Josephus* ⁱ tells us, that there was not only in *Judea* sedition and a civil war, but in *Italy* also: He relates the wars upon the account of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, some time before the fatal destruction of the *Jewish* nation.

(3.) *OUR SAVIOUR* adds, *There shall be famines and pestilences, and earthquakes*, Mat. xxiv. 7. And so there were some time before the final destruction of the *Jews*.

THE famine was so great, that ^k *Josephus* tells us, it destroyed all modesty. Women would snatch the meat out of the mouths of their husbands, children out of their parents, and mothers out of the mouths of their infants; and that none spared their dearest friends in this matter. They would beat the aged, who defended their bread; tear the women, that concealed it, and pull it out of their mouths; they ^l had no pity for infancy or old age; but put men upon the rack, and to exquisite torments, to discover their food. So great was the famine, that a measure of corn was sold for a talent: Their straits were so great, that they could not come at grass, and raked among excrements for nourishment, and eat the old dung of bullocks; and that became their food, which they would not at other times have endured the sight of. Those ^m who died of the famine, were not to be numbered. They did eat, what the vilest beasts would refuse. They eat their girdles, their shooes, and the leather of their armour. Nay more still, a mother killed and eat her own child.

As for the ⁿ *pestilence*, it is not strange it should accompany such a famine as this. And *Josephus* mentions this as accompanying the famine.

As for the *earthquake*, *Josephus* ^o tells us of that terrible night, when the *Idumeans* would needs enter into the city, that there was an horrible tempest, violent winds and rains, frequent lightnings, terrible thunders, *καὶ μυκήματα σφοδρῆς ῥαγῆς*, i. e. and *mighty roarings of the quaking earth*, inso-much that it was certain, (says *Josephus*) that the *state or frame of the world was disturbed*.

(4.) *OUR SAVIOUR* foretels also *fearful sights and great signs from heaven*, Luke xxi. 11. And this was fulfilled exactly; and we have unexceptionable testimonies to this purpose. *Josephus* ^p tells us, that a star in the likeness of a sword stood over the city, and a comet for a year together: That at the feast of unleavened bread, even at the ninth hour of the night, there shined so great a light about the altar and the temple, for half an hour, that it appeared to be bright day. That a bullock, that

^e Ibid.

^h Contra Celsum, l. 1.

ⁱ Lib. 6. c. ult.

^l 7. c. 25.

^f Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 6.

^g De bello Judaico, l. 5. c. 33.

^m Lib. 7. c. 20, & c. 21.

^o Lib. 4. c. 17.

^s De bello Judaico, l. 7. c. 30.

^k De bello Judaico, l. 6. c. 27.

ⁿ Λοιμωὴν φθορὰν καὶ λιμὸν ἀκέραιον,

^p Lib. 7. c. 31.

was to have been sacrificed, brought forth a lamb; That the brazen gate of the temple, which was so heavy, that it required twenty men to shut it, and was strongly bolted also, opened of its own accord. Chariots and an armed host were seen in the air. The priests in the temple perceived a shaking and a noise; and after that heard a voice, saying, *Let us depart hence.* The ^a Roman historian confirms what *Josephus* relates upon this occasion. *Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens, superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.*

(5.) OUR SAVIOUR adds, that the *abomination of desolation* (spoken of by *Daniel*) should stand in the holy place. And, in a^t parallel place, he speaks of *Jerusalem's being compassed with armies*, as a sign of its approaching destruction. This was fulfilled: The ^t city was encompassed in a little time, and this was a sign, and a cause also of its approaching destruction; for by this means (says *Josephus*) ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σπεύς ἐλπίς, i. e. *all hope of deliverance was cut off.* The encompassing the city was a mighty work, and as such it is related by *Josephus*; but JESUS had foretold it, and it did come to pass. The city was begirt in a little time with a wall built round about it, to keep in the miserable *Jews*; who were consumed with a famine, and killed by one another. When this wall was building, it was high time to take that advice, which our SAVIOUR gives, *Luk. xxi. 21. Mark xiii. 14, 15, 16. Matth. xxiv. 16.*

THE * *abomination of desolation*, in *St. Matthew*, refers to the same matter. That expression refers to *Dan. ix. 27.* and whatever a very learned man

^a Tacit. Hist. l. 5. ^t Matth. xxiv. 15. ^t Luk. xxi. 20. ^t De bello Judaico, l. 6. c. 32.

* This exposition of this learned prelate is agreeable to the opinion of very many eminent men, and Dr. *Whitby* in his annotations takes notice of no other. Accordingly they understand these words of the actual investing of *Jerusalem* under *Cestius Gallus*; and some think, that they relate to the last destructive siege by *Titus*. This they are led to by what *St. Luke* saith concerning this very matter. *Luke xxi. 20. When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed about with armies, then know that the desolation ἐρημωσις thereof is nigh.* This they have looked upon as a parallel text with the other; and therefore *Desolation* being the word used in both places, and this encompassing the city by the Roman armies being truly βδέλυγμα an abomination in more senses than one, many learned men have interpreted the one by the other. But against this interpretation it may be objected by a Jew, That tho' *Jerusalem* is often called the holy city, as *Matth. iv. 5. and xxvii. 53.* yet it is never in scripture, nor in any Rabbinical author called the holy place. But on the contrary, the *Tabernacle*, which was built in the wilderness, was always called the holy place, and after that the temple was called by the same name both in the old Testament, as *1 King. viii. 8, 10. 1 Chron. vi. 49. and xxiii. 32. 2 Chron. v. 11. and xxix. 5, 7. and xxxv. 5. Ezra. ix. 8. Ezek. xli. 4. and xlii. 13, 14. and xlv. 4. 2 Chron. viii. 11. And also in the new, as Act. vi. 13. and xxi. 28. Heb. ix. 12, 24, 25.* Secondly, Supposing the words ἐν τῇ πόλει signify the city of *Jerusalem*; yet the preposition ἐν signifies to stand in it, and not round about it, as the Roman army did. When this army stood περὶ πόλεως round about the city, the desolation thereof was nigh; but when it stood ἐν τῇ πόλει, in this city, the desolation was completed. And lastly, admitting this to be the true interpretation, there will be a further difficulty to reconcile it with *St. Mark* chap. xiii. 14. who saith, that this abomination stood, where it ought not. And our blessed SAVIOUR had spoken before of this city. *Luk. xix. 43, 44. The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side. And shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* So that since our SAVIOUR had foretold it, and given such a reason for this prediction, the Roman army stood where it ought to stand, and not where it ought not. For as *St. Luke* saith, chap. xxi. 22. *These were the days of vengeance, that all things, which were written, might be fulfilled.* And therefore I am more inclinable to the interpretation which a very learned man (viz. Dr. *Wotton* in his discourse on the omniscience of GOD from *Mark. xiii. 32.*) gives us, which is to this effect. As our SAVIOUR mentions the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, *Matth. xxiv. 15. and where it ought not, Mark. xiii. 14. and saith in both places, that it was spoken of by Daniel the prophet and gives us also this admonition in both places, Whoso readeth, let him understand;* so for the understanding of these expressions, it is first necessary rightly to understand and expound the words of *Daniel*, chap. ix. 27. which are here quoted, and then to apply them to the words of our SAVIOUR. The words in *Daniel* as they lie in the Hebrew are thus

thus. וְחָצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ יִשְׁבִּיחַ וְיָבֹחַ וְיִמְנָחָהּ וְעַל כָּנָף שְׂקֻצִים מְשֻׁמִּים This in our Bibles is translated thus. *And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifices and the oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate.* I rather take the Grammatical contexture of both these sentences to be alike, and shall venture to translate them accordingly in this manner. *And when the half of the week shall come, be the prince of the people that shall come, or Titus Vespasian the emperor and general of the Roman army, verse 26. shall cause the sacrifices and the oblation to cease: And when abominations shall be upon the wing or battlements of the temple, be, this prince, shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and until that which is determined, shall be poured upon the desolate.* Here the reader must observe, that שְׂקֻצִים the abominations comes from שָׁקַץ a technical word in the Mosaic law originally appropriated to that set of pollution, which spring from bodies alive, or dead that were unclean, as may be plainly proved from Lev. vii. 21. Lev. xi. 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 25, 43. Isai. lxvi. 3, 17. Jer. xvi. 18. Ezek. viii. 10. and Zech. ix. 7. in which that word is used. The more common word תועבה signifies an abominable or a detestable thing of a moral as well as of a legal nature, and more frequently the former, and even when it relates to legal pollutions, it is not often used with any particular sort of them. And accordingly, it is remarkable, that in Ezek. v. 11., and vii. 20. and xi. 18, 21, where both sorts of abominations are hinted at, the two Hebrew words שְׂקֻצִים and תועבה are set down. When therefore in this prophecy of Daniel, we find these שְׂקֻצִים these legal abominations by blood and dead carcases עַל כָּנָף upon the wings of this holy place, as Daniel speaks, the curious reader may not only observe a technical word used instead of a common one; but also the place where these abominations were to stand. כָּנָף is properly the wing of a bird, which is spread out, when the bird flies, and thence by an easy Metaphor it comes to signify the roof of any building, especially among the Jews on which they were wont to walk, and consequently of the temple, which are called πτερυγία by St. Matthew chap. iv. 5. and by St. Luke chap. iv. 9. And thus these Abominations of the destroyer stood literally where they ought not. The zealots, who killed many of the Jews in the city, were killed by them in their turn, when they were shot from the town as they stood upon these roofs, and their carcases and blood were scattered about the sanctuary, before its final destruction, which was שָׁקַץ an abomination in the most proper sense. And as these roofs were encompassed with battlements, to prevent men from falling from thence Deut. xxii. 8. like a field with hedges; so whosoever stood thereon may as truly be said to stand *ἐν τῷ πεδυνίῳ* in the holy place, as one who stands upon a field, may as truly be said to be in the field.

Josephus, who is without controversy a very good witness in this case, informs us, that the divisions, the tumults, and the mutual slaughters of the Jews, that were got together at that time in Jerusalem, were the immediate motives, that induced Titus to come up and besiege the town. Of the party then in the town some were for accommodating matters with the enemy so vastly superior to them in power, and from whom nothing less than utter ruin was to be expected at last; others again were as eagerly against it. Of those, who were against making any manner of terms, the chief and most mischievous were a crew of robbers, who for their appearing concerned for the honour of God, which they could not bear to see prostituted to a gentile power, were called *zealots*. This gang of men had seized upon the holy place and fortified it. They had store of engines, which had been left in the country by Cestius Gallus the Syrian governour, when he besieged the city about three years before. With these they shot from the Roof, or Pinnacles or Battlements, or rather from the wings of the temple upon the town, whilst those without (for the temple was then shut up) shot likewise at them, by which means great numbers were kill'd on both sides; and the temple became thereby polluted, and even an abomination by the blood of the slain, that were in it. This was literally an abominable thing, the daily service was intermitted, and the sanctuary, according to the Jewish notions of the word, was become desolate. So that this, which is fully warranted by Josephus, is the literal explication of this remarkable sign.

What may justify this interpretation of this very remarkable prophecy is, that we find it used in the first book of Maccabees, for Antiochus Epiphanes his profanation of the altar, when he offered idolatrous sacrifices upon it, on purpose to profane it. *They set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and built idol altars throughout the cities of Judea, φκοδόμουν βδελυγμὰ ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.* 1 Mac. i. 54. The Jews of that age, might well apply the very same expression Dan. xi. 31. and xii. 11. to Antiochus; since herein they have the concurrence of many Christian commentators. However it is plain, that what we read, Dan. ix. 26, 27. could not then be fulfilled. That desolation under Antiochus was not final, since Judas Maccabeus purified and dedicated the temple again within a few years afterwards. Whereas after this destruction when Titus had once made an end, and that which was determined, was poured upon the desolate, the temple was never built again, nor have the Jews restored the temple service in that which was once the holy place, (or, as they call it, in the *chosen house*) unto this very day. And besides, the text of Daniel directs us to this individual sign, and not to what had formerly been done by Antiochus. For there it is, *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν*, as the Greek Translators render the Hebrew עַל כָּנָף upon the roof, or temple, which was the very place, where this abomination stood. This abomination therefore, or desolation, was something discernable by the disciples, and previous to the last ruin. The Christians were then directed to read, that they might understand, that is, to attend diligently to that sign, lest by neglecting it, they should be overwhelmed in the common destruction, and be thereby irrecoverably lost. And tho' every destruction of cities and countries carries a desolation along with it; yet since it appears by that history of the Maccabees, 1 Mac. i. 39. that they had formerly called a profanation of the sanctuary a desolation, the Christians of this time, who were not unacquainted with that story, might without any difficulty, know how to apply this abomination of desolation, which had been before foretold by the prophet Daniel, to a like profanation of this holy place by these mad zealots.

Here therefore we have a particular sign foretold by Daniel, and emphatically applied by our LORD, which never happened before, or in any siege except this, and which can never happen again. Wars, famines,

famines, and divisions, among unsuccessful and desperate men, and investing of cities by hostile troops, tho' they were all actually fulfilled in that dismal time; yet were not peculiar to that time more than to others of like sort in their own nature. But to have the *sanctuary* filled with armed men, who were often killed in the *holy place*, and who by being brought into the courts of the *temple* actually defiled it with the *carcasses* and *blood of the slain*, which were both of them to the highest degree *abominable* by the *Mosaic law*, was the distinguishing mark of this calamity. This our blessed LORD commanded his disciples particularly to mind. *Let him that readeth understand.* One of those disciples then present, at least, if not more outlived these events. Then saith our LORD, when these things happen, hasten your flight, be gone, leave both the city and the country, for nothing but the extreamest misery will be the portion of them that stay behind. If you are upon the tops of your houses, run not in to take what you can carry away; but as in cases of sudden and impetuous fires, save your selves as well and as fast as you can. St. Luke indeed saith nothing of this sign, but only mentions the *encompassing of the city* by the Roman legions. But that had happened a little before, and then these two subsequent signs strengthen one another. The siege of *Jerusalem* by *Cestius Gallus* was plainly foretold by St. Luke, without any possible ambiguity in the words, as to the siege itself, tho' without naming the General who should carry it on. The city was then compassed by Roman armies, which it had never before been since *Pompey's* time. This was the first signal given to the faithful to fly. The second signal followed soon after; for the *zealots*, being freed from the apprehensions of any dreadful consequences of that siege, and not fearing another, were possessed with a mad rage, they seiz'd the temple, and annoy'd the town, with the ammunition which *Cestius Gallus* had left behind him, retreating in a hurry from thence. Thus that which went before led the disciples more easily to understand what followed after. And here it is worth observing, that when no sign was given by the two former Evangelists, to direct the Christians when they should fly out of *Jerusalem*, except the *abomination of desolation*, which might not so easily have been understood, at first sight, St. Luke, who wrote after St. Matthew and St. Mark, gave a second, in which they could not be mistaken, which was the *encompassing* the city by a foreign army. When the subsequent sign so soon followed the antecedent, the hint, which our LORD gave, *Let him that readeth understand*, would naturally make them attentive. They would possibly reflect then, how the *Abomination, that maketh desolate* spoken of by *Daniel the prophet* in other places had been applied before to the profanation of the altar under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he sacrificed to his pagan deity; and this might cause them the sooner to apply the words, to which our SAVIOUR refers, to the profanation of the temple at that time. Accordingly the primitive Christians took the advice, which our SAVIOUR gave them, and retired to *Pella* a town beyond *Jordan*, where they were saved from that destruction, which befel the whole Jewish nation. And it is farther observable, that when *Titus Vespasian* sat down with his army before *Jerusalem*, he on a sudden without any visible reason raised the siege for a little while, which gave an opportunity for the rest to escape, who were not so ready at first to understand the signs, which had been given them.

man hath said, cannot relate to the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Certain it is, that *Daniel's* weeks must be weeks of *days* or *years*; the *Hebrews* knew no other weeks than these. If they were weeks of *days*, they would come short of the time of *Antiochus*; if weeks of *years*, they will reach far beyond him. *Daniel* foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation by the *Romans*. *Josephus*^u the Jew owns no less; and *Jacchiades* interprets this place of *Daniel*, of the destruction of the Jews by *Titus*. The *abomination*^x here refers to the *militaria signa*, which accompanied the *Roman* army; and with them the *Roman* army encompassing the city make up the *abomination of desolation* spoken of by *Daniel*. The military signs are fitly expressed by *abomination*, as that word fitly signifies *idolatry*. For these signs were worshipped among the *Romans*, and not only carried about, as ensigns usually are. What in *Josephus* is^y called *σημαὶα μετὰ τὸν αἶγλιν*, i. e. *signs about the eagle*, is presently afterward expressed by *ἁγία*, i. e. *holy things*. The *Romans* carried with them the images of their emperors, and paid a religious worship to them. *Titus* did afterwards bring their military signs into the ruins of the temple, and set them over against the eastern gate of the temple; *ἐδυσάν τε αὐταῖς αὐτίδιν*, i. e. *they sacrificed to them there*; as *Josephus*^z relates. These images were placed with the army, which begirt *Jerusalem*, which was called the *holy city*, *Matth.* iv. 5. and chap. xxvii. 53. that was not only more holy than the holy land; but than any other city, as I have^a elsewhere shewed. The city is meant by the

^u Antiq. l. 10. cap. ult.
Chrysost. contr. Jud. Serm. 2.
l. 7. c. 32.

^a Part I. p. 114.

^x ἅπαν ἰδωλον ἀνθρώπου παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις βδέλυγμα ἑκαλεῖτο.
^y De bello Judaico, l. 3. c. 8.

^z De bello Judaico,

holy place, where this abomination stood, which is expressed by St. *Mark*, as *standing where it ought not*, chap. xiii. 14.

(6.) OUR SAVIOUR foretels *great distress*, and *wrath* upon the *Jews*, Luk. xxi. 23. *Great tribulation, such as hath not been* since the beginning of the world, *Matth.* xxiv. 21. And whoever will read over the books of *Josephus* of the *Jewish war*, will find this prediction abundantly fulfilled. That historian^b tells us in short, *that never any city* (speaking of *Jerusalem*) *suffered such things*. And^c elsewhere, that it fell *πρὸς ἰσχυρὸν συμφορῶν*; and he frankly owns, that this calamity did very justly fall upon the *Jews* also. He says,^d it was his opinion, that *had not the Romans come against these criminals, they would either have been swallowed up by an earthquake, or perished by a deluge, or have been consumed by fire like Sodom; the Jews being more impious than any of those unhappy people, that thus had suffered*.

(7.) OUR SAVIOUR goes on, *They shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captives into all nations*, Luk. xxi. 24. *Josephus*^e tells us, that the whole number of *captives* during the war was 97000; and the whole number of those who were *extinct* were 110000. He doth upon occasion in several places, give us a particular account of the number of the slain and the captivated. The reader, that will take the pains, may consult him as to the following numbers. There were killed after *Vespasian* came into *Judea*, at *Japha* at once 1200, afterwards 15000, besides captives taken 2130; (*Josephus de B. J. l. 3. c. 21.*) of the *Samaritans* at *Gerizim* 11600; (*ib. c. 22.*) At *Jotapata* killed 40000, and 1200 captivated; (*c. 23.*) In another place 6500, (*c. 35.*) At *Gamala* killed by the *Romans* 4000, besides 5000 who killed themselves, (*l. 3. c. 7.*) Killed elsewhere 6000 (*c. 9.*) At *Jerusalem* killed upon the coming of the *Idumeans* 8500 (*l. 4. c. 17.*) killed more by the *Idumeans* 12000 (*c. 19.*) At *Engedi* 700 (*c. 24.*) Killed 15000 and 2200 taken captives (*c. 25.*) Killed more 1000 (*c. 28.*) 2000 in the camp of *Titus* were opened by the gold-finders (*c. 36.*) besides those mentioned *l. 7. c. 46.* It is easie to pursue this matter; but what hath been said is sufficient to verify the words of our blessed SAVIOUR.

(8.) OUR SAVIOUR foretels, That *the gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come*; *Matth.* xxiv. 14. that is, It should, before the final Destruction of the *Jews*, be spread over the *Roman* empire at least. Now for the truth of this particular, the reader may consider, what St. *Paul* says to this purpose, *Rom. i. 8. xv. 19. Col. i. 6.* and consult *Euseb. l. 2. c. 3.* and *Origen* against *Celsus*, *l. 8.*

It is very easie to enlarge upon this argument; but there is no need of saying more in this place. I shall afterward speak something more upon this occasion, under a particular head; which in this place would be too great a digression. I will conclude what hath been said last of CHRIST's predictions concerning the destruction of the *Jews*, with the words of^f one of the ancients, who treating of this very matter, thus ends his discourse: *Συμπεριελαβὼν οὖν, &c. i. e. If any man compare the words of our SAVIOUR, with the words of Josephus concerning the Jewish war, how can he forbear to admire the divine and supernatural foreknowledge and prediction of our SAVIOUR?*

^b De bello Judaico, l. 6. c. 27.
l. 6. c. 37.

^c J. de B. Jud. l. 7. c. 45.

^d Jos. Prolog. ad l. 1. B. J.

^e Euseb. Hist. l. 3. c. 6.

^f De bello Judaico,

THIRDLY, Another reason why the *Jew* believes *Moses*, is from a certain tradition of matter of fact, upon which he thinks he may safely rely. To this purpose the above-named *Jew* argues; That GOD so clearly revealed himself to the *Jews*, that they could not doubt of his existence. That by the same means, by which GOD rendered his own existence indubitable, he rendered the truth of the prophecy of *Moses* so also. Hence the *Jews* were^s obliged to believe in GOD, and to believe his servant *Moses*. The *Jews*, who were contemporaries with *Moses*, taught their children his law, as they were obliged to do; and they their children to this day. Supposing the truth of the matter of fact at first, the tradition is unexceptionable. 'Tis not to be supposed, that the fathers in any number should conspire to deceive their children. Such a tradition in one nation from father to son is easie, and worthy of belief. Where the tradition is from one nation to another, men are liable to be imposed upon, as the *Romans* were by the crafty and lying *Greeks*. Thus doth this *Jew* argue, nor do I intend in this matter to contend with him; since I am sufficiently convinced of the truth of the prophecy of *Moses*. Nor do I intend to enlarge in this place upon tradition, because under the next head there will be a fair occasion of speaking farther of it. In the mean time I shall shew, that if what the *Jew* says above, be of any force to gain belief, that *Moses* was a prophet sent by GOD, as much may be said (not to say more) to prove the divine mission of JESUS also.

WHAT the *Jew* hath said of *Moses* above, and to confirm his divine mission, may be said in confirmation of the divine mission of JESUS. For GOD did not only render his own existence indubitable, in the time of JESUS, but by the same means he did also confirm the divine mission of JESUS: And we are obliged to believe in GOD, and in JESUS, and to instruct our children in his holy religion. And we may say also, that supposing the truth of the matter of fact at first, our tradition is unexceptionable: If the fathers may not be supposed to deceive their children among the *Jews*, why should *Christian* parents be suspected? But then the argument from tradition is stronger on our side. For whereas 'tis easie for parents to deceive their children, who are credulous; men are generally shy of foreigners, who attempt to introduce a new religion, which is so far from gratifying their sensualities, and allowing them in their former superstitions, that it comes to remove and cross them. Again, our tradition is confirmed much by the testimony of unconcerned heathens, who lived about those times; whereas we have nothing of this kind extant near the times of *Moses*. If tradition be a good argument for *Moses*, who lived above 3000 years since, why should it not be rather better for JESUS, who lived 1500 years after the times of *Moses*?

FOURTHLY, The *Jew* believes *Moses*, because the writings of *Moses*, which give account of matters of fact, and such matters of fact as speak his divine mission, are both extant and worthy of all belief. For, supposing the authority of those books, the divine mission of *Moses* is unquestionable; so if it doth appear, that those writings ought to be received and credited, there can be no reason to doubt of the divine mission of *Moses*. Far be it from me to disparage the books commonly called the five books of *Moses*; I make no doubt of their authority, and think them

^s Exod. xiv. 31.

very worthy of belief. But this I dare undertake to prove, that there is as much reason (not to say more) why we should receive the four gospels, as we can have to receive the five books of *Moses*. The truth of the matters of fact reported in the four gospels is altogether as credible, as what is reported in the books of *Moses*. And whatever reason a *Jew* can give, why he believes those books, I will give him the very same (not to say greater) why he ought to believe the gospels.

I DEMAND then of the *Jew*, Why he believes the books of *Moses*? He will say, that he hath great cause so to do; both because they are generally owned by wise and considering men, not only *Jews*, but men of another religion; and chiefly, because they have received them by an uninterrupted and unquestionable tradition from their fathers; and to this present time they are by this means come to their hands from them, who lived in the times of *Moses* and saw his works. Besides, we have no just cause to reject them, or to suspect those books, or believe them corrupted and depraved.

I DEMAND then, Why he doth reject the four gospels? To say that these books are not so generally received, whereas the books of *Moses* are owned by *Christians* as well as *Jews*, is nothing to the purpose; for the question returns, For what cause they are not owned by the *Jews*? 'Tis but a poor argument, which the ^h *Jew* makes use of, to shew that the books of *Moses* are more credible than the four gospels, because *Mahometans*, and *Jews*, and *Christians* own the books of *Moses*, but the gospels are not owned by the two former. For, besides that the truth is not always owned by the greatest multitude; 'tis certain, that the *Jews* received the books of *Moses* before the *Christians* and *Mahometans* could own them; and would do so still, tho' they should reject them. And therefore that argument might have been spared, for it concludes nothing to the purpose: For whatever *other* reason the *Jew* can give for believing *Moses*, 'tis certain, that *this* cannot be sufficient.

WHY then doth not the *Jew* receive the four gospels, when he doth receive the five books of *Moses*? I shall make it appear, that there is as much reason, I may say more, why he should receive the four gospels, as the five books of *Moses*. And the truth of this will manifestly appear, if we will with due application consider the following particulars.

I. THE persons who wrote these gospels, and under whose names they do appear. We have no cause to suspect these writings; for not only the names of the writers are known, and are such as cannot be justly suspected; but they wrote of things, which happened in their own time, and whereof they might have certain knowledge, and so far they must be allowed to be competent witnesses. Two of the four, *viz.* St. *Matthew* and St. *John* were apostles and companions of JESUS, and were eye-witnesses of those things which they deliver in writing: The other two, St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke* were familiars and companions of the apostles, and therefore worthy of belief. If we reject these writers, it must be for one of these two causes; either because they were deceived themselves, or designed to deceive us. The first of these cannot be pretended with any shadow of likelihood: for tho' an honest man may be deceived in matters of theory and speculation; yet in matters of fact, that are so very sensible (as the things are which these men report) it is not possible, that a man in his wits should be imposed upon.

^h Apud Ph. 3 Limbor. p. 143.

AND that they designed to deceive us, cannot reasonably be supposed. There was no temptation, that might move them to it; so far was it from that, that they ran the greatest hazard in the world, in persisting in the relation which they give us, from the *Jews* their countrymen, as well as from the *Gentiles*. In their relation of matters of fact there is to be seen great simplicity and plainness: And tho' there be great agreement between them in the main history; yet is it delivered with some variety of circumstances, which argue, that there was no compact among them to deceive the world. They appear not like men of address, reserve and artifice; or as men, that designed glory to themselves. They relate their own meanness, their own faults and misapprehensions; they conceal not their own timidity and former ignorance, ambition and incredulity. They tell us what they heard, and what they saw; and name times, and places, and persons; when they might have been refuted, if they had falsified: And their testimony was received and believed, and is to this day, by many nations and the most inquisitive men, tho' against their worldly interest and advantage. The writings of *Moses* are worthy of credit, and yet 'tis certain, that he wrote of things before his own time above 2400 Years: And for all that, we ought to receive his relations; but then we have the same and greater cause to believe those men, who reported what they saw and heard. *Moses alone* wrote *his* history of things, and we believe him; but then we have greater reason to believe the account, which we have of *JESUS*, and which is given by *four men* of as unsuspected credit, as *Moses* was. We believe those to be the books of *Moses*, which go under his name: And yet there are witty men in the world, who from those writings have attempted to demonstrate, that *Moses* could not be the author of that whole collection, as it lies now together: And what is related in one of these books of the death of *Moses*, will hardly be thought to have been written by him. I am far from intending to muster up these objections: The *Jew* after all believes *Moses* the writer of these books notwithstanding these pretences; nor do I for that matter contend with him. But this I say, he hath the same (not to say greater) reason to believe the writers of the four gospels; there being in those writings nothing to be found, that can give us the least suspicion, that they were not written by those men, whose names they bear.

2. THE books themselves are next to be considered. The books of *Moses* are venerable for their antiquity, they contain matters of great weight, and are worthy of belief: But then the four gospels, tho' they were not written so soon as the books of *Moses*, contain truths, that are older than he. And for the subject matter of them, they are so far from coming short, that they do excel them. 'Tis certain, that in the books of *Moses* there is no express mention or promise of *eternal life*: But this *life and immortality is brought to light through the gospel*. The statutes and judgments of that covenant were topical, and peculiar to the people and church of the *Jews*; but the laws contained in the gospels are such as concern the whole race of mankind. Agreeably hereunto those books were written in the *Hebrew* tongue, a language peculiar to the *Jews*, and not much understood in the world: The gospels were written (three of them at least at the beginning) in the *Greek* tongue, which at that time was a language understood, not only at *Rome*, but in *Asia* and *Egypt* and the *Roman* empire. Moreover these books of the gospels frequently mention *Moses* and his law, to which they appeal upon all occasions. They contain nothing, which casts any con-

tempt upon *Moses* or his law : So far are they from that, that they quote his books, and mention him with all due regard : They report, how *JESUS* obeyed that law, and conformed, not only to the moral part of it, but to its institutions also. They are not to be rejected by the *Jews* therefore as opposite to the law of *Moses*. As for the matter of *polygamy* and *divorce*, 'tis certain, that what *JESUS* is said there to have taught us, is not against any precept of *Moses* ; And therefore he hath but reduced the business of matrimony to its primitive institution : And what *Moses* had taught before of those things, were *allowances* and *permissions*, not *positive precepts*. As for the history in the books of *Moses*, 'tis allowed to be very considerable. He gives us an account of the creation of the universe, of the destruction of the world by the flood, and the re-peopling of it ; of the calling of *Abraham*, of the forming a church, of *Jacob's* and his families going into *Egypt*, of their posterity going thence, and of the giving of the law, &c. But then the history of *JESUS*, of his miraculous birth, of his miracles and doctrine, his death and resurrection, and promise of the HOLY GHOST, &c. doth not come short of what *Moses* relates. As for the precepts, there is no comparison between those in the books of *Moses*, and those in the gospels. A great part of the former are ritual and judicial ; they were good because commanded, but not antecedently so. As for those in the gospels, they are commanded, because they are good. As for the moral part of the law of *Moses*, 'tis taken into the gospel ; which requires a greater pitch and degree of sanctity, than was required by the letter of the law of *Moses* : Whatever *Moses* commanded of this kind, as to the love, and fear, and worship of GOD, the gospels do not only require the same, but do it also from greater motives and considerations, than are to be found in that law. And as for our kindness to our *neighbour*, and all acts of beneficence, the gospel far exceeds the law of *Moses*. For our *Christian* doctrine, taught in these gospels, hath extended the notion of *neighbour* to that of every other man, to whom we are able to shew any kindness. Forgiveness of enemies, and abstaining from all revenge, and praying for our persecutors, are the precepts of the gospels ; and are from great considerations commended to us from thence ; which cannot be found in that law ; not to say any thing of the contempt of the world, an heavenly conversation, inward purity of heart, and the profoundest humility, which are commended in the gospels. After all, the promise of the *Spirit* to help, and of heaven to reward us, do mightily enhance these writings. Besides the provision of pardon to every penitent sinner ; whereas many sins under the law of *Moses* admitted of no atonement or expiation. And lastly, this new covenant, and these holy laws were ratified and confirmed by the blood of the mediator of it, *viz.* the blood of *JESUS* ; whereas that of *Moses* was not confirmed by his blood.

3. THE tradition, or way and means by which these books were conveyed to us. Let the *Jews* pretend to as much as they please, they cannot have greater certainty, that these are the books of *Moses*, than we have, that we have the four gospels. I grant that these books of *Moses* were carefully preserved among the *Jewish* nation. They were extant in our SAVIOUR'S time, nor doth he any where tax them for having altered them. Their care in writing correct copies for the use of their synagogues I do not call in question ; and do very well know, that the *Hebrew* doctors have given many rules for the exact writing out the books of their law. But then we have as great assurance, that we have the writings of the evangelists, as they have, that they have the books of *Moses*.

WHEREAS the *Jews* alone had the keeping of the books of *Moses*, we know the gospels were soon in the hands of many nations and people, and

and were also translated into several languages. Here were more keepers of these books; and being in more hands, they could not be so easily lost or corrupted. Notwithstanding the pretended care of the *Jews*; yet ⁱ in the days of *Josiah* the knowledge of the law of *Moses* seems well nigh lost, and the copy of it, that was found at that time, was looked on as a great rarity. They had at that time been keepers of these books for near a thousand years: And yet it seems, that the copies were not very common. The *Jew* cannot charge the *Christians* with any such negligence; these gospels have always from the early days of *Christianity* been extant, and in many hands.

NOR hath there been a possibility of corrupting these books, and we have the greatest security, that they are not depraved, that we can desire. 'Tis hardly conceivable, that those books should be corrupted, that are made publick, and in the hands of many nations and people. We will not suppose this of the books of *Moses*, of which the *Jews* alone were the keepers; much less can it be supposed of these books of the gospel. Moreover, it so happened, that there sprang up *heresies* in the early times of *Christianity*. As great an evil as this was, we receive this advantage by it, that whereas both the *orthodox* and *hereticks* appealed to the *Scriptures*, and had in the mean time a jealous eye upon each other, it was not possible, that the text could be corrupted on either side.

As for the various lections, the *Jew* hath no cause from them to question these four gospels. For besides that the *Keri* and *Cethib* of the books of *Moses* are not thought of moment to be objected against them, the law of *Moses* was delivered without points, and consequently was many times liable to various senses; and yet we doubt not of the authority of those books. And as for the various lections themselves, whatever the number of them be, as they are an argument, that these books were very frequently transcribed and copied out, and could not therefore easily be lost; so it is certain, that they are such things, as do not affect the main relation, or render any article of the *Christian* belief doubtful, or liable to any just ground of suspicion.

IF the books of *Moses* are come down to our hands without corruption; we have no cause to question the four gospels: If the tradition for *them* be unquestionable, we ought not to question that, by which our gospels are conveyed. For besides that the gospels were written 1500 years after the books of *Moses*, and those books of *Moses* have been kept by the *Jewish* nation alone, whereas ours have been in the hands of many nations; besides all this, I say, there can be no time assigned, when the gospels were wanting in the *Christian* church, or when a copy of them was a rarity. Upon the whole, if we have cause to receive the five books of *Moses*, we have the same (not to say greater) to receive the four gospels.

FROM what hath been said before, I might draw several useful *corollaries*. I shall name some:

FIRST, The great grounds which we have for the belief of the *Christian* doctrine: They are the very same and greater than those, which the *Jews* had for receiving the law of *Moses*. Our holy religion doth not want sufficient motives of credibility.

SECONDLY, That whatever cause may be assigned of the *Jewish* infidelity, 'tis not for want of credibility in the *Christian* doctrine.

THIRDLY, That the infidelity of the *Jews* to this day is not merely from such an ignorance, which is invincible and innocent; but from a worse cause, and such as will leave them without excuse.

AND yet I must add, that the case of the present *Jews* is very different from that of their fathers, who lived in our SAVIOUR'S time, and saw his works. They had an opportunity of knowing the truth, beyond what many of the present *Jews* have had. JESUS lived among them, he preached and did wonderful works towards their conviction: ^k *If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin,* (says JESUS of those *Jews*) *but now they have no cloak for their sin.* They were destitute of all excuse, and their infidelity could not be ascribed to simple ignorance. As for the *Jews* of the present age, tho' they cannot be excused from fault; yet I reckon them less sinners than their forefathers; because they have not the means of better information, which their fathers had. They are by their parents early instructed in the *Jewish* religion, prejudiced from their infancy against *Christianity*, offended with the scandalous lives of *Christians*, and can hardly get loose from the hold, which was laid upon them from their first education. I hope, that GOD will be merciful to them, and make great abatements for their circumstances. Most certain it is however, that these *Jews* (or many of them) might come to the knowledge of the truth; and therefore invincible ignorance cannot be their excuse. It is very plain, from what hath been said, that a simple ignorance was not the cause, why they rejected JESUS and his religion. I am not willing to censure severely a whole nation, nor apt to believe men guilty of any malice; but the case before us is beyond all dispute.

Obj. I KNOW, what may be objected in behalf of the *Jews*, that their sin in rejecting of JESUS and his doctrine, and putting him to death, was mere ignorance. *Father forgive them* (says ^l JESUS) *for they know not what they do.* ^m *I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers;* says St. Peter. ⁿ *Because they knew him not, they condemned him;* says St. Paul. And ^o elsewhere, *Had they known, they would not have crucified the LORD of glory.* From all which it seems to be plain, that the *Jewish* infidelity is to be imputed to mere ignorance: To which I answer,

Ans. I. THAT it must be granted, that the *Jews*, who crucified JESUS, did not believe him to be the MESSIAS, and were so far ignorant.

II. THIS was not a simple and mere ignorance, but a culpable and vincible one. 'Twas their fault, and cannot therefore be their excuse. JESUS supposeth their ignorance their fault, when he prays, *Father, forgive them.* They did not know, nor would they understand. They refused to be converted, and shut their eyes.

HAVING shewed that the *Christian* religion doth not want sufficient motives of credibility, and that the *Jew* hath as much reason to believe, that JESUS was sent by GOD, as he hath to believe the divine mission of *Moses*; I shall now proceed to inquire into the causes and occasions of the *Jewish* infidelity. For it doth appear, that this is not to be imputed to our religion, nor yet to be attributed to mere invincible ignorance; and we are therefore obliged to search farther in our inquiry into this matter. And for my more orderly proceeding in this matter, I shall

I. SHEW, what were the more *principal* causes from *themselves*, upon which they were moved to reject JESUS, and the *Christian* religion at their first appearance. And they were these that follow:

^k Joh. xv. 22.
^o 1 Cor. ii. 8.

^l Luk. xxiii. 34.

^m Act. iii. 17.

ⁿ Ibid. xiii. 27.

FIRST, A *carnal* and *worldly* temper: They had been allured, under the *oeconomy* of *Moses*, with promises of temporal good things, such as long life, victory over their enemies, plenty, &c. Indeed they received withal several promises of a MESSIAS; but then they hoped from him such good things, as this world afforded. But JESUS made no shew of any worldly pomp, and made no offer of any such rewards. On the other hand, he cast a great contempt upon this lower world, and despised and overlooked it. He came not into the world like a temporal prince. He was born of a poor virgin in *Jewry*, and in a small village, where he was lodged in a manger: He was forced in his infancy into *Egypt*, and upon his return was brought up in the obscure country of *Galilee*. There he dwelt under the ^p character of a carpenter's son; and probably in the employment of such a mean artificer. He after this refused the honour of being a king; contented himself with a mean condition, and the retinue of poor fishermen. They who owned him to be the MESSIAS, were disappointed: They ^a expected dignities and preferments from him, and that he would erect a temporal || kingdom: And others rejected him upon this account, *viz.* because he entertained them not with temporal and worldly advancements. Covetousness, and an inordinate love of the things of the lower world, was one great cause why the *Jews* rejected JESUS. The † *Pharisees*, who were covetous, heard him and derided him. Covetousness ^r disposeth men to reject *Christianity*; or it renders its principles ineffectual. For JESUS designed by his religion to abstract men from the love of this world, and to erect a spiritual kingdom. On the the other hand, the *Jews* were fond of this world and placed their hopes upon it: Hence it was that they rejected JESUS, and despised him, and his spiritual doctrine, and promises.

SECONDLY, Malice and pertinacy; There was a certain *obstinacy*, which obtained among the *Jews* in our SAVIOUR's time. They were not disposed to receive information and to be convinced. They were so far from desiring to know the truth, that they refused the means of coming at it. This is a severe charge against them; but 'tis certainly a very true one. We have in the *new Testament* proofs of it beyond exception: And where-ever this is the case, there is no remedy left. And this was the case of the *Jews* in the time of JESUS: I wish I could say, that the nation to this day were not in great measure guilty of it. Our SAVIOUR wrought many miracles to convince them of his divine mission: To the works which he wrought, he refers them, as to sure evidences, that he was sent by GOD. These were the testimonies beyond all exception: But how do the *Jews* behave themselves, when they are thus pressed? Surely not like honest men, that were desirous to know the truth. Either they question the matter of *fact*, or they impute the work to the *power* of the *devil*, or else quarrel, that it was done on the *sabbath-day*. Of the first we have an instance in the man, ^f that was born blind and received his sight: Of the second, in him, that was blind and dumb, and possessed, whom JESUS ^r restored. Of the third, in him, that was restored from an infirmity ^u that had afflicted him 38 Years. When the *fact* was undeniable, then they cavil about his authority, or they deny it to be a work of the HOLY GHOST, or quarrel with JESUS, because the work was done on the sabbath; in all which cases our LORD

^p Τα ταπεινά ἔργα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ. J. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. ^a Mat. xxiii. 20. || Act. i. 16. [†] Luke xvi. 14. ^r Mat. viii. 34. c. xiii. 23. Act. xvi. 19. Mat. xiii. 55. ^f Joh. ix. ^r Mat. xii. ^u Joh. v.

says enough to silence them, but all in vain. They that cannot answer him, endeavour to take away his life; and when they want arguments, they betake themselves to stones to cast at him, and lay wait to entangle and ensnare him. When he ^x had raised *Lazarus* from the dead, the fact was so evident, and the work so great, that many believed on him: But the chief priest and pharisees gather'd a council, and said, *What do we? For this man doth many miracles: If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him.* Here the fact was allowed: but this was so far from convincing these men; that when they own the fact, they contrive that it may not gain belief to JESUS. Nay their malice is so great, that ^y they *consult to put Lazarus to death*: not for any evil that he had done, but, *Because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on JESUS.*

THIS malice of the *Jews* appeared farther upon the sufferings and death of JESUS: Here they shewed themselves not only destitute of honesty, but of common humanity besides. A false disciple is hired with a sum of money to betray him into their hands. He is before the high priest rudely smitten, tho' convicted of no crime. The *Jews* suborned false witnesses against him, which yet were incoherent with one another; those who at last bore witness, did not agree together. See their spite and malice: JESUS had formerly ^z said, upon the *Jews* requiring a sign, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up.* How maliciously were these words improved! They that passed by, when JESUS hung upon the cross, tauntingly ^a said, *Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thy self.* What JESUS had said, related to the temple of his body. So it was, JESUS said only *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.* The witnesses add to it, when they depose that he said, *I am able to (or, I will) destroy the temple of GOD, and build it in three days.* The multitude carry it farther, *Thou that destroyest the temple, &c.* Here's malice in perfection and in the highest degree. Here's no attempt upon the temple, no overt-act prov'd against him; there was no likelihood, that he should attempt it, nor did they think him able to destroy it. The building it up was no crime, supposing it destroyed. But this was as incredible as the other, and the whole information spake great spite and malice. The behaviour of the *Jews* toward JESUS in his last sufferings was inhumanly barbarous.

AGAIN, the *Jews* shewed great malice not only in endeavouring, what they could, to hinder the resurrection of JESUS, but when they could not do that, in hindring the spreading and belief of it. They gave money to the soldiers to say, *His disciples came by night, and stole him away, while we slept.* In which 'tis hard to say, whether the obstinate malice or folly was the greater: If they were asleep, how could they tell that his disciples were there? And if they were not, why did they suffer them to take him away?

UPON the miraculous effusion of the HOLY GHOST their malice appeared again: There were those that ^b mocked, saying, *These men are full of new wine.* After this they ^c persecuted those who preached the resurrection, and ^d took counsel to slay them. They ^e raged against these witnesses and cast stones at them; they ^f opposed them and blasphemed: and St. Stephen ^g tells them, *Ye do always resist the HOLY GHOST; as your fathers did, so do ye.* Upon the whole matter, they maliciously and obstinately resisted all the means of

^x Joh. xi. 45.

^b Act. ii. 13.

^g Ibid. vii. 51.

^y Joh. xii. 10.

^c Ibid. iv. 3.

^d Ibid. v. 33.

^z Joh. ii. 19.

^e Ibid. xiv. 19.

^a Matth. xxvii. 40.

^f Ibid. xviii. 6.

conviction.

conviction. For there wanted not sufficient means to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, as appears, from what hath been said above: But there is no help for them, that shut their eyes against the light.

THIRDLY, Another cause of their infidelity was their pride and haughtiness. For pride and a vain conceit of our selves is a great obstruction to a faith in CHRIST. *How can ye believe* (says JESUS^h to the Jews) *which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from GOD only?* They are the humble, whom GOD will teach. Profound humility is a great disposition for receiving the truth. As it is itself an indication of wisdom; so 'tis also a great preparation for greater measures of knowledge, especially of spiritual and heavenly truths. The faith of a Christian cannot consist with pride and vain-glory. Theⁱ brethren or kindred of JESUS put him upon shewing himself in publick, that his *disciples might see his works: For* (say they) *there is no man that doth any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou do these things, shew thy self to the world.* At this rate do these men talk: But that which follows next, will give us to understand, what these men were: They were the *brethren*, but not the *disciples* of JESUS: 'Tis added, *For neither did his brethren believe on him.*

THE Jews were GOD's peculiar people, and the favourites of heaven. St. Paul reckons up^k several of their privileges: *To whom* (says he) *pertaineth the adoption*, i. e. *They*^l *were GOD's children, when others were aliens: And the glory:* They had the^m ark of the testament, a great symbol of GOD's favour, and presence among them: There GOD resided between the cherubims, that were over that mercy-seat, which covered this ark. Hence 'tis called hisⁿ *resting-place*, and the *ark of his strength*. And this presence of GOD was the glory of that people; and indeed is that very thing, which renders a people great and considerable. It follows, *And the covenants:* The^o covenants made with *Abraham* first, and in^p the time of *Moses*, with all *Israel*: As also circumcision, and sacrifice, the signs and sacraments of that covenant: The *Mosaical covenant*, and the *Evangelical* and *new covenant*: For this latter was not only promised to the Jews, but they had the first offer of entering into it. *And*^q *the giving of the law.* Not the legislative power; but the privilege of receiving the law of GOD; which was peculiar to the *Israelites*, and that which did not only distinguish them from others, but also exalted them above the rest of mankind. *And the service of GOD*, i. e. religion, or the right way of worshipping GOD, and such as GOD thought fit to prescribe himself. *And the promises:* These were encouragements to their obedience. Such were the promises of temporal good things, as well as those of the MESSIAS. *Whose are the fathers*, i. e. The *patriarchs*, and holy men of old, who were great examples of piety and virtue, to excite them to obedience. To them also CHRIST was promised, and of them *he came according to the flesh.*

THESE were great advantages and privileges, and ought to have rendered them very pious and grateful, humble and compassionate towards those, who wanted these things. But instead of this, they were proud and insolent, and contemners of the rest of mankind. And hence it was, that they rejected the Christian doctrine. *They*^r *sought not the honour, that cometh of GOD only, but received honour one of another:* And how, then, could they believe? as

^h Joh. v. 44.

Matth. xv. 26.

^o Gen. xvii.

^r Joh. v. 44.

ⁱ Joh. vii. 3, 4, 5.

^m 1 Sam. iv. 21.

^p Exod. xxiv.

Jer. xxxi. 31.

^k Rom. ix. 4.

Heb. ix. 5.

Jer. xxxi. 31.

^l Exod. iv. 22. Jer. xxxi. 9, 20.

ⁿ 2 Chron. 6. 41. Psal. lxxviii. 61.

^q Psal. cxlvii. 19, 20. Rom. iii. 2.

JESUS asked the *Jews*. So great was their pride and haughtiness upon the score of their privileges, that they were not capable of the wise instructions, with which our LORD would have gained them to the truth: 'Twas this which rendered them unteachable, and impenetrable: And when the conviction was so great, that they could not but give some credit to our LORD, ^r yet *because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.* They were swell'd with pride and haughtiness; and this rendered the doctrine of CHRIST ineffectual. They ^r were descended from *Abraham*; marked for God's peculiar by circumcision; favoured with the law, and temple; separated from other nations by their institutions and rites; and these things left them proud, and their pride obstructed their receiving the doctrine of JESUS; who designed to bring his followers to the truest wisdom and greatest happiness, by rendering them ^u meek and humble, and therewithal disposed to find out the truth.

THESE were indeed the principal causes, and flowing from themselves, upon which the *Jews* rejected JESUS and his holy doctrine. And we see, that they were their lusts and crimes: 'Twas not their reason, but their vices that made head against JESUS and his religion. I shall,

II. SHEW some other causes from *themselves*, which were *less principal*, which disposed the *Jews* to reject JESUS and his holy religion. And those were some dangerous *errors* and mistakes about religion, and matters relating thereunto. Their lusts indeed and vices, the naughtiness of their wills and their corrupt affections, might incline them to those errors, and be the occasion of their falling into them; and so far they were criminal and culpable. But considering these errors separately and apart, they were causes less principal and of less malignity than those above-named. Under this head I reckon the following particulars.

FIRST, An over-valuing of *rites*, and *institutions*; with too great a neglect of *moral* virtues. This is a most dangerous error; and the *Jews* were greatly over-taken with it. The *Jews* were under the pædago^y of ordinances. GOD thought fit (and no doubt for very wise reasons) to lay this yoke upon them, during the œconomy of *Moses*. Their law was given with *great pomp*; and very many were the rites and institutions, to which they stood obliged: Such were circumcision, and sacrifices of several sorts, purifications, and many other ceremonies. These things they were obliged to, because GOD required them at their hands: But they were too apt to rest here, and to neglect the *moral* duties, which were of far greater weight. And upon this account the prophets of GOD reprov'd them very frequently; and to shew them the wide difference between *moral* duties, and mere *institutions*, they say many things to depre^{ci}ate the latter and recommend the former. When our SAVIOUR came into the world, he taught a religion, that was simple and plain, free from ceremonies and outward dress and amusements. He ^{*} taught us to *worship God in spirit and in truth*, and did not annex the worship to one certain place: He did not clog it with a multitude of rites; nor require any sacrifice but what was spiritual and reasonable. He did not require that observation of certain times, and distinction of certain meats, and other usages, which had obtained before and under the law of *Moses*. Hence it was, that the *Jews* quarrell'd with JESUS, and rejected his doctrine. If he did a good

^r Joh. xii. 42, 43.
v. 3, 5. xi. 25, 26.

^r Matth. iii. 9. Joh. viii. 39. Rom. ii. 17.
^{*} Joh. iv.

^u Matth.

work and a most miraculous one, then they excepted against him that ^y he did it on the sabbath-day. If the work was never so good or innocent; yet they had this objection against it. At another time they quarrel with ^z him because his followers *washed not their hands*; tho' they in the mean neglected their duty to their natural parents, and avoided not those things, which do indeed *defile the man*. They laid great stress upon *little* things, and ^a passed over *the weightier things of God's law*: They ^b were contenders for circumcision and the lesser laws of *Moses*, and neglected the *circumcision of the heart*. Hence, it was, that they impugned the *Christian* religion: And this spirit continues to this day. Thus ^c *Trypho* objects against the *Christians*, not only that they observed not the feasts and their sabbath; but also that they had not circumcision. *Justin Martyr* gives a clear answer to this matter of *circumcision* in these words; *Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀρχαία, &c.* If, says he, *circumcision was necessary*, GOD would never have formed Adam *uncircumcised*, nor would he have had respect to the sacrifice of *uncircumcised Abel*: It would not have been said of *uncircumcised Enoch*, that he pleased GOD, and was not, because GOD took him. *Uncircumcised Lot* was saved from Sodom by GOD and his angels. Noah, who was the head of the race of mankind, went *uncircumcised*, as well as his children, into the ark. *Uncircumcised Melchisedeck* was priest of the high GOD; to whom Abraham, who first received *circumcision*, paid *tythe*, and from whom he was blessed; and according to whose order David foretels, that GOD would raise up a priest for ever. I will not repeat what that father adds concerning the sabbath, and distinction of meats. Certain it is, that the laying too great a stress upon mere institutions is a dangerous error; and hence it was, that the *Jews* rejected *Christianity*.

SECONDLY, An opinion that they were obliged to give a blind and implicit belief to their superiours, without using their judgment of discretion, and examining the merits of the cause. Where-ever this lewd opinion obtains, the way of coming at the truth is obstructed; and this is the misery of it, that if a man chances to be misled by his superiours, there will be no hope, that he should ever return to the truth. He that thinks himself obliged to believe as his superiours believe, whenever he is misguided, he is past all hope of ever returning into the right way again. The *Jews* were mightily devoted to their wise-men, and their *Sanhedrin*; and (it must be confessed) there ^d was great care taken that the determination of the judges in matters of controversy, and cases of difficulty, should not be despised. But this provision did not suppose those judges infallible; and he that thinks himself obliged to *obey* the sentence of a court, is not therefore obliged to believe it to be *just*. Besides, the question here is of matters of faith: Every man is here to account for himself. JESUS tells us, that *If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall into the ditch*. The *Jews* on the other hand ^e erroneously thought themselves bound to believe with their elders; and one great reason why they rejected JESUS and his doctrine, was, because they did so. *Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very CHRIST?* say the *Jews* of JESUS. When the officers that were sent to take him, could not but say, *Never man spake like this man*, the *Pharisees* replied, *Are ye also deceived? Have any of the rulers or the Pharisees believed on him?* This was not the question, Whether they believed, or not? The true state of the question was, Whether or no he was worthy of belief? JESUS refers them to *Moses*,

^y Joh. v. 16. Luk. vi. 2. Matth. xii. 2. ^z Matth. xv. 1, 20.
^b Act. xv. 1. xxi. 21. ^c J. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryph. Judæo.
^e Joh. vii. 26. v. 48.

^a Matth. xxiii.
^d Deut. xvii. 8.

and to his works. The foolish *Jews* reject him, because the elders had done so. And this is the case of the *Jews* to this day: They obstinately adhere to the sentence of their forefathers; and refuse to accept of *JESUS* as their *MES-SIAS*, because *they* owned him not. I have read of a *Spanish Jew*, who being by a *Christian*, and a divine of our church, urged with the danger of obstinate persisting in his *Judaism* after means of conviction, replied, That he desired to be in no better condition, nor to be thought wiser, than the wise men of his nation: And that if *he* was damned, so would *Maimonides*, and *Rasbi*, &c. be. So addicted are these men to their wise men, that they will rather hazard their salvation, than lay aside their prejudice, and examine (as they ought) the merits of the cause. They are so far from receding from the sentence of their forefathers *themselves*, that they express the greatest detestation of those who *turn Christians*: They have a saying among them, that they must *Beware of proselytes to the tenth generation*.

THIRDLY, Too great an opinion of their traditional or *oral* law (as they call it) instead of adhering to that which was *written*, as they ought to have done. The *Jews* pretend to a law delivered by *GOD* to *Moses*, and by him to the *Jews* his cotemporaries, and by them to succeeding ages from one generation to another, which was not written, but delivered by word of mouth: This they call their *oral* law; and make it a necessary *exposition* of the *written* law, and have an *equal* esteem for it. It is pretended by the *Hebrew* doctors, that the *written law*, without the *oral*, is obscure, and an imperfect rule: And that *Moses* did receive from *GOD*, and deliver to the people, this *oral*, as well as the *written* law. *Maimonides* (as if he had lived in the times of *Moses*, and had undertaken to write an history of what passed) takes upon him^f to acquaint us, *how* this law was delivered. He tells us with great confidence, that when *GOD* delivered a *precept* to *Moses*, he afterward added always the *exposition* and meaning of it. That *Moses*, after this went into his tent, and *Aaron* alone followed him; to whom *Moses* delivered the precept, which he had received, together with its *exposition*, or the *oral* law: That hereupon, *Aaron* kept on the right hand of *Moses*; and that *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* came next into the tent: To whom *Moses* communicated what he before had imparted to *Aaron*; upon which one of them betook himself to the left hand of *Moses*, and the other to the right hand of *Aaron*: That after this the *LXX* Elders came in; and *Moses* taught them, as he had taught *Aaron* and his sons. After them came in the multitude, and all that sought the *LORD*; who received the like instruction from his mouth. Upon the whole matter then, says he, *Aaron* received this from *Moses* four times, his sons thrice, the elders twice, and the multitude once. He afterwards tells us, how this knowledge was conveyed by *Aaron*, and his sons, &c. But all this is destitute of proof, and probability also: We have not sufficient ground to admit the matter of fact; and no reason to believe this bold and confident *Jew*. I know very well, that^g others of the *Hebrew* doctors have pleaded for the necessity of an *oral* or *traditional* law, as well as a *written* one. But all this is vain, and no more than what the church of *Rome* doth; which pleads, that there must be an infallible judge of controversies, because she fancies, that unless this be granted, there would be a great defect, and that *GOD* had not made sufficient provision for his church. As for what^h a late *Jewish* writer hath advanced in this argument;

^f Maimon. Præfat. in Expos. Misn. liat. in Exod. q. 57.

^g Cosri, p. 111. 8. 35. Men. Ben Israel. Conci-
^h V. Tertium Scriptum Judæi apud Limborch. Num. vi.

as it speaks the modesty of the man, so it deserves to be considered: He affirms indeed the necessity of an *oral* law in laws that are merely *positive*, where the manner of executing the law is not determined by the written law; but he declares, that by the *oral* law he understands no more than the *mode of exercising outward worship*: And that 'tis necessary, that such a law should be admitted in many cases, as he contends; *e.g.* in the law, which requires *circumcision*, *fringes* on the garments, that requires *fasting* on the day of *expiation*; and which forbids the offering *sacrifices*, that have blemishes, and ordinary works on the *sabbath* day. Here the *written* law being *general* and in terms at large, 'tis necessary that an *oral* or traditional law be admitted, which may reach to *particular* cases and emergencies, and determine the manner, how these precepts were to be executed. The *manner of circumcising* is not defined, nor the number, fashion, materials, or colour of the *fringes*: What are to be reputed *blemishes*, which hinder the beast from being a fit sacrifice, is not expressed: nor yet the particular works forbidden on the *sabbath*, &c.

ALL that can be truly inferred from this is, that where the written law had not determin'd any circumstance, the constitution of the elders ought to be submitted to by the people; provided those constitutions did not any way clash with what was written, or make it void. It doth not hence follow, that the constitutions were as much divine as the written law; or that these things were delivered by God to *Moses*, and by *Moses* to the people, which is the question between the *Jew* and *Christian*.

THAT these constitutions of the elders are a divine *law*, can never be proved: But certain it is, that this opinion is a great obstruction to the belief of the *Christian* doctrine: And where-ever such a proposition is advanced and defended, men are not to be brought to the truth. We have great experience of this in the *Roman* church; who under pretence of *catholick tradition* hath brought into the church the most unreasonable doctrines and practices: Such are that of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass. Under this pretence of *tradition* they have corrupted and depraved the *Christian* doctrine. 'Tis very strange, that there should not be found in the *written* word any express mention of the *oral* and traditional law, which the *Jews* and false *Christians* so frequently apply themselves to for the defence of their superstitious fopperies. And when the written law was almost lost in the days of *Josiah*, 'tis very strange that such a vast number of *oral* traditions should be preserved intire.

OUR SAVIOUR upon all occasions, appeals to what is *written*; and lets the *Jews* know, how vain they were in urging *traditions*, and in the mean time *making void the law of God*, which was written. ^k *They taught for doctrines the commandments of men*: Nor was this a new charge upon them; their prophet *Isaiah* had ^l said of them, in God's name, *Their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men*. No wonder that *they* were not convinced by the written word of God, who had set up another rule which God never made. Such men will think themselves obliged to believe, as their church believes; and when 'tis come to that, no wonder that he who *believes* with the church, should *err* with it too.

THESE were the causes of the *Jewish* infidelity: The *Christian* doctrine did not want sufficient motives of credibility; but the *Jews* shut their eyes,

^l Mat. xv. 3. c. xxiii. 16, 23.

^k Mat. xv. 9.

^l Isa. xxix. 13.

and hardened their hearts, and would not receive the truth. Upon this, III. GOD abandoned them, and their hearts were hardened; and this was a *judicial hardness* for their former wickedness: For whatever the *Scripture* may seem to impute to GOD in this matter, we are sure of this, that GOD is the author of no man's sin, nor can he be said to harden any man or people, in any sense that is derogatory to his holiness and justice. This *infidelity* of the *Jews* was foreseen, and foretold; and it was owing to their own wickedness; which was so great, so general, and so provoking, that GOD thought fit to abandon them, and reject them from being his people, and leave them under that hardness of heart, which they had brought upon themselves by their own repeated provocations. In them is fulfilled the ^m prophecy of *Isaiah*, which saith, *By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand: and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive: For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.* Their wickedness was from themselves, and their *hardness* from that; and GOD thought fit to leave them under that obduracy, which they had brought upon themselves. Their disease was of their own procuring; GOD offered to heal them, and they would not be healed. Their death is owing to themselves; and GOD can in no other sense be said to harden them, than as he leaves them to that hardness and blindness, which by their sins they had brought upon themselves; nor any farther to have any hand in their destruction, than a righteous judge hath in the death of a *criminal*; who doth indeed *pronounce* sentence of death, but his crime was the true cause which *brought* it upon him. Indeed this matter is expressed with some variety in the *holy Scripture*: And the text of the *holy Writ*, or the version of the text, may occasion some misunderstanding in the unwary reader, in this of GOD's hardening wicked men. Thus in ⁿ a parallel place of *St. John*, we find this matter expressed; *Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, &c.* Here the unwary reader will be apt from these words to attribute the *Jewish* infidelity to GOD; whereas it was owing to their own wickedness. We read indeed, *He hath blinded their eyes, &c.* and by *he*, we are prone understand GOD: But we have not cause so to do. For as this is not imputed to GOD in the prophet *Isaiah*, nor in the quotation, as it lies in *St. Matthew*, nor ^o in the *Syriack* version of this place, so it ought not to be imputed to him from the place it self: For it imports no more than this, *that their eyes were blinded, &c.* It is common among the sacred writers, that an active verb, that hath no *person* going before it, is to be understood as a *passive* or *impersonal*; and the careful observing of this manner of speech will remove many difficulties, that might otherwise disturb us. We have plenty of examples to this purpose, both in the *new Testament* and in the *old*. ^p *Make to your selves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness: That when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations:* i. e. That ye may be received, &c. Again ^q *This night do they require thy soul,* (so the *Greek* imports, and so 'tis in the the marginal reading,) i. e. Thy soul shall be required. Again, ^r *Unto whom-*

^m Isa. vi. 9.
in John xii. 40.

Mat. xiii. 14, 15.
^p Luke xvi. 9.

ⁿ Joh. xii. 39, 40.
^q Ibid. xii. 20.

^o V. Vers. Syr.
^r Ibid. xii. 48.

soever much is given, of him much shall be required: and to whom men have committed much, (i. e. to whom much is committed; of him they will ask the more; i. e. the more shall be asked. Again 'tis said of the ^f salt, that hath lost its savour, ἔω βάλλουσιν αὐτό. We render it, men cast it out; that is, it shall be cast out: Thus St. Mathew says of it, that it is good for nothing, οὐ μὲν βλεψήσεται ἔω but to be cast out. And in the old Testament this manner of speaking also obtains. ^c He shall call his name, so 'tis in the Hebrew; but we give the true sense, when we render it, his name shall be called. Again, ^u The anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them. GOD did not move David, 'tis expressly said in ^x a parallel place that Satan provoked David to number Israel: And what we render by He moved David, imports no more but this, that David was moved; and had our interpreters so rendered those words, they had given us the true sense and meaning; and would have done no more, than what they have justifiably done in rendering Isa. ix. 6. of which I took notice before. Once more, ^y we read Exod. vii. 13. He hardened Pharaoh's heart, that he hearkened not unto them. And some perhaps understand it of GOD: But by no means is the place so be understood. There is no mention of GOD just before: And the words import no more but this, that Pharaoh's heart was hardened; so the Vulgar and Chaldee have it; and we find the same Hebrew words so rendered, v. 22. not only by the Greek and Latin, but by the English version also: Nor is there any person mentioned in one place or in the other. In the ^z next chapter 'tis said expressly, Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time also: Which words manifestly impute his foregoing hardness to himself. And ^a what is said Job. xii. 40. He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, is by no means to be meant of GOD, as is evident from what hath been said; it imports only the event, and that their eyes were blinded, &c. ^b And this farther appears from this very place, as it is cited in the Acts, The heart of this people is waxed gross, &c. and their eyes have they closed, &c.

AND where GOD is said to send blindness upon, or harden any; yet certain it is, that he infuseth no evil into his creatures. He justly punisheth such men; he leaves them in the dark, and to their lusts; and only for their great wickedness and obstinacy.

THIS may seem too great a digression: But I feared, that when I mentioned the judicial hardening of the Jews, among the causes and occasions of their infidelity, which the Scripture mentions, and in some sense attributes to GOD, men might mistake, in thinking the Scriptures do charge this upon GOD, when they do it not; or that GOD is in this the author of the sin or misery of any of his creatures. Fearing this, I say, I thought it needful to enlarge on this matter. But I proceed to add,

IV. THAT since they have ceased to be GOD's people, they have been also deprived for their sins of the helps and means of bringing them to the knowledge of the truth. The conversation, which Christians have with them, is upon the account of trade and merchandise: There hath not been that care used for their conversion, which there ought to have been. The first preachers of the Christian doctrine did labour to bring them to the truth: They had the power of working miracles, they led most exemplary lives, they preached very frequently upon the argument contested between them and the Christians: But afterwards the Jews were left destitute of

^c Luke xiv. 35. with Mat. v. 13.

^u Isa. ix. 16.

^u 2 Sam. xxiv.

^x 1 Chron.

xxi. 1.

^y Exod. vii. 13.

^z Exod. viii. 32.

^a John xii. 40.

^b Act. xxviii. 17.

that

that care, and those advantages of better information, which once they had. Nor was this all, For,

V. THE after *Christians* laid many stumbling-blocks in their way. *e. g.*

1. THE wicked *lives* of *Christians*: This hath tended very much to the hardening of the *Jew*. A man would not easily be tempted to a religion, which doth not make *him* better, who doth *profess* it: For Religion is good for nothing, if it doth not amend mens temper and manners. The first *Christians* were the best men, that the world ever saw; and had the succeeding ages of *Christians* trod in their steps, I can hardly believe, that there would have been left an unbelieving *Jew* in the *Christian* part of the world. But so it is, the *Christian* church is like the *image* in *Daniel*: The first and upper parts of it were *gold* and *silver*; if you come lower you will find *iron* and *clay*. The church of CHRIST at the first was pure and lovely: It did in after times degenerate, and that in so great a measure, that was a wise man to chuse his religion by the lives of them who profess it, perhaps *Christianity* would be the last religion he would choose. *Trypho* the *Jew* had ^c very little to say in his time upon this head: And 'tis worth our while to observe, how weak his charge is, when he toucheth upon the lives of *Christians*. His words are these, *Ex. vi.* i. e. *This* (says he) *we much wonder at, that you who profess godliness, and seem to be better than others, are yet no better than others, and differ not in your lives from the heathens.* Here's something that looks like a charge; but if you consider the following words of the *Jew*, you will find nothing in it. He goes on speaking to the *Christians*; *For that* (says he) *ye keep no feasts, nor sabbaths, nor retain circumcision, and place your hopes in a crucified man: And yet ye hope to receive good from GOD, when ye observe not his laws. Have you not read, that the soul that is not circumcised shall be cut off from among his people?* The case is plain, that he doth not here charge the *Christians* with vices and immoralities; their fault was, that they were not *Jews*: They were otherwise good men. But the later *Jews* do not stop here: They ^d charge the *Christians* too truly with their vices, and their disobedience to the *laws* of JESUS their master; which *Trypho* owned to be *great* and *admirable*. They reckon up their deviations from their rule, and are hardened by our evil lives, and tempted to reject JESUS, because his followers are very often the worst of men. The *Jews* live amongst debauched *Christians*, and are hardened by them. I have read of an *Italian Jew* that said, *That if he was a Christian, the vices and doctrines of Italy would strongly tempt him to disown that name.* And of a *Spanish Jew* that pretended to be turned *Christian*; who thereupon bragged, that *he had now lighted upon a religion, in which he could at once enjoy his beads and his whore.* Thus do we help to keep the *Jews* in their unbelief. I add,

2. THAT not only by our evil *lives*, but ^e many times by our weak *arguments* against the *Jews*, we tempt them to continue in their unbelief. It must be granted, that some of the *ancient*, and many of the *modern Christians* have defended their own doctrines, and disputed against the *Jews* with such weak and insufficient arguments, that they have thereby only hardened the *Jews*, and given a blow to their own cause. Many *Scriptures* have been misapplied; and the *Jews* been assaulted by noise and cla-

^e J. Mart. Dialog.

^d R. Isaac. Chizuk. l. 1. c. 49, 50. l. 2 c. 37.

^e R. Isaac.

^f l. c. 9, 10. Nizachon. Vet. p. 27, 28, 32, 55, 61, 62, 74, 117, 136, 142.

mour, by idle legends, and strained interpretations, rather than by all the rational ways of conviction. And very often *force* hath been used instead of *reasoning*; and instead of allowing them to be men of wit and sense, (as in truth they are) and treating them humanely, we have used them barbarously; and with great inhumanity *persecuted them*, whom we ought to have *convinced*. This the *Jews* are very sensible of; and do make great and just complaints of it in their writings: And this hath been another great occasion of their continuing in their unbelief.

3. MANY *doctrines* and undue *practices* continue in the *Christian* church; which are a *scandal* and *rock of offence* to the *Jews*. For they are so very unreasonable and absurd, and so directly contrary to their law, that wherever these prevail, there can be no hopes of bringing the *Jews* over to the *Christian* faith. I do profess, that if I had no other *idea* of *Christianity*, than what some of the *Jews* have, who live in *Popish* countries; and no other than what *Abravenel* and others had of it, who died a little before the *reformation*, I cannot see, what could ever induce me to become a *Christian*: But especially I should be far from it, had I been from my youth brought up in the law of *Moses*. The church of *Rome* hath very much to answer for in this matter. A great part of the latter *Jews* objections against the *Christian* religion are levelled against that *idea*, which they conceived of it from the avowed doctrines and practices of the church of *Rome*. For they looked upon that church as the standard of *Christianity*; and seem to have no other notion of it than what they receive thence. Hence it is that^f their books are so full of objections against the *Christian* religion: They object against the worship of *images*, and the sacrament of the *altar*; and so they justly may: For the *first* of these is directly against the letter of their *law*, and the *other none* of the institutions of *JESUS*. They dispute warmly against the doctrine of *transubstantiation*. This doctrine they are certain cannot be true: And if they cannot be certain of that, they can never be certain of any thing; and therefore not of their *own* religion, nor of the truth of *ours*: And then the *worship* and *adoration* of the *host*, which is *annexed* to it, is *idolatry*, by the confession of those who require it, if the doctrine on which it is built should chance to be false. They argue against the praying to saints, the doctrine of *purgatory*, *crossing* our selves when it *thunders*, *christening* of bells, the *necessity* of the *celibacy* of *priests*, and the *vowed* single life of *monks* and *nuns*; the receiving the *Apocryphal* books into the *canon* of *Scripture*. But all this is nothing to the purpose: These are indeed the doctrines and practices of the *Roman* church, but not of *CHRIST* and the *primitive Christians*; and therefore we are not bound to defend them, nor are we at all concerned in these objections of the *Jews*. And when^g *Abravenel* discourses against the *Pope* and *his followers*, as if they were the very *same* with all *Christians*; and when he interprets those places in *Daniel* (which *Christians* understood of *Anti-Christ*) of the *Pope* and *his church*, 'tis manifest that as to the *former*, he is under a great *mistake*; and for the *latter*, we have no *dispute* with him. He knew no other *Christianity* indeed in his time, than what he found in that church; and was harrassed and driven from place to place, and had conceived a great displeasure against that church: But we are obliged no farther to defend her,

^f Fortalitium fidei, p. 141. Jos. Albo. Ikkarim Par. iii. c. 25. Niz. vet. p. 252. Lipman. Niz. p. 11. Niz. vet. p. 128. R. Isaac. p. 383. Lipman. p. 16, & 25. Niz. vet. p. 23, 41, 43, 196. R. Isaac. p. 345.

^g Abravenel Comment, in Dan. fol. 75. p. 2.

than she keeps keeps to the doctrine and practice of CHRIST, and the first *Christians*.

IN the mean time the *Jews* are much to be pitied, who receive so much scandal from the *Romanists*, and are kept in their unbelief by the corrupt doctrines and practices of that apostatized church. Those of that communion will have a sad account to give, as well for having corrupted *Christianity*, the best religion in the world; as also for keeping the *Jews* from embracing it, and receiving the unspeakable benefits and advantages of it. They may please themselves in giving the *Jews* some protection in their countries, and encouraging their conversion, and bringing them to hear sermons; but cannot expect to see them become sincere converts, whilst their wicked doctrines and idolatrous practices obtain amongst them.

4. ANOTHER great stumbling-block, which we *Christians* have laid in their way, is the contentions and wars among us, and the several sects, factions, and schisms, that have divided the *Christian* church.

As for our *wars* and *quarrels*, it must be owned, 'tis a great reproach upon us; but still not to be imputed to our holy religion; and that matter, as it is objected against the *Christian* religion, shall be considered elsewhere.

As for our *sects* and *schisms*, it must be confessed that the charge is too true. But as this is not to be charged upon our religion, which tends to unite us; so it is certain, that there was a time (and I hope will be) when all *Christians* were of one heart and soul. This is a plain argument, that our *religion* divides us not: No, 'tis our *departure* from it, that hath done it. Besides, the *Jew* has no cause to object this against *our* religion, when during the standing of their *temple* they had their *sects* also; and when they were free from *idolatry*, they were not from *sectaries*: And to this day they have their *Karraites*, as well as their *Misnical* and traditional *Jews*. And the *Jew* that said, That if he would turn *Christian*, he could not tell of what *sect* he should be, said no more against *our* religion, than any *Christian* might have said against *theirs*.

BEFORE I put an end to this discourse, I cannot but represent unto the reader some *other* things, which are great obstacles to the *Jews* at this time, and render the hope of their *conversion* very faint and small. There is nothing that I can see, as things are at present, that can give us any hope: I mean, we have no prospect of it from any thing within our view, or outward appearance. Far be it from me to limit the all-mighty, or call in question any part of the divine revelation relating to this matter. I hope (and heartily pray for it) that there will come a time, when they will be added to the church; and when all impediments, which now hinder, will be taken out of the way. But this will be God's *doing*, and will be *wonderful in our eyes*. In the mean time, they seem to be very far from that blessed condition, and we can see no hopes of such a change. For,

FIRST, I fear, that there is not that done by *Christian* rulers, and people, that ought to be done towards their *conversion*. I will not so far digress here, as to shew, what is fit to be done to so good an end: I may (if God continue my life) consider that matter apart. *Christians* do indeed receive the *Jews* into their countries, They use them to many purposes relating to trade and traffick, to intelligence and correspondencies: But they have not (too often it hath been so) been treated with that humanity and tenderness, as becomes the *Christian* doctrine. Instead of that, they have sometimes
been

been severely persecuted and afflicted, and very often flouted and scoffed at; contemned as men of no wit, and not worthy of our notice or regard. We have wanted that compassion, which we ought to have for their souls, and have not treated them with due tenderness and regard: And this hath but hardened them in their obstinacy, and prejudiced them against our holy religion. Besides this, the study of the *Hebrew* language hath (I know not by what means) been too much laid aside, and we have by this neglect been less able to convince the *Jews*. 'Tis certain, that this study hath not only been neglected, but ridiculed also: Whereas nothing could be of greater use to us than a great skill, not only of the *Biblical Hebrew*, but the *Rabbinical* and *Talmudical* also, to enable us to convince the *Jews*. By such a skill we might be enabled to use their own weapons against them; and to dispute against them from the avowed principles of their ancient wise men, for whom they are very prone to express a profound regard. The *Jews* are well pleased with our neglect of these studies: And those of them that are now in *England*, have been observed of late years, when a learned *Christian* hath died, and his books have been exposed to sale, to buy the whole collection of *Jewish* books, that have been left, and consequently hinder the *Christians* from making use of these weapons against them. I knew a very choice collection or two of late thus unhappily disposed of.

SECONDLY, 'Tis very certain, that ^h the *Jews* are very careful in the education of their children. They teach them very early to read their law, and bring them up from their infancy, with wonderful diligence, in the knowledge of their *own* law, and in prejudices against the *Christian* doctrine. They are taught berimes to detest *Christians* and *Christianity*; and they permit not their children so much as to play with the children of *Christians*, for fear of receiving any pollution or infection from them. So that from their milk they are arm'd against the *Christian* doctrine. They have several books to this purpose, which contain filthy reflections upon *JESUS* and his doctrine; and among others, one in verse (which is easily got by heart) to furnish their learners with answers to the common objections made against them by *Christians*. Of how great moment this is to secure them in their obstinacy and incredulity, I need not represent to the reader.

THIRDLY, There is still this farther account to be given of the *Jewish* obstinacy and refusing the profession of *Christianity*; and 'tis this. The *Jews* do not only call by the opprobrious name of *apostates*; but are wont to follow with the most direful and dreadful execrations imaginable, them who forsake *Judaism*, and embrace *Christianity*. They teach, that such an apostate as this, *shall have no part in the world to come*; That, *his sin shall never be forgiven to eternal ages*. They spit at him, They call his children bastards, and his wife polluted and defiled; They refuse to eat and drink with him; They anathematize, They curse him three times a day morning and evening, And in this curse, they pray that *he may be cut off from hope*; They esteem him as an epicurean and an heretick; They condemn him and his family, And decline all affinities with them, be they never so wealthy; They insidiously lay wait for him; Him that kills him, they indemnify, and affirm, that he needs not repentance, but is to be esteemed, as if he had brought an oblation. When he dies, they say of him, *The name of the wicked shall rot*.

^h Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. c. 3. L. Moden. Cerem. & Conf. Jud. p. 3. c. 10. Lipmanni Carmen apud Wagenfel. Tela Ignea Satan. ●

If in his life-time any evils befall him, they say, *Thus let the enemies of the LORD perish; They rejoice in his fall; and make his goods common.* They follow him with many reproaches; When they mention him, they say, *Let his name and memory be blotted out, and let this apostate be our atonement; Woe be to him and to his soul; woe be to his father and mother, that brought him up and conceived him; woe be to his master, who taught him the law, &c.* This account we have from ¹ a Jewish writer, who lived near 300 years ago, and wrote a book call'd a *book of faith*, in which he undertakes to shew the causes, for which the *Jews*, though they are convinced of the truth, yet dare not profess the *Christian* faith. No man can doubt, but this conduct of the *Jews* doth tend very much to the keeping their people from becoming *Christians*. I had an account from a *Jew* himself, who told me, he was resolved to turn *Christian*: But with this man, after I had encouraged him to persist in that good resolution, when he was gone from me, the *Jewish synagogue* used such methods, that he came no more, but continues among them as before. I received an account from another, a young woman of a considerable fortune, that she was convinced of the truth of the *Christian* religion, and was in great affliction on that account, because she knew not how to profess *Christianity*, her father and uncle being alive, who would never allow it. She was unspeakably tormented on this occasion; I made means to speak with her father, I offered him to come to his house to discourse with his daughter before him, and before their *Chacham*, or preacher, or what other *Jews* he pleased. His answer was, He could not submit to it: Moreover he added, That if he admitted me to come to his house upon such an occasion, he should incur the displeasure of the *synagogue*; which he was not willing to do. He assured me also, that his daughter had no inclination to turn *Christian*, and that what I was inform'd of as to that matter, was by no means to be credited. I could proceed no farther. I am sufficiently assured that I was not mis-inform'd; and upon inquiry afterwards I was assured, that he threatned his daughter, that he would take away her life, if she durst for the future shew her inclinations to turn *Christian*.

LASTLY, The insincerity and wicked practices of those, who from being *Jews* have turned *Christians*, hath been a great obstacle and impediment to the conversion of the *Jews*. I will not enlarge upon this head, as I might: I take no pleasure in laying open the miscarriages of these wretches. The stories to this purpose are too well known. The fear of torments, the hope of preferment and gains, have prevailed with too many to profess the *Christian* religion, who are still *Jews* in their hearts, and give too great proofs of it when they come to die; and if they do not, yet their lives have been so profligate, that we cannot believe, that they have any sense of religion at all. I have seen too much of this my self, in that acquaintance which I have had with them; and many things upon this head might be collected from books. This hath proved of very fatal consequence; for as it hath hardened the *Jews*, so it hath discouraged *Christians* from endeavouring to make proselytes. It is not many years since, that I was informed, that there was a certain learned *Jew*, who was desirous to become a *Christian*: But then he that informed me, added, That at present this *Jew* wanted some pounds to redeem him out of prison. I replied, that he should

¹ Tractat. impres. Isnae, A. D. 1542. per Paul. Fagium. ●

be redeemed thence, and the mony be deposited, which he desired. I sent a very learned man to the prison to give me an account of the man: He found him, and inquir'd of him upon what *motives* he was inclined to turn *Christian*, he having declared his desire to change his religion; but soon found that it was a matter, that he had never considered, and was not able to make any kind of reply unto: It was all artifice, to get mony and relief. I will not be so uncharitable, as to think, that they are all hypocrites and bad men; God forbid, I should entertain such a thought; but I have too much cause to fear that, that too many of them are.

To conclude, We shall better now discern what our duty is, in order to the converting of the *Jews*, and how great a work and task it is. This should not discourage us from attempting it; but put us upon greater diligence, and proper methods. Something we may all do, *viz.* To pray earnestly to God for them, that he would remove the veil that is upon their hearts, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth.





C H A P. II.

The Jews objections against the credibility of the four gospels. Their objections reducible to four heads The two first considered in this Chapter, viz. I. That the history of the gospel is inconsistent with it self, or with the notoriety of the matter of fact. This they attempt to prove; from the genealogy of St. Matthew, compared with that of St. Luke; from the relation of JESUS his cursing the fig-tree; from the prayer of JESUS; Luke xxiii. 34. from the various relating of the resurrection of JESUS; and from those words, John ii. 20. Forty and six years was this temple in building. This must be understood of Herod's temple; whereas Herod reigned but thirty seven years, and finished his temple-building in eight years, as Ben Gorion affirms. The matter of the genealogy to be considered a-part: A particular answer to the other objections under this first head. II. The Jews pretend, that the History of the four Gospels is inconsistent with the law of Moses. This they attempt to prove from Mat. v. 34. compared with Deut. vi. 13. That what Moses commands in one place, JESUS forbids in the other; again JESUS calls the loving one another a new commandment and his commandment, John xiii. 34. and chap. xv. ver. 12. whereas in truth, it was a precept of Moses. Besides, polygamy and divorces, which were allowed by Moses, are forbidden by JESUS. A particular reply to these several objections.

HAVING before had occasion to shew, that the *writers* of the four gospels deserve belief as much as *Moses*, who wrote the *Pentateuch*: Or which comes to the same thing, that the *four Gospels* are as worthy of belief as the *five books* of *Moses*; it follows from thence unavoidably, that the *Jew*, who *believes* the *writings* of *Moses*, hath as great *reason* (I need not say greater) to *believe these* writings also. But because 'tis *otherwise* in matter of fact, I shall make a more particular search after the *reasons* of it. The *Jew* must pretend some *reasons* for this; and they must be fetched from the four gospels themselves. And indeed they do produce in their writings their objections against *these books*; which I shall more particularly consider. I think the main of them are reducible to these following general heads.

I. THAT the *history* of the four gospels is inconsistent with it self, or with the notoriety of matter of fact. And here they give several instances:

stances: That of the *genealogies* of St. *Mathew* and St. *Luke*; which they pretend are neither of them to the purpose, and that they agree not with one another. The history *Mark* xi. 13, 14. of JESUS's cursing the fig-tree, is another objection under this head. 'Tis very strange, that JESUS should then expect figs, or curse the fig-tree for not having them, when 'tis said, That *it was not the time of figs*. Again, JESUS prays for his crucifiers; *Father forgive them, &c.* This prayer (says the *Jew*) was heard, or not heard: If not heard, how can this consist with what JESUS says elsewhere *Joh.* xi. 41. and chap. xvi. ver. 23, 24. and with the *Christians* belief of the efficacy of CHRIST's intercession? If heard, how come *Christians* to impute the calamities of the *Jews* to their crucifying of JESUS? Again, they object, that the history of CHRIST's resurrection is so delivered by the four evangelists, as renders the whole relation justly liable to suspicion. Once more: 'Tis pretended that those words, *Joh.* xi. 20. *Forty and six years was this temple in building*, is utterly inconsistent with the matter of fact. This must be understood of *Herod's* temple; now he reigned but thirty seven years, and he finished the building his temple in eight years, as *Ben Gorion* doth affirm.

II. THAT the history of the four *Gospels* is inconsistent with the law of *Moses*. This is also an objection of great force; for we think, that we ought to receive *Moses* for a true prophet; and if JESUS require any thing *opposite* to his law, this will have its weight and deserve consideration. Under this head 'tis said, That whereas *Moses* commands to swear by the name of GOD, *Deut.* vi. 13. JESUS says to his followers, *Swear not at all*, *Matth.* v. 34. JESUS calls *the loving one another a new commandment*, *Joh.* xiii. 34. and elsewhere, *his commandment*, *Joh.* xv. 12. whereas in truth, 'twas a *precept of Moses*. Not to say, that *polygamy* and *divorces*, which were allowed by *Moses*, are forbidden by JESUS.

III. OTHER things are alledged out of the *gospels*, as inconsistent with the common belief of *Christians*. Thus *Matth.* i. 25. is urged as inconsistent with the belief of the perpetual virginity of the blessed *virgin*. Again, *Matth.* xix. 17. xx. 23. *Mark* vi. 5. xiii. 32. are alledged as inconsistent with the belief, that the *Christians* profess of the *divinity* of CHRIST. And lastly, those words, *Matth.* xii. 40. are urged as inconsistent with the account, which *Christians* give of the time between the death, and the resurrection of JESUS from the dead.

IV. THE four evangelists are charged with mis-quoting and mis-applying the testimonies, which they produce out of the *old Testament*, ver. 9. That they quote what is no where to be found, *Matth.* ii. 23. v. 43. *Joh.* vii. 38. xix. 28, 36. Or that they quote falsely, and with mistake, *Mark* ii. 26. *Matth.* xxiii. 35. xxvii. 9. Or else that they quote places nothing to the purpose, *Matth.* ii. 15, 17, 18.

I. I BEGIN with the *first* pretence, *viz.* that the history of the four *gospels* is inconsistent with it self, or with the notoriety of matter of fact.

(1.) AND here I should begin with the *genealogies* of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*: But that matter I will set aside here; and afterward consider it apart.

apart. The history of JESUS his cursing the fig-tree is therefore to be next considered.

(2.) MARK xi. 13, 14. It is^a said of JESUS, *That seeing a fig-tree a-far off having leaves, he came, if haply he might find any thing thereon. And when he came to it, he found nothing but leaves; for the time of figs was not yet. And JESUS answered and said unto it, No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever.* This is one of the objections of the *Jews* against the *new Testament*. Here^b the *Jew* urgeth, that if JESUS had been a divine person, he would never have expected fruit, where he could not but know, there was none: Nor is it reasonable to believe (nor for the honour of JESUS to have it reported of him) that he should curse a fig-tree without cause. He should rather have rendered the barren fig-tree fruitful. It is hard to conceive, why he should expect figs, or curse the tree for having none; when it is expressly said, *That the time of figs was not yet.* To expect figs out of season, and to curse the fig-tree for not bearing them at that time, is very surprising. The *Jew* who thus objects tells us, That he once met with a *Christian*, and urged him with this difficulty; who found it so great, that he was forced to forsake the *literal* sense, and fly for refuge to a *mystical* one. To this I answer,

1. THAT JESUS expected fruit, where he found none, is no proof that he was not a divine person. It is said of GOD, that *he looked (or expected) that his vineyard should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes*, Isa. v. 2. 'Tis enough, in this present case, that JESUS had just cause (as will appear afterward that he had) to expect fruit.

2. THAT JESUS cursed the fig-tree without cause, the *Jews* ought not to affirm; much less object it against him, 'Twas however without fruit, and therefore unprofitable at present; and 'twas (as is thought from, *Matth.* xxi. 19.) in the high-way, and so had no proprietor. The other miracles of JESUS were generally so many *rescues*, and *acts of kindness*: Those of *Moses* were often so many *plagues* and *infections*. They are very prone to find fault, who can accuse JESUS for cursing a barren fig-tree. The *Jewish* doctors have a saying *Fructus liberat arborem*. The wood which they burnt on the altar was such as bore no fruit. They are very squeamish, who find fault with JESUS for such an action as this.

3. THOSE words, *For the time of figs was not yet*, may be so explained, as to make the place very plain, and remove the force of this objection of the *Jews*. By the *time of figs* may well be understood the *time of gathering* them; when they were fully ripe, and must be gathered, or would fall from the tree. And then those words, *For the time of figs was not yet*, refer not to those words immediately foregoing, but to those before, where 'tis said, that JESUS seeing a fig-tree, *he came, if haply he might find any thing thereon*; and he might reasonably expect fruit as well as leaves, because the *fig-time*, that is, the time when figs were wont to be gathered, was not yet come.

HERE'S nothing forced in this interpretation, nothing but what the words will well bear, and what is very agreeable to the import of them. *Καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν* is the time of *gathering figs*. Thus *ὁ καιρὸς τῆς καρπῶν*, *The time of fruit* (*Mat.* xxi. 34.) signifies the time of *gathering fruit*. This, in *St. Mark*, is called the *time*, (*Mark* xii. 2.)

AND in the parable of the vineyard 'tis said of him that planted the vineyard, *καὶ ἐν καιρῷ*, and at the season (i. e. the *time of gathering* in the grapes, as

^a Mark xi. 13, 14.

^b M. S. L. N. 78. R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 30.

appears by the context; *he sent a servant to the husbandmen, that they should give him of the fruit of the vineyard*, Luke xx. 10. 'Tis said, that when the *spies* were sent into Canaan, *That the time was the time of the first ripe grapes*, (Num. xiii. 20.) *i. e.* The time when they were fit to be gathered, as appears from the context. (compare ver. 20. with ver. 23.) Nor is any thing more frequent in common speech: That is the *time or season* of a thing, when 'tis gathered, and taken in. That is called the *hop-time*, and *hemp-time*, &c. when these things are gathered: And so the *time of figs*, or *fig-time* may well denote the time of gathering them in.

THERE is no reason, why any man should object against connecting these words, *for the time of figs was not yet*, with those which tell us, That JESUS came expecting figs, and nor with those immediately preceding them. For besides the examples to this purpose in the *old Testament*, St. Mark himself doth elsewhere give an example of like nature. Speaking of those who came to the sepulchre of JESUS, he says, *They said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone?* It follows, *And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away*: And after this 'tis added, *For it was very great* (Mark xvi. 3, 4.) Where it is manifest that those words, *For it was very great*, are not to be connected to those which go immediately before them, but to those in the *third* verse.

IN the *old testament* we may find several places, where certain words are not connected to those immediately preceding, but to others at a greater distance, *e. g.* 'Tis said that *Lot beheld all the plain of Jordan*, that it was well watered every where, *before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zohar*, Gen. xiii. 10. Those words, *As thou comest unto Zohar*, cannot be connected unto *the land of Egypt*, mentioned just before, but to the plain of *Jordan*, to which it did belong. Again, *Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of GOD, and took a great stone, and set it up there, under an oak, that was in the sanctuary of the LORD*, Josh. xxiv. 26. Those words, *in the sanctuary*, refer to the *book of the law*, which was there; and not to the *oak*, which was not in the *sanctuary*.

4. As for what the *Jew* tells of the *Christian*, I am little concerned in it. He needed not to forsake the *literal* sense: And yet I would not contend with *him*, that should affirm, that there is some *mystery* in this matter.

IF the *Christian*, which the *Jew* speaks of, did affirm, that there was a *mystical* sense of this passage, he said no more than what the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers, and the later *Christian* writers have also affirmed. This passage is by them applyed; to the *Jewish* synagogue and *Pharisaical* traditions, and the unprofitableness of their legal observances: And it is easie to produce many testimonies to this purpose. JESUS was ready to suffer; and he might think fit by this miracle to confirm his followers against that time of tryal. And moreover, 'tis probable that the cursing the fig-tree was *Enigmatical*, and that it signified the approaching malediction and rejection of the *Jewish* nation. We find in St. *Matthew*, after this matter is related, what our SAVIOUR adds, *Therefore say I unto you, the kingdom of GOD shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof*, Matth. xxi. 43. which will receive farther confirmation from our SAVIOUR's words elsewhere; and they are these: *A certain man had a fig-tree planted in his vineyard, and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none*: Hereupon, he commanded that it should be cut down, and no longer
cumber

cumber the ground, (Luk. xiii. 6, 7.) GOD grant, that the *Jews* may lay this matter to heart!

5. There is one thing more, that I shall add: The *Jew* says, That the *Christian*, against whom he objected this difficulty, was forced to *forsake* the *literal* sense and fly for *refuge*, to a *mystical* one. The credit of this passage depends upon the veracity of this *Jew*: But let us take it for granted, that the *Christian* did recur to a *mystical* sense; yet doth it not thence follow, that he forsook the *literal*: And this will appear from principles owned among the *Jews*. *Abravanel*^c teacheth quite another doctrine: He thinks the *literal* and *mystical* sense very consistent with each other. The history of the creation is expounded *mystically* by the *Jews*; but yet the facts, as related by *Moses*, are not therefore called in question. We *Christians* do not disallow a *mystical* sense in this matter; but still we do not, and I am sure, that we ought not to destroy the *literal*. And allowing a *mystery* in this account given by the evangelists of the fig tree, which was cursed; yet this doth not destroy the *literal* sense. No *Christian* can deny the faith and truth of the relation. We very well know, that the structure of the tabernacle and vestments of *Aaron* are by *Josephus*, by *Philo*, by *R. Bechai* (to name no more) expounded by way of *Midrash*, in a *mystical* sense: Doth it thence follow, that these (or any other *Jews* that do the same) do deny the *literal* sense? They are far from it; and we should be very unjust, if we should charge so foul a crime upon them. The *Christian*, with whom this *Jew* argued, might perhaps be puzzled: But 'tis certain, he could not by his principles deny the truth of the *Relation*: And his telling the *Jews*, that there was a *mystery* in that matter; doth not so much as imply, that he denied the *fact*. If a *mystical* sense destroys the *literal*, the law of *Moses* will be destroyed by the *Jews* themselves: The *Jews* are great admirers of the *letter* of their *law*; but yet allow it to be full of type and *Mystery*. *R. Bechai*^d tells us, more than once, that the *whole law* is all of it nothing but *מִטְוֵה* i. e. *types*, or insinuations of some other thing: *Abravanel*^e tells us, 'Tis fit, that we should expound the section of the creation according to the *letter*; but then he is for the *mystical* sense also, which he makes the *spirit* or better part of the law. *A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver*; This is expounded by *Maimonides*^f to my present purpose. The letter of *scripture* is the *pictures* in *silver*, the curious net work, that encompasses something that is more precious; which is here compared to the *apples of gold*, which are contained and enclosed, and something obscured also, by these *pictures of silver*. *

(3.) AGAIN,

^c *Abravanel* in *Legem*, fol. 25. col. 3, 4.
fol. 166. c. 3.

^e *Ubi supra* *Prov.* xxv. 11.

^d *R. Beachai* in *Legem*. fol. 162. c. 3. &
^f *Maimonides* *Præfat.* in *More Nevochim*.

* To this I shall only add the exposition of the Reverend Dr. Whitby on the text, who takes notice of this comment in the following words. There is another ingenious exposition of a reverend and learned Bishop, that *הַזֵּמָן הַזֶּה* is the time of gathering in of figs, of which signification of the word *הַזֵּמָן* he gives two or three instances, and then it seems unreasonable for our SAVIOUR to expect some figs upon this tree, they not being yet gathered in, and to curse it for having none upon it, when none had been taken from it; and could I find it proved, that any, even the *Biccaroth* or first ripe figs, mentioned *Jer.* xxxiv. 2. and *Hos.* ix. 10. were fit to be gathered in at the passover, I should acquiesce in this interpretation. (For CHRIST is supposed to have come to Jerusalem in triumph ver. 1. on the 9th day of the month *Nisan*, which was then the first day of the week, and answers to our Palm Sunday, and in this year happened to be on March 29. But the words cited from *Cant.* ij. 13. and *Mat.* xxiv. 32. seem to prove, that the fig-tree only began to put forth her leaves, and her green figs, at the entrance of the summer: Wherefore let it be noted, that St. Mark doth not by these words, for the time of figs was not yet, design to give a reason, why our LORD found no figs

(3.) AGAIN, JESUS prays for his crucifiers, Luke xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* These are the words of JESUS, and admitting them so to be, the ^s Jew pretends, that this text would alone subvert the whole *Christian* religion. And thus he argues; We *Christians* commonly say, that the *Jews* suffer great miseries for putting our JESUS to death. If this be true (says the *Jew*) GOD did not hear the prayer of JESUS, nor did his intercession avail on their behalf. If *Christians* grant, that JESUS was heard, they ought not to impute the calamities, which have befallen *them*, to their crucifying of JESUS. To say that JESUS was not heard, when he thus prayed to GOD, is not only in it self very hard for any *Christian* to affirm, but very inconsistent with the doctrine of the *new Testament*. For JESUS himself elsewhere said, *Father, I thank thee, that thou hearest me; and I knew that thou hearest me always* Joh. xi. 41, 42. And *Christians* do expect great benefits from the intercession of JESUS; and are taught so to do by JESUS himself. *Verily, verily, I say unto you* (says JESUS) *whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.* Again, *At that day ye shall ask in my name; and I say not unto you, that I will pray the Father for you,* chap. xvi. 23, 26.

IN answer whereunto I desire the following particulars may be considered.

I. THAT we do grant, that GOD heard this prayer of JESUS; and yet for all that the *Jews* are justly charged to this day for crucifying and rejecting JESUS, and may for that sin be justly said to suffer. Could the *Jew* have made it appear, that JESUS in that prayer had not been heard, he had said something to the purpose. However, we do not object against the divine mission of *Moses*, tho' the people were punished, for whom he passionately begged pardon: *Exod.* xxxii. 32, 33, 35. *Numb.* xiv. 19, 23. And yet it 'tis certain, that GOD heard *Moses*. But here's no proof at all, that JESUS was not heard for those men, for whom he prayed; we know very well, that many of the *Jews* were after this received into CHRIST's church, and were pardoned: Nor have we any cause to think, that any of *them*, for whom JESUS prays, were forgotten.

figs upon this tree, but why he only went to this one tree, which had leaves on it, and so was of that kind of figs, which saith *Theophrastus*, *Hist. Plant.* l. 4. c. 2. was αἰὲν φύλλον, or as *Pliny*. saith l. 13. c. 8. semper comantibus foliis, a fig-tree that had always leaves; and why he expected to find fruit on that, which upon the other ordinary fig-trees abounding there, he could not expect, the time of ordinary figs being not yet: For this kind of fig-tree being ever green with leaves, had saith *Theophrastus* ἄμα καὶ τὸ ἔνουν, καὶ τὸ νέον κάρπον, old and new fruit hanging on it together, the fruit of the year past and present, say the *Jewish* doctors. Accordingly *Julian the Apostate*, *epist.* 24. speaking of the fruit of *Damascus*, saith, Some of them were of a short duration, μόνον δὲ τὸ σῦκα κατένευεν ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ τὸ μέλλοντος κάρπου γινώσκει συνεισφέρειν. Only the fig-tree carries its fruit above a year, and it hangs on with the fruit of the following year. And thus was this fig-tree a fit resemblance of the *Jewish* nation, to whom alone CHRIST came in person, and from whom alone he could then expect fruit; whence they are in another parable represented by a fig-tree, from which the Husbandman three years expected fruit, but found none *Luke* xiii. 7. and therefore is there ordered to be cut down, and here they are emblematically cursed for their barrenness, The kingdom of GOD being shortly to be taken from them, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. *Mat.* xi. 43. *Orig. n. Edit.* *Huet.* To. 1 p. 446. saith, This fig-tree was δένδρον τοῦ λαοῦ. A tree representing the people of the *Jews*. Saying ἡμυχός ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ σῦκα. This was a living fig-tree, and therefore heard a curse suitable to its condition; For διὰ τὸτε ἀκαρπὸς εἶναι ἡ Ἰουδαίων συναγωγή, καὶ τὸτο γίνεσθαι αὐτὴ ὡς ἡ συναγωγή τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὡς τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εισέλθῃ, and therefore the Synagogue of the *Jews* is unfruitful, and shall continue so, till the fullness of the Gentiles doth come in.

2. IT is to be considered for *whom* JESUS prays, *viz.* for those who had an hand in his last sufferings, and were ignorantly in the fact; those *who knew not what they did*. The *present Jews* approve of their *fathers* practice, and *continue* to reject JESUS: And whereas some of their *fathers* sinned thro' *ignorance*, it doth not therefore follow, that the *present Jews* do so also: Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that the prayer of JESUS, which prevailed for those who sinned ignorantly, should also prevail for their stubborn posterity; for whom he cannot be presumed to pray in this place at all. These *Jews*, that did despite to JESUS were ignorant that he was the CHRIST. They saw him condemned, and rejected by their *wise men*; and had not all the means to convince them, which the *after-Jews* had. They reviled him on the *cross*; and whilst he *was numbered with transgressors*: Those *who followed them* rejected him after the *greatest means* of conviction, which followed *after* his *crucifixion*. Such were his *resurrection*, and the most ample *proofs* of it; his visible *ascension* into *heaven*; his stupendous sending the HOLY GHOST at the day of *Pentecost*; the mighty *miracles* wrought by his *followers*; the *spreading* the *Christian doctrine* by the divine blessing upon it; the *full revelation* of this doctrine; the *exemplary lives of Christians*, their *martyrdoms*, and *conquest* over the world by *sufferings*. After all this, and after they have been often deluded by *impostors*, the *present Jews* approve of the crucifixion of JESUS, and reject his holy religion; and therefore are greater sinners than their fathers, and justly suffer for their sin.

3. THO' JESUS doth intercede for his followers, and GOD hears him; yet have *they* no help from hence, who reject him and his holy doctrine, after all the means that GOD hath given them to convince them of the truth: And the places alledged are therefore nothing to the purpose, for which they are produced.

4. TO what hath been said, I add, that if the matter be duly examined, it doth not appear, that JESUS did pray for the nation of the *Jews*, when he said, *Father, forgive them*; but for the soldiers, who executed the sentence of *Pilate*, and did him very great injuries. If this be true, this alone is a sufficient answer. Let us see, what ground we have to affirm this from the holy *Evangelists*. 'Tis certain, that after *Pilate's* sentence, the soldiers *took* JESUS to execute this sentence, *Matth.* xxvii. 27. They stripped him, put on him scarlet, crown'd him with thorns, spit on him, and mocked him, &c. gave him vinegar and gall, and at last crucified him, *ver.* 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35. This appears farther from *St. Mark, chap.* xv. from *ver.* 16. to *ver.* 25. where also the *soldiers* are expressly said to have crucified him. If we compare *Luk.* xxiii. 33, 34. it will appear, that JESUS prayed for these poor ignorant *soldiers*, who were the blind executioners of *Pilate's* sentence. For that the *soldiers* did execute the sentence, and crucify our SAVIOUR, is farther evident still from *Joh.* xix. 23. If this be true (as it is evident that it is) the *Jews* objection is of no force at all: So far is it from *subverting the whole Christian religion*, as the *Jew* vainly pretends. I may add, that this prayer in behalf of the *soldiers* was also heard; and we have a very remarkable account of this matter, how they were brought to a right faith. *Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching JESUS, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly, this was the son of GOD, Matth.* xxvii. 54. Here we see the *centurion* and *his soldiers* (for they were
the

the soldiers that watched JESUS, as is evident from *ver.* 36.) brought to a right faith. They said, *Truly, this was the Son of GOD.* St. John tells us, *Whosoever shall confess, that JESUS is the Son of GOD, GOD dwelleth in him and he in GOD,* 1 Joh. iv. 15. This is a fundamental article, *Matth.* xvi. 16, 18. and not revealed by flesh and blood, *ver.* 17.

(4.) AGAIN they object, that the history of CHRIST's resurrection is so delivered by the four *Evangelists*, as renders the whole relation justly liable to suspicion.

I MUST add, to what hath been said, something concerning the history of CHRIST's resurrection from the dead, as that matter is reported, with some variety indeed, by the *several Evangelists*; because I find a certain *Jewish* writer object it against the credit of the *Evangelists*, who relate that matter. Two things I find ^h objected to this purpose: *First*, The different relation of the *time*, when the women came to the sepulchre. St. *Matthew*, ⁱ hath it, *as it began to dawn*; St. *Mark*, ^k *at the rising of the sun*; St. *Luke*, ^l *very early in the morning*; St. *John*, ^m *early when it was yet dark*. This is thought of force to weaken their testimony. *Secondly*, He objects, that ⁿ whereas St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* mention *one* man (or angel) St. *Luke* and St. *John* mention *two*. In answer whereunto I shall distinctly consider these objections; and in answer to the *first* I offer the following *particulars* to be considered.

1. I WILL not take any advantage of any various readings; much less call in question any part of St. *Mark*'s relation, as if it had not been written by him: There is no need of using any such shift or art; I see no such difficulty in the matter: And I will take the relation, as it lies before us in our present copies.

2. IT hath been said by some, that the women went to the sepulchre *twice*; and if this be admitted (and it cannot be disproved) this will remove the whole difficulty: For then that variety as to the *time*, which is found in the *Evangelists*, can offend no reader; because some *Evangelists* speak of the first, and the other of their second coming; and this would at the same time remove the other difficulty concerning the *one* angel and the *two*. But I shall not lay any stress upon this; but take it for granted, that the four *Evangelists* speak of one and the same thing.

3. WHAT difficulty there is in this matter, is owing to the *reader* and not to the *text* of the *Evangelists*: The common reader *confounds* those things, which are sufficiently *distinguished* by the *Evangelists*. For as to this relation concerning these women, there are three things, which are mentioned, that are to be distinguished into *three* several *times*; the not heeding of which hath been the true cause, why men have so much blundered in this matter. The three things that are said of them are these, *viz.* Their *buying of spices*, their *setting forth* from the *city*, and their *coming to the sepulchre*: And *each* of these had its *distinct* time allotted to it.

FIRST, The *buying of spices*. And this was done sometime before their *setting forth* from the *city*, and *coming* to the *sepulchre*. This they *had* done (St. *Mark* tells us expressly) *when the sabbath was past*. 'Tis enough, that these women were furnished with their spices at the end and close of the *sabbath*; and this is that, which St. *Mark* is very express in.

^h M. S. Lusit. n. 192, 193. ⁱ Matth. xxviii. 1. ^k Mark. xvi. 2. ^l Luk. xxiv. 1.
^m Joh. xx. 1. ⁿ Matth. xxviii. 2, 3, 4, 5. Mar. xvi. 5. Luk. xxiv. 4. Joh. xx. 12.

SECONDLY, The time of their *setting forth from the city*: St. Matthew relates this to have been done, *in the end of the sabbath*; ἐν τῇ σάββατον. I know *that* this expression hath created some difficulty, and the rendering of the *vulgar Latin* hath increased it: But there is no such thing in the words, as they lie in St. Matthew. The word ἐν signifies *late*; and also it signifies *after*. Thus ἐν τῇ ῥῆτον in *Plutarch* hath been observed to signify, as much as *after* these things. And it is very plain, that it signifies thus in this place. *At the end of the sabbath* is as much as *after the sabbath*. And this will farther appear by comparing this place with the parallel place in St. Mark; there St. Mark relating the time when the women had furnished themselves with spices (which they did before they set forth from the city) tells us, It was *when the sabbath was past*; *cum transisset sabbatum*, V. L. St. Matthew goes on to describe the time more precisely, *as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week*; i. e. upon break of day; and that day which as approaching was the first day of the week. Indeed St. John says, it was *early, when it was yet dark*. This doth not contradict St. Matthew, but agrees perfectly with him; for it may well be said to be *yet dark*, when it doth but begin to dawn. These women were up or stirring betimes; but all this was but in order to their going to the sepulchre: There must be some time allowed from their first rising to their arrival at the sepulchre. They may be supposed to tarry some little time for one another, to spend some in preparing of things, and some more in their journey. That they rose early in order to their going to the sepulchre, we are assured by the *Evangelists*. Nor will it be hard to assign the cause of their rising early: Their *sabbath* was newly over: The body of JESUS was indeed laid in a new sepulchre of *Joseph's*; there it was laid at present, *because of the Jews preparation day*, and because the *sepulchre was nigh at hand*. The women were secure, that during the *sabbath* the body of JESUS would not be stirred; but lest it should now be laid elsewhere, they get up early, and that in order to betake themselves to the sepulchre with their spices.

THIRDLY, The *time of their arrival* at the sepulchre. It was very convenient, that it should be a clear light when they came thither, that they might be able to distinguish one thing from another; and not be liable to imposture and a cheat, as people are in the dark: And it was so, that when they came thither, they had a clear light, as became *them* to have, who were to be witnesses of the resurrection of JESUS. St. Mark^o tells us expressly, That *they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun*. The *vulgar* renders it, *Orto jam sole*, i. e. The sun being up. But the *Greek* doth not import so much: For 'tis in the *Greek* ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. The participle is an *Aorist*; and consequently doth not denote the very precise time, but is more indefinite: And therefore if the sun were *rising*, or newly *risen*, it would be agreeable enough to the import of the *Greek* word; which admits (as all *Grammarians* know) of some *latitude*.

As for the *other* part of the objection, that two of the *Evangelists* mention *two* angels, and the other *one*, let the *Jew* make the most of it, it will not lessen the credit of the relation: And I will give it all the force, which I can. St. Matthew mentions but *one* angel, chap. xxviii. 2, 5. St. Mark calls him a *young man*, chap. xvi. 5. St. Luke says, *two men*, chap. xxiv. 4. St. John hath it, *two angels*, chap. xx. 12. So that none of them

^o Mark xvi. 2.

use the same expression in this relation. That all this doth not in the least degree lessen the credit of the *Evangelists*, will appear, if we duly consider the following *particulars*.

1. THAT they should be called *angels* by one, and *men* by another, hath no difficulty in it; because as they were *angels* and messengers from GOD; so they appeared in a *human shape*; and one *Evangelist* calls them what they *really* were, the other what they *appeared* to be. And both one and the other are justified by the *old Testament*. We read of *three men*, Gen. xviii. 2. No man doubts, but these were *angels*; and the *Jerusalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan* upon the place understand it so; the latter of which, upon ver. 16. tells us expressly, that they were *angels like unto men*, or in human shape. Two of these are expressly called *angels*, Gen. xix. 2, 15. And yet the very same in the same chapter are called *men*, ver. 8, 10, 12. This doth abundantly justify the *Evangelists*: For why may not one call *them* *angels*, whom the others calls *men*, when *Moses* in the same narration, calls the same persons both *angels* and *men*? Again, the person that appeared to *Gideon* is called an *angel*, Judg. vi. 11, 12, 20, 21. but yet he appeared as a *man*, ver. 22. And he that appeared to *Manoah's* wife is called an *angel*, Judg. xiii. 3, 9, 13, 15. And so he really was; but then he appeared in the shape of a *man*, and is called a *man*, ver. 6, 8, 10, 11.

2. THAT one *Evangelist* should mention *one*, and another *two*, hath nothing strange in it; so far it is from a contradiction. One *Evangelist* doth not affirm, that there was *but* one; this indeed would have clashed with him who affirms, that there were *two*. St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* make mention of one; and they thought it enough to their purpose. 'Twas not needful, that each *Evangelist* should relate every particular; 'tis enough that they speak not inconsistently. There were *three* angels, who appeared to *Abraham*; and yet he speaks to them as *one*, Gen. xviii. 3, 4. *Two* appeared to *Lot*; and yet he speaks to them as *one*, Gen. xix. 18, 19. compare ver. 21. And why should it seem strange, that when there were *two* at our LORD's resurrection, two of the *Evangelists* should only make mention of *one*?

3. THE reason why these two *Evangelists* mention only *one*, seems to be this, because but *one* angel spake tho' in the name of both. Nor is it any objection of force, which may be fetched from St. *Luke* against this, that he says, *they said*, chap. xxiv. 5. For such an Enallage of number is very frequent with the *sacred writers*; and besides it seems to be used in this very case, Gen. xviii. 9. we read, *They said unto him, Where is Sarah*, &c. And yet it is probable, and very highly so, that but *one* of them said it. The LXXII interpreters render it by *ἐν, he said*. And the context justifies their version: For when *Abraham* had answered, That *Sarah* was in the tent, it follows, *and he said*, i. e. *and one of them said*, as it is in the *Targum* of *Jonathan* upon the place; which agrees well with what the same author says upon ver. 2. that *one of three* (which appeared to *Abraham*) was employed to bring the tidings, that *Sarah* should bring forth a son. And then, *they said* in St. *Luke*, doth not necessary imply any more than this, that *one* of them said. This needs not to seem strange to a *Jew* at all; when *Maimonides* ^p affirms it to be the language of the *Misna*; where when there is mention of the *wise men*, no more is sometimes

^p Præfat. in Seder Zeraim.

by it, than *one* only of that number. Besides this, we do very well know, that the *plural* number is used in the *Hebrew* text of the *old Testament*, when yet there is but *one* person referred to by that expression. I shall give some instances of this, which are beyond all exception. *Gen.* xlv. 7. we have mention of the *daughters* of *Jacob*; when yet it is certain, that he had but one, *viz.* *Dinah*; and she alone must be meant in that place: Compare *ver.* 15. Again *ver.* 23. *Hushim* alone is called the *sons* of *Dan*. Compare this place with *Numb.* xxvi. 42. To which may be added the words of *Sarah*, *Gen.* xxi. 7. *Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should have given children suck? For I have born him a son in his old age.* This way of speaking may seem to us very odd and uncouth; but yet 'tis a way of speaking used among the *Hebrew* writers; and therefore ought not to be objected by a *Jew* against an *Evangelist*.

To what hath been said, I may add, That the *Jew*, who makes these objections, cannot possibly make any advantage of them against our common *Christianity*, among those who will give themselves the leisure to consider the matter with due application. Such objections as these are too trifling to weaken our belief of *Christianity*, and to make profelytes for *Judaism*. For,

FIRST, There are far greater difficulties in the *old Testament*, in those relations of matters of fact, which are reported in the books thereof; and yet both we and the *Jews* receive those books, and own their authority, and think we have good cause so to do.

SECONDLY, As the *Evangelists* agree perfectly in the *main* of their relation; so this *variety*, by which they express themselves, serves rather to *strengthen* than to *weaken* our faith. This is an argument, that these men did not by any secret compact agree to put off a lye and a cheat upon the world. If they had done this, they might have avoided this *variety* of relation; that as which would have rendered their whole relation suspected.

THIRDLY. That the above named objections are so slight and trifling, that *R. Isaac*, who runs over the whole *new Testament*, book by book, with a design to raise objections against it, and raiseth a great many against several parts of the four *Evangelists*; yet when he comes to those chapters, where they relate the resurrection of *JESUS*, he makes none of these objections against the relation; which is an argument, that *he* did not think, that there was any inconsistency in the relation it self. For he would not have passed by any thing of moment in this matter, which he thought would have lessened the credit of that account, which is given of the resurrection of *JESUS*; this being of all others that *article* of *Christian* belief, which the *Jews* disbelieve and oppose; and which is the foundation of the *Christian* faith.

As to any *other* difficulty, which some men may find in the *Evangelists* relation of the resurrection of *JESUS*, I am not obliged to take notice of it in this place: Tho' I do not know of any of moment; and am very certain, that there is none, that can give any trouble to a wise and good man.

(5.) ONCE more, 'Tis^a pretended that those words, *Joh.* ii. 20. *Forty and six years was this temple in building*, is utterly inconsistent with the matter of fact. Here the *Jew* accuseth the *Evangelists* for reporting such an answer of the *Jews*, as he supposeth they could not give. For the temple (says he)

^a R. Isaac l. 2. c. 43.

that

that, which *Herod* built, was standing in the time of *JESUS*: Now *Herod* reigned but *thirty seven years* in all; and the temple which he built, was finished in *eight years*, as *Joseph Ben Gorion* testifies; and therefore it could not be *forty six years* in building. I answer,

1. THAT tho' the *Jew* brings this as an objection against the gospel; yet in truth there is hardly any thing in it. For neither *JESUS* nor the *Evangelists* affirm any thing here as to the forty six years; *St. John* tells, what the *Jews* said indeed to our SAVIOUR; this is all: And if the *Jews* speak any thing that is not true, I know not why the reporter of matter of fact should lose any credit by it. And I cannot but like the answer of *Nicol. de Lyra*: His ^r words are these, *Quadraginta & sex annis ædificatum est templum; hoc non est multum curandum: quoniam non est verbum Christi nec evangelistæ, nisi tantum referendo: sed est verbum Judæorum deridendo Christum: ut dictum est, contra quem multa falsa dixerunt, ut refert evangelista.* 'Tis a very unreasonable thing to question the relators credit, because he reports other men to have affirmed what they ought not: And if the *Jew* urge, that 'tis not credible the *Jews* should ever say these words, because they are so gross an untruth, and so very palpable, I answer,

2. THAT the *Jew*, who makes this objection, doth not give us any sufficient ground to believe the words themselves to contain any such gross untruth. I will not call in question, what he says of the reign of *Herod*, nor of the *eight years* in which his building was finished: I'll admit *Joseph Ben Gorion* for a good witness in this matter; and let the *Jew* make the most of this. Thus much is certain, that the *Jews* own but *two* temples to have been built at this time, when these words were spoken; That of *Solomon*, and a second built after their return from the captivity of *Babylon*. Whatever *Herod* built, 'tis most certain 'twas not owned to be a *third* temple, as ^r a learned *Christian* hath proved at large. Of this ^r *second* temple the *Jews* must be understood here: And tho' I am not obliged to defend these *Jews*, by proving that the second temple, from the first beginning of its foundation to its finishing, took up the space of forty and six years; yet 'tis evident, that if it did not take up all that space, and that what the *Jews* say be an error, yet 'tis not a palpable one; much less is it an error, that ought to be imputed to the *Evangelist*. The *Jew* ought to have proved it an error first, and then to be imputed to the *Evangelist*; neither of which doth he attempt to do.

3. WHATEVER *Herod* built, had (when these words were spoken) been begun forty six years before: And as it was then a great and glorious building, and had stood near forty years, so it was not likely, that *JESUS* should be able to destroy and rebuild it in three days; which is that which the *Jews*, mistaking our LORD's meaning, affirm here. For I do grant, that the *Jews* in this place spake of the temple, which *Herod* began to build. This work he began in the eighteenth year of his reign, as *Josephus*^u tells us expressly. And though he did very much in this his undertaking, and advanced the work to a great measure; yet it doth appear from the same *Josephus* in ^x another place, that the temple was a building not only till these words were spoken, but even to the days of *Nero*: And though *Herod* spent eight years in his great work; yet there were buildings after this

^r N. de Lyra in Joh. ii. 20.

^r C. L' Empereur præfac. in Middoth.

jote, Not. Joh. ii. 20.

V. Petr. Possini Spicilegium ad Marcum, p. 435.

l. 15. c. 14.

^x Ibid. lib. 20. c. 8.

^r V. P. Ame-

^u Joseph. Antiqu.

upon the holy ground, and workmen employed in great numbers many years after. *Herod* died ^y thirty seven years after he was declared *king* by the *Romans*. From his beginning to build to his death were nineteen years. From *his* death to the thirtieth year of *JESUS*, when he entered on his publick ministry, were twenty seven years: In all, forty six years. Here is an exact agreement as to the time: And this account is enough to justify the *Jews* in this place; much more the *Evangelists*; and sure it ought to satisfy *those Jews*, who make this *objection* against the *Evangelist* also.

NOR is this testimony of ^z *Josephus* invalidated, by what the same author says of this matter in another place. He says indeed elsewhere, That *Herod* did this work in the fifteenth year of his reign; where he seems to speak inconsistently with himself, and to give an account that will not agree with these words in the *Evangelist*. But 'tis evident, that his testimony is so far from being invalidated hereby, that it is rather corroborated. For *Josephus*^a explains himself in another place, where he tells us, That *Herod* reigned from the time, that he overcame *Antigonus* thirty four years, but from the time that he was declared *king* by the *Romans* thirty seven years: According to which account, the fifteenth of his reign from the death of *Antigonus* is the same with the eighteenth, from the declaring him to be *king* by the *Romans*. I am very much confirmed in this account of this matter, by what I have since met with to the same purpose, in a very learned writer. viz. *Rob. Pontanus*. See his Book, *De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis*, cap. xviii.

I ADD, That the word *ᾠκοδομήθη* in *St. John*, doth not imply, that the whole building was finished and compleated, when those words were spoken; for that it was not, appears from what hath before been related from *Josephus*: And we find that very word used in *Ezra*: There *Tatnai* and his companions in their letter to *Darius* speak of the laying the foundation of the house of *GOD*, and add, *Since that time until now ᾠκοδομήθη, καὶ ἐκτελείθη* (so the LXXII.) *hath it been in building, and yet it is not finished*, *Ezra* v. 16.

II. THAT the *history* of the four *Gospels* is inconsistent with the law of *Moses*: This is also an objection of great force: For we think, that we ought to receive *Moses* for a true prophet; and if *JESUS* requires any thing opposite to *his* law, this will have its weight, and deserve consideration.

(I.) UNDER this head 'tis said, That whereas *Moses* commands to *swear by the name of GOD*, *Deut. vi. 13*. *JESUS* says to his followers, *Swear not at all*. *Mat. v. 34*. But I say unto you *swear not at all*, &c. Here the *Jews* charge *JESUS* with false doctrine; and that whereas he pretended, that he did not *come to destroy the law*; yet he destroys a *moral* precept. For *swearing* was such an one; and is one of the *affirmative* precepts of this kind under the law of *Moses*, and placed among the *moral* precepts also. Thus 'tis written, *Thou shalt fear the LORD thy GOD, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name*, (*Deut. vi. 13*.) In answer to this,

I. IT is to be considered, what *JESUS* teacheth in this matter. He doth not absolutely forbid all swearing; this is manifest from his own words. He forbids indeed those *forms*, which the *Jews* had taken up of swearing by the creature; and he forbids the needless and common use of swearing;

^y Id. de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 21.
^b Vid. Fortalit. fidei, l. 3.

^z De Bell. Judaic. l. 1. c. 16.

^a Ib. c. 21.

neither

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neither by heaven &c. But let your communication be yea, yea; &c. The Jews were wont to swear by the creature; and too readily to absolve themselves from the obligation of those oaths. And we have evidence of this sufficient, not only^c from the new Testament, but from the Jews, and Heathens also:

Ecce negas, jurasque mihi per templa tonantis.

Non credo; jura, verpe, per Anchialum.

That JESUS doth not forbid all swearing, is very plain from this, that^d St. Paul, one of his most eminent followers, doth even in his epistles make use of an oath, in certain cases of great moment. If all swearing had been unlawful, he who professed himself a disciple of JESUS, and an instructor of others in his religion, would not have left upon record such testimonies against himself. But JESUS never intended to forbid all swearing; and is so far from drawing men off from swearing by the name of GOD, as the Jews were obliged by the law of Moses, that he forbids the swearing by any creature whatsoever: And when JESUS forbids the swearing by any creature, he is so far from destroying any precept of Moses (however the Jews may charge him) that he teacheth the very same doctrine, which the Jews do. This appears from what^e Maimonides delivers upon this subject; he says, *We are to swear by his name*, and adds, *'Tis unlawful to swear by any other thing, together with his name. And he who joins, when he swears, any other thing with the name of GOD, is to be extirpated out of the world: Because there is no name fit to partake of the glory of swearing thereby, but that of the blessed GOD, And^f afterwards he says, He that swears by the heaven, or earth, &c. tho' in his intention he mean the creator of these things, yet it is no oath.*

2. What is the sense of the^g law of Moses; *Thou shalt swear by his name*. The meaning of which can be no more than this, that when they did swear, they should do it *only* by the name of GOD. We find part of that verse, where that precept is quoted by JESUS, *Mat. iv. 10.* where we find, *serve him* in *Deuteronomy*, expressed by JESUS by, *Him only shalt thou serve*: In which JESUS adds nothing to the meaning of the text; and the LXXII interpreters give us the same account of of the place. 'Tis plain from the context, that JESUS gives us the true sense. And so 'tis in those words: *Thou shalt swear by his name*, i. e. Thou shalt swear by his name *only*, and not by the name of any other GOD, or creature whatsoever. And this sense of these words is confirmed by a parallel place: *Joshua* gives the same precept to the *Israelites*, which *Moses* doth here; but he doth it in such terms, as abundantly do confirm this interpretation. His words are these; (speaking of the conquered nations, and forbidding them to come among them, he adds) *Neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear by them, neither serve them, nor bow your selves unto them: But cleave unto the LORD your GOD, &c.* *Josh. xxiii. 7, 8.* And if this be the sense, as 'tis clear it is, then our SAVIOUR's words are so far from destroying this precept, that they tend directly to establish and confirm it. For our SAVIOUR doth prohibit the

^c Mat. xxiii. 16. James v. 12.
8. 1 Thessal. ii. 5, 10.

^e H. Shevoth. c. xi.

^d 2 Cor. i. 23.

Rom. ix. 1.

2 Cor. xi. 31.

Phil. i.

^f Ibid. c. xii.

^g Deut. vi. 13.

F f

swearing

swearing by any creature whatsoever: Our SAVIOUR teacheth no other doctrine in this matter than what agrees with Moses and the wiser Jews. **Maimonides**^b reckons indeed this precept, *Thou shalt swear by his name*, among the affirmative precepts: But then he observes, that *swearing* is also sometimes forbidden in the law, and that prohibition is to be placed among the negative precepts. 'Tis commanded, says he, when 'tis necessary to confirm a truth; and 'tis forbidden, and we are warned against it, when 'tis not necessary. He goes on, and tells us, That it is not lawful to swear by any of the creatures: And though indeed afterward he mentions the Jewish practice of swearing by a creature, and defends it; yet he doth it by pretending, that GOD, or his name is referred to in such oaths; as he that swears by Moses, swears by his LORD, or by him that sent him.

PHILO the Jew^c declares against common swearing, as that which brings men to perjury: He affirms, that 'tis best, and most profitable, and agreeable to reasonable nature, not to swear at all; and to take care, that our word may have the force of an oath. But if a man be put upon taking an oath, he would still have him in that case to be *αλλαντος ὁ βραδύς*, i. e. very slow and dilatory, that he may if possible avoid it. **Maimonides** says^k expressly, That it is very good for a man not to swear at all. To which I may add the words of the son of Syrach, *Accustom not thy mouth to swearing; neither use thy self to the naming of the holy one*. Ecclus. xxiii. 9. Hence it appears, that JESUS cannot be charged with any fault as to this doctrine of his concerning swearing.

To which I may add, that though **Maimonides** reckons the aforesaid words among the affirmative precepts; yet **R. Abraham** in his animadversions upon him declares against it: And says expressly, That *thou shalt swear by his name*, is not of the number of affirmative precepts, but that the words teach us only not to swear (when we have occasion to do it) by another GOD.

MOREOVER **R. Bechai**, a celebrated commentator among the Jews, in his commentary upon Deut. vi. 13. upon those words, *and shalt swear by his name*. *וְיָדָהּ יְיָ* i. e. according to the literal sense (says he) the meaning is this: When thou shalt swear, to confirm or do any thing, which thou thou hast a mind to confirm or to do, thou shalt not swear by the name of other GODS, but by the name of the most blessed (or true GOD) only. And this (says he) is what is meant by, *Thou shalt swear by his name*; but this is not (says he) an affirmative precept obliging us to swear. He adds the interpretation of the Rabbins, who limit this liberty of swearing to the conditions mentioned in the text, where 'tis said, *Thou shalt fear the LORD thy GOD and serve him; and shalt swear by his name*, i. e. If thou have the other qualities, as the fear of sin, and being a servant of the creator, then thou mayst swear by his name; because this fear of GOD will make thee cautious in swearing. **Rabbi Solomon**^m on the place speaks to the same purpose *וְיָדָהּ יְיָ*, i. e. If (says he) thou hast all these dispositions, i. e. if thou fearest his name, and servest him, then thou shalt swear by his name; for in that thou fearest his name, thou wilt be cautious of thine oath: But otherwise do not swear. Thou shalt swear by his name, **Aben Ezra**ⁿ expounds it thus, *וְיָדָהּ יְיָ*, i. e. not by the name of other gods, in confirming a matter, or making a covenant, &c.

^b Sepher, Hammitsoth.

^c Lib. de Decalog.

^k H. Shevuth. c. 12.

^l R. Bechai, fol. 211.

^m Ab. Ezra in locum.

(2) AGAIN, JESUS^o calls *the loving one another, a new commandment*, and elsewhere, *his commandment*, *Joh. xv. 12.* whereas in truth 'twas a precept of *Moses*: Not to say that *polygamy* and *divorces*, which were allowed by *Moses*, are forbid by JESUS, *Joh. xiii. 34.* *A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.* Here also ^p the *Jew* pretends, that what JESUS teacheth is not true, because he says, this command of *loving one another* is a *new commandment*; whereas it is as old as *Moses*, in whose law 'tis expressly required. *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self; I am the LORD, Lev. xix. 18.* And this is owned in *St. Matthew xix. 19.* and *chap. xxiii. 39.* To which may be added, That *St. John*, who very much presseth this love to one another, expressly says That 'tis *no new commandment*, but that which *we had from the beginning*, *1 John ii. 7.* with *chap. iii. 11.* and *2 John v. 6.* In order to a full answer to this pretence, I offer the following particulars.

1. THAT the *Jews* were very narrow in their notion of *neighbour*. For by *neighbour* they meant no more but a *Jew*; or *profelyte* at farthest: And the precept in *Moses, Lev. xix. 18.* seems to be limited to the *children of their people*; as^q hath been observed before. As this did not extend far; so their charity did not exceed these bounds. They were to help their enemies as sinking under his burden; but here the *Jewish* masters^r raised a case, *viz.* What they were obliged to do in case the *beast* belonged to an *heathen*, and the burden to an *Israelite*; or the *beast* was the *Israelite's*, and the burden the *heathen's*. The *Jews* had very little regard to the *lives* or *properties* of *aliens*; as may be seen in their^t writings and constitutions. Their notion of *neighbour* was very narrow and scanty, as appears by the lawyers question to JESUS, *Who is my neighbour?* *Luke x. 29.* As the^t notion of *neighbour* is extended by the religion of JESUS, so far this precept may be called a *new commandment*. The wall of partition is now broken down, and the difference between men is removed. Every man, to whom we can do a good office or kindness, is our neighbour. *He that loveth another, hath fulfilled the law*, says *St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 8.* * *ἑτέρου* is now the sense of * *πλησίον*, which we read *ver. 9.* and which the *Jewish* law mentions, *Lev. xix. 18.* We are to do good to *all men* and to *love our enemies*, and them who *hate* and *persecute* us. And thus it is a *new commandment*, as it takes in *new objects*, which the *Jewish* law did not extend to.

2. THAT the *measure* and *degree* as well as the *motive* to the love of one another is *new* also. The measure of their love to their neighbours under the law was, that they loved them as *themselves*; our LORD's measure is higher, 'Tis *As I have loved you*: As therefore the precept extends to more *objects*; so it requires a greater *degree*, than what the letter of the law of *Moses* intended. On both accounts it may be called a *new commandment*; as it is *protensum latius, & provectum sublimius*, as one hath well expressed it. Our SAVIOUR's love to us is without parallel: *Greater love hath no man than this, that a man may lay down his life for his friends*, *John xv. 12.* There are but few instances of such a love: 'Tis the highest flight of love. *But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we*

^o John xiii. 34

^p R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 54.

^q On Mat. v. 43.

^r V. Hotting. Jur.

Hebr. Meg. p. 83.

^t Maimonides H. Deoth. c. 6. § 3.

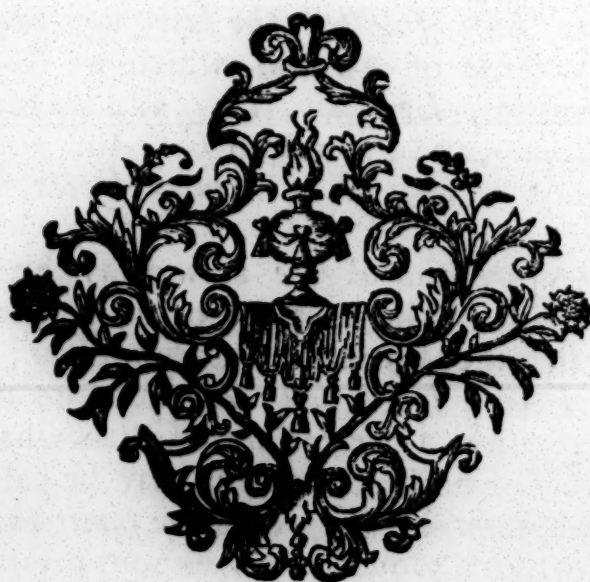
^t Bava Kama, c. 4. M. 3.

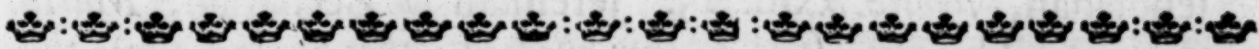
Cum Comment. Rambam Sanedrin, c. 9. M. 3. Bechai in Legem, fol. 78.

were yet sinners, CHRIST died for us. Rom. v. 8. He laid down his life for us; and therefore we ought to do it for our enemies. 1 John iii. 16, 23. From this example we are put upon loving one another, Eph. v. 2. 1 Thes. iv. 9.

3. As to St. John; it was not a *new commandment* at that time when he wrote. As the precept of love was old; so they had been taught the degree of it, from the *beginning of Christianity*; for to no more than that the expression amounts in several places of that Epistle. See chap. ii. 24. *This is the message, that ye heard from the beginning, that ye should love one another*, 1 John iii. 11. i. e. by our SAVIOUR, and from your first embracing *Christianity*.

(3.) What may be said as to *polygamy* and arbitrary *divorces*, ought not to be produced on this occasion: For tho' they were permitted by *Moses*; yet they were not commanded by him. *Divorces*, as practised under the *Mosaic* oeconomy, were permitted only, *Mat.* xix. 18. but not required. It was indeed commanded, that he that put away his wife should give her a writing of *divorcement*; but he was not obliged by any law to put her away. And as for *polygamy* the same may be said: 'twas not commanded, however it was suffered. And our SAVIOUR refers us to the first *institution of marriage* on this occasion. Our SAVIOUR reverses no precept of *Moses*; he requires of his followers, that they should consider the primitive institution; and that they should not use that liberty, which was only permitted to the *Jews* for the hardness of their hearts.





C H A P. III.

The Jews do farther object against the gospels, III. As containing some things, which are inconsistent with the common belief of Christians. We believe the perpetual virginity of the virgin Mary; but this is said to be inconsistent with Matth. i. 25. where it is said of Joseph, That he knew her not, till she had brought forth her first born son. We believe, that our JESUS was GOD as well as man: But it is urged, that this is inconsistent with Matth. xix. 17. Why callest thou me good? &c. with chap. xx 23. To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give; &c. And with Mark vi. 5. He could there do no mighty work. As also with chap. xiii. and ver. 32. But of that day and that hour knoweth no man; no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the son, but the father. It is farther objected, that the common belief of Christians, that JESUS suffered on Friday in the evening, and rose very early on the first day of the week, is utterly inconsistent with the words, Matth. xii. 40. As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whales belly; so shall the son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. A particular answer to these several objections. IV. The four Evangelists are charged with misquoting and misapplying the testimonies, which they produce out of the old Testament: And the charge is very high, First, It is pretended, that they quote places, which are no where to be found: and the following places are produced to this purpose, Matth. ii. 23. He dwelt in a city called Nazareth; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene. Matth. v. 43. It hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. Job. vii. 38. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture saith, Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. Job. xix 28. That the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, I thirst; and ver. 36. that the Scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. Here it is urged, that there are no such places to be found in the old Testament. Secondly, 'Tis pretended, that at other times they are guilty of false quotations, and mistakes at least. Thus is Abiathar put for Abimelech, Mark ii. 26. Barachias for Jehoihada,

Jehoiadah, *Matth.* xxiii. 25. Jeremiah for Zechariah, *Matth.* xxvii. 9. Thirdly, *It is farther alledged, that at other times they misapply the places, which they quote: To this purpose, Matth.* ii. 15. *is produced, Out of Egypt have I called my son: And ver.* 17, 18. *Then was fulfilled, &c. In Rama was there a voice heard, &c. which places in the old Testament belong to another matter. A particular answer to these several objections; in which the evangelists are defended.*

[I.] **S**OME things are^a alledged out of the *Gospels* as inconsistent with the common belief of *Christians*. First, *Matth.* i. 25. *And knew her not, till she had brought forth her first born son; and he called his name JESUS.* There are several things, which the *Jews* object against the *Christians* upon occasion of these words: Not only that his name was called *JESUS*, when just before it is said, *They shall call his name Emmanuel*, ver. 23. which is reckoned as a repugnancy in the very same writer; but they affirm, That this *Scripture* with some others compared with it destroys the belief of the present and ancient *Christians*; who did and do believe, that the *mother* of *JESUS* was not only before his birth, but ever after a *virgin*. And supposing this belief of theirs grounded upon the writings of the *new Testament*, we find it repugnant to this and some other parts of it: *JESUS* is called the *first born* of his mother; and that supposeth, that she brought forth some *other*: And when *Joseph* is said not to have known her, *till she had brought forth her first born*, that seems to intimate, that he knew her *afterward*. Besides, we read of the *brethren* of *JESUS*, *Matth.* xii. 46. And they are named, *James* and *Joses*, *Simon* and *Judas*, ver. 55. If *Christians* (will the *Jews* say) do build their belief of the *perpetual virginity* of the *mother* of *JESUS*, on the writings of the *new Testament*, what greater proof can there be, than what hath been produced, of the inconsistency of these writings with themselves? I answer, As for what is said, That *Joseph knew her not, till she had brought forth, &c.* whatever *Helvidius* or others have argued from it, certain it is that the words do not so much as imply, that he knew her afterwards: And the best way to judge of this matter is, to consider the *Idioms* or particular way of speaking used by the sacred writers, of the *old*, as well as *new Testament*; and then we shall find, that this *until she had brought forth*, is no argument at all against the *perpetual virginity* of the *mother* of our SAVIOUR. GOD makes a promise to *Jacob* saying, *I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of*; *Gen.* xxviii. 15. No man ought to conclude from hence, that he would leave him afterwards. Thus of the sepulchre of *Moses* it is said, *No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.* *Deut.* xxxiv. 6. Doth it thence follow, that from that day forward it was known? Of *Michal* the daughter of *Saul* we read, *That she had no child unto the day of her death*: *2 Sam.* vi. 23. And no man is so silly, as to think she had any afterwards. To the same purpose other places may be produced, *v.g. Samuel came no more to see Saul, until the day of his death* *1 Sam.* xv. 35. *Till I die, I will not remove my in-*

^a R. Isaac. lib. 2. c. 17. MS. Lusit. n. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

tegrity from me. Job. xxvii. 5. And, Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you, till you die, Isa. xxii. 14.) And in this Evangelist. Till he send forth judgment unto victory: And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Matth. xii. 20. xxviii. 20. 'Tis plain, that the design of the Evangelist is to shew, that JESUS was born of a virgin; and that Joseph, though Mary was espoused to him, was not any more than the reputed father of JESUS; who was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the virgin Mary, who was both a mother and a virgin at once. *

THAT JESUS is called the *first born*, is no argument against the perpetual virginity of the *blessed virgin*: Not tho' we should allow him to be called *her first born*; which yet there is no need we should allow from the Greek text of this place. But yet grant him to be called *her first born*; it doth not thence follow, that she did bring forth others afterwards; all that it necessarily imports is this, that she did bear none before him. And that is all that is meant by the *first born* in this argument: And whoever understands the language of the *Hebrews*, and their law about this matter of the *first born*, will easily understand, that there is no force at all in this pretence. For besides, that the *Hebrew word*, which we render *first born*, hath nothing in it that gives any colour for this pretext (it being a simple word, and not a compound, as those are by which it is rendered into the Greek, and Latin, and English tongues) the law concerning the *first born* given by Moses doth quite overthrow all ground for that plea, which some men would make from this expression. The true notion of *first born* among^b the ancient *Hebrews* is this: Whatever first opened the womb, whether another birth did follow it or not, was the *first born* in the sense of the law of Moses. Thus the LORD commanded Moses saying, *Sanctifie unto me all the first born*; and what is meant is made plain by the following words, *Whatsoever openeth the womb, among the children of Israel, both of man and beast*, Exod. xiii. 2. Again, ver. 13. *Thou shalt set apart unto the LORD all that openeth the matrix. The Levites are said to be given, instead of such as open every womb*, Numb. viii. 16. So that the first born is what opens the womb. The case was plain: The first born was the LORD's; and was therefore to be redeemed, where it was not given in kind; and the price with which it was redeemed belonged to the priest; and^c the time was set for the redemption of it also. Now in case that only could have been called the first born, which had been followed by an after birth, the Jew might have evaded the force of this law, and delayed the bringing the first born or price thereof to the priest, under pretence of staying and expecting another birth; that what first opened the womb, might with greater propriety have been called the first born. Whereas in truth there was no such liberty for evasion left in the law of Moses: For^d the first born of mankind was due at a month old; and the Jews are warned not to delay the payment of those dues. *Thou shalt not delay to offer the first of thy ripe fruits and of thy liquors. The first born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen and with thy sheep: Seven days it shall be with his dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me*. Exod. xxii. 29, 30.) This is the true notion of the first born in the law of Moses. *All that openeth the matrix is mine, and every firstling among the cattle, whether ox or sheep*. Exod. xxxiv. 19. And we find

* See Bishop Pearson on the Creed.

^b V. R. D. Kimchi. in 702.

^c Numb. xviii. 15, 16.

^d Numb. iii. 15.

St. *Luke* gives an account of the bringing of *JESUS* to *Jerusalem*, That he might be presented to the *LORD*, in conformity to this law of the *Jews*. *As it is written in the law of the LORD, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the LORD, Luk. ii. 23.*

NOR is it any considerable objection against the perpetual virginity of the virgin *Mary*, that we read of the *brethren* and *sisters* of *JESUS*: *Matth. xii. 46. xiii. 55, 56.* However the *Jews* make use of this as an argument against the *Christians* belief; it will appear upon due examination, that the *Jews* have no reason to make this exception. For certain it is, that in the style of the sacred writers, those are called *brethren* to one another who are a-kin; though they were not strictly brethren. Thus uncle and nephew are said to be brethren; and so are also brothers and sisters children, and those who are of the same family, though removed at some distance from one another, *Gen. xii. 5. with xiii. 8. xxix. 12, with ver. 15. Levit. x. 4.*

It is true indeed, That the *mother* of *JESUS* is named, and his *brethren* are said to be *James* and *Joses*; who being named with *Mary*, might be supposed to be the sons of *Mary* the mother of *JESUS*; but yet it is evident, that *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joses* was not *Mary* the mother of *JESUS*, but the *other Mary*, as she is sometime called the sister of our *LORD's mother*, and the wife of *Cleophas*. *There stood by the cross of JESUS (saith St. John) his mother, and his mothers sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen. Joh. xix. 25. Matth. xxvii. 56. Mark. xv. 40.* Among the women St. *Matthew* reckons *Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children*: *Matth. xxviii. 1.* *Mary Magdalen* and *Mary the mother of James and Joses* are also mention'd by St. *Mark*; and coming to the sepulchre are expressly mentioned, *Mary Magdalen* and the *other Mary*: By the *other Mary* must therefore be meant *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas* the mother of *James* and *Joses*; who is not only mentioned by St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, but by this *Evangelist* a little before. And therefore *James* and *Joses* were not the sons of *Mary* the mother of *JESUS*. *

As for that pretence from *ver. 23.* that our *LORD's* name was to have been *Emmanuel*, as it is very trifling; so it hath been considered elsewhere; and therefore thither I shall refer the reader.

[II.] AGAIN, *Matth. xix. 17.* is alledged as inconsistent with that belief, which the *Christians* profess to have, of the *divinity* of *CHRIST*.

(I.) *And he said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, That is GOD.* These words of *JESUS* are spoken to *him* who said, *Good master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?* *JESUS* replies, *Why callest thou me good? &c.* From this answer of *JESUS*, they take occasion to impugn his *divinity*; for *JESUS* seems to reprove the man, who called him *good master*, and to insinuate, at least, that himself was not *GOD*, to whom the title of *good* did solely belong. I answer,

1. It by no means appears, that *JESUS* reproves him for calling him *good*: The reading, which we follow, will not justify any such inference. But then there is another reading that is very ancient, and wants not considerable countenance from the *vulgar*, the *Greek* copy, and the ancient *fathers* of the church, that takes away all pretence for such an inference. *Why callest*

* See Bishop Pearson on the Creed.

† Part I. p. . ‡ R. Isaac l. 2. c. 19. MS. Lusit. n. 25.

thou me good? Quid me interrogas de bono? So the vulgar Latin. According to *this* version the words do not reflect upon the young man's compellation, *Good master*; but upon that part of his question, *What good things shall I do?* This version is followed ^s by St. *Austin*: And (was it needful) much might be said in favour of this reading. A late ^h learned writer, who hath considered the various readings and several copies of the *new Testament*, doth assure us, that this version of the *vulgar* is confirmed by a Greek copy of Mr. *Colbert's*, by that of *Cambridge*, by that of the *Vatican*, and by two of *R. Stephanus*. And he that would see more to this purpose, may consult ⁱ a very learned writer of our own; who hath taken vast pains in comparing the several copies of the *new testament*.

2. ALLOWING our present reading, 'twill not serve the purpose of the *Jew* or *Socinian*: For as *JESUS* doth not exclude himself from being *good*, so he doth not from being *GOD*: The place may as reasonably be produced in *defence* of his divinity, as 'tis to impugn it. For if he be owned to be *good*, as he is by the young man, he may (if none be *good* but *GOD* alone) be rather concluded to be *GOD* also. Thus much is certain, that our *LORD* doth not *deny* himself to be *GOD* in this place. Nor doth he do it, when he had the fairest occasion of doing it, had it not justly belonged to him; and *that* *JESUS* had, when after his resurrection *Thomas* said unto him, *My LORD and my GOD*, Joh. xx. 28. Our *SAVIOUR* directs the young man, who enquired after happiness and the way to it, to *GOD* the author of every good thing, and the only source of it; *he* alone is originally, immutably, and indefectably *good*, and can only make us happy. *

^s De Trinit. l. 1.

^h Simon. Hist. Crit. D. Text. de N. Test. p. 409.

ⁱ Dr. Mills in Loc.

* To this may be added, that this same person is called by St. Luke, a ruler, and most probably he was a ruler of the synagogue. These men ought to be well skilled in the Mosaical law and the prophets, and our *SAVIOUR* takes this opportunity to convince him of his ignorance in the most fundamental article of faith, even the belief of his divinity. The Jews never believed the *MESSIAS* to be *GOD*, much less could they ever believe this of *JESUS*, whom they doubted at least, that he was not the *MESSIAS*. For this they endeavour'd to stone him as for blasphemy, because he being a man made himself *GOD*: So that they could have no notion of any one, who was *GOD* and man in one person. From hence our *SAVIOUR* silenceth the Pharisees, Matth. xxii. 45. If David call *CHRIST* Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word. Otherwise they might easily have answered, That *CHRIST* was David's Lord, in respect of his godhead, and David's son in respect of his manhood. So here he again reproves the ignorance of this ruler in the same manner, asking him: How he, who denied the divinity of *JESUS*, could without being guilty of flattery, hypocrisy, or blasphemy, call him good, since there was none good, save one, which is *GOD*? But since this appellation is an owning of his godhead, therefore he proceeds to give him a full and satisfactory answer. So that our *SAVIOUR* denied not his divinity before the ruler; but only upbraids him, because he was ignorant of it. Dr. Whitby expounds it thus, *CHRIST* may be supposed to speak to this person in this manner. Thou givest me a title, which is never given to your most renowned Rabbins and which agrees to *GOD* alone. Dost thou therefore think, that there is any thing in me more than human, or that the Father dwelleth in me? This thou oughtest to believe, if thou conceivest, that this title truly doth belong to me, seeing there is none good save one, that is *GOD*. To confirm this interpretation let it be considered, that *CHRIST* in preaching to the Jews asserted two things of himself, First, That he was a prophet sent from *GOD*, even that prophet, that should come into the world. Secondly, That he had given them a clear evidence of his commission from his Father by the works done by the power of *GOD*, which manifestly shewed, that *GOD* dwelt in him, and that he was in the Father, and the Father in him; so that he and the Father were one. For so he speaks. I and my Father are one. And if I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, tho' ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in the Father. Joh. x. 30, 37, 38, xiv. 8, 9, 10. which words the Jews so apprehended, that they pronounced him guilty of blasphemy, for that being a man, he made himself *GOD*. Joh. x. 31, 33. He therefore might well say to this young man, Why callest thou me good master? unless thou believest, that I am a teacher sent from *GOD*, seeing he who falsely pretends to this, cannot be a good master, or a teacher of truth; nor canst thou own me as a prophet sent from *GOD*, but from my works; from which I have proved, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me. Yea, that I am one with the Father, and so partake with him of the title of good.

(2.) AGAIN, *Matth. xx. 23.* But to sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give; but it shall be given to them, for whom it is prepared of my Father. These words of JESUS are an answer to the request of the mother of Zebedee's children in behalf of her sons, that they might sit on his right and left hand in his kingdom. And 'tis urged by ^k the Jewish writers, as an argument that JESUS was not *one* with his Father, and could therefore have no claim to any *divinity*, when by his own confession it was not in his power to grant this request. And no wonder, that the Jew should make this objection, when I find ^l a late Socinian so very silly as to produce this text to impugn the divinity of JESUS. It is certain (says he) That the LORD CHRIST could not himself, without the previous ordination of the Father, confer the prime dignities of heaven, or of the church. And as a proof of this he produceth these words above recited. To which I answer,

1. THAT it is certain, that CHRIST had power to confer the prime dignities and offices or functions. What St. Paul attributes to the Father as to this matter, he attributes the same to the Son. GOD hath (says he) set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, &c. 1 Cor. xii. 28. And speaking of CHRIST elsewhere, he tells us, That he gave gifts unto men, and that he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors, &c. Eph. iv. 8, 11.

2. NOR doth JESUS in this place deny his power (nor consequently his divinity) in distributing offices or dignities; tho' he doth affirm, that this honour shall be given to none, but such as the Father designs it for: In which he refers the glory of the whole dispensation to the Father, and at the same time declares his own concurrence with the Father. But this is done in such terms, as give no just occasion to question his power to give, or his divinity.

To sit on my right hand, &c. is not mine to give; ἀλλ' οὗ ἐκτίμαται, &c. i. e. Except to them for whom it is prepared, &c. where he doth not deny his power to give, but only declares, who they are, who shall receive this honour; not every ambitious pretender, but those who shall be thought fit; and for whom consequently this honour is designed by the Father. That this is all, that these words import, is plain to any man that understands, and will consider the original. It is not mine to give, unless to them for whom it is prepared, &c. The ἀλλὰ in the text is the same in signification with ἐμὴ, or ἐκτίμαται. What in St. Matthew chap. xvii. 8. is expressed by ἐμὴ, in St. Mark chap. ix. 8. in a parallel place expressed by ἀλλὰ. And what is expressed by ἐκτίμαται Gal. ii. 16. is expressed by ἀλλὰ Rom. iv. 13. 'Εμὴ is sometime put for ἀλλὰ Matth. xii. 4. Mark ii. 26. Luk. vi. 4. And on the other side ἀλλὰ is put for ἐμὴ 2 Cor. ii. 5. All that our SAVIOUR says then is, That he can give only to them for whom 'tis prepared; and to conclude a want of power from hence, or that he was no divine person is very unreasonable; unless we will suppose it a defect of power, not to use it arbitrarily.

THE Syriac version bears the same sense; and the vulgar hath it, *Non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est: 'Tis not my part to give it to you, but to them, &c.* It speaks no defect of power, to bestow honours and rewards well; it rather speaks the perfect agreement of the Son with the Father: He denies the request, which 'twas not fit for him to grant.

^k R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 20. MS. Luf. n. 73.

^l Brief Hist. of the Unitarians, p. 10.

(3.) AGAIN, *Mark vi. 5. And he could there do no mighty work.* This is said of JESUS: Therefore says ^m the Jew, JESUS had not power; which is thought a fit argument therefore, wherewith to impugn his divinity. This is so very weak, that it hardly deserves an answer: However 'tis fit, that I should reply to it. And,

1. IT is evident from the very text, that here is no defect of power in JESUS so much as is insinuated. That more mighty works were not done, is imputed not to want of power in JESUS, but to the unbelief of the place, where JESUS was. *He could there do no mighty work:* The reason assigned is, *Because of their unbelief,* Matth. xiii. 58. And therefore by *could not*, cannot be meant, that JESUS had not power; but that he thought it *not fit*, and therefore would not work miracles, where there was no hope of the faith of them, for whose sake they were to be wrought. The phrase imports no more in other places: JESUS *could not do* what is not fit to be done. This *could not*, only implies that it was *not fit*. We might give many instances to this purpose, out of the *old and new Testament*, Gen. xxxvii. 4. xix. 22. Act. iv. 20. Joh. vii. 7. 2 Cor. xiii. 8. Rev. ii. 2. Matth. ix. 15. Luk. xvi. 2. where 'tis said, a thing *cannot be done*, when all that is meant is, that 'tis not *fit* it *should*.

2. IF we look into a parallel place, we shall find it expressed in such terms, as leaves no room for this objection at all. *And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief.* Matth. xiii. 58. *He could not* in St. Mark, is explained by *he did not* in St. Matthew. And the Arabic version of St. Mark renders what we translate *he could not*, by *he did not*. And this is agreeable to the Hebrew way of speaking, who say, That *cannot be*, which *shall not*, or ought not to be. Thus we read *Deut. xii. 17.* לא תוכל: וגו' i. e. *Thou canst not eat within thy gates the tithe*, i. e. *Thou mayest not*, as we turn it. And thus is that Hebrew word very often to be understood. *Thou canst not sacrifice*; so 'tis in the Hebrew: *Deut. xvi. 5.* we render it well, *Thou mayst not*. Thus the word signifies also, *Deut. xvi. 15. xxii. 3. 1 Sam. xvii. 33. Josb. ix. 19.* 'Tis said of GOD himself, *That he could no longer bear*, Jer. xlv. 22. Not that there was any want of power in GOD, but the meaning is, That he was so highly provoked, that it was *not fit*, that he should bear any longer. We commonly say, *Id solum possumus, quod jure possumus.* And the Greek in St. Mark doth import no defect of power. And thus 'tis used ⁿ in *Josephus*; he tells that *Syllaus* the Arabian being in love with *Salome*, *Herod's sister*, he was offered marriage upon condition, that he would turn Jew; but that he refused the condition, and that because *ἐκ τῆς ἀναισθησίας*, i. e. it was *not fit*, that he should do it.

(4.) AGAIN, *Mark xiii. 32. But of that day, and that hour knoweth no man; no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* This text is brought by ^o the Jews among their other objections against the *new Testament*, and made use of to impugn the divinity of JESUS. For if he knew not futurities, how could he be said to be GOD? Hence they would insinuate the inconsistency of the faith of Christians. Now to shew that there is not any such inconsistency, I offer the following particulars in answer to this objection.

1. THAT we Christians do believe, not only that CHRIST was GOD; but also that he was perfect man, of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting.

^m MS. Lusit. n. 83.
l. 2. c. 30, 31.

ⁿ Antiquit. l. 16. c. 11.

^o MS. Lusit. n. 122. R. Isaac

WE do believe, that his *body* was like one of *ours*: A real, not a phantastick and imaginary one. A body made up of flesh and blood as ours is; tender and obnoxious to pain, as that of any other mans; which was nourished by food, supported by rest, wearied by labour, sensible of hunger, pain, and refreshments, as ours are. He appeared at his birth, as any other infant doth; and did eat and drink and grow in stature. And in his last sufferings (his enemies being judges) he gave sufficient proof of the reality of human flesh; and after his resurrection, he shewed the print of the nails, and convinced his followers, that it was his real body, and not a phantasm, that appeared to them.

WE do also believe, that he had an human *soul*, of the same nature and kind with one of *ours*; tho' it was free from sin, and all original stain and corruption. And no wonder then, that we read of him, That he *increased*, not only *in stature*, and in *favour with God and man*, but *in wisdom* also. Luke ii. 52. Now *wisdom* is a spiritual endowment, and belongs to the mind or *soul*. He could not be said to *increase in wisdom* as he was GOD, without a contradiction; nor could this be said of him with respect to his *body*, for that is not the subject of *wisdom*; but with regard to the human *soul* of CHRIST, the other part of our human nature. This human *soul* of CHRIST was the subject of his finite understanding, and of his will, as that is distinguished from the will of his *Father*, and that of his own divine nature. This appears from the words of JESUS, *Not my will, but thine be done*. Luke. xxii. 42. And as this human soul of CHRIST was the subject of his *finite* understanding, and directed will; so was it also of *passions* and *affections* of the same kind with those of other men. We find, that JESUS, upon occasion was *angry*; moved with *pity* and *compassion*; that he expressed *joy* and *grief*, *love* and *hatred*, *desire* and *fear*. All this while there was nothing of the *sinner*, but all of the *man*, in CHRIST. This being agreed,

2. IT must be granted, that as *man* he did not know beyond the capacities of an human and finite understanding; and not what he knew as GOD. He could not be supposed to know in this respect things not knowable by *man*, any otherwise than as the divine nature and wisdom thought fit to communicate and impart such knowledge to him.

3. THAT therefore CHRIST may be said, with respect to his human nature and finite understanding, not to know the precise time, the day and hour of some future events. Again, with respect to his human nature, which consisted both of body and soul, he may well be said to *increase in wisdom and stature*. But all this while *τὸ ἀνθρώπινον οὐκ ἐβλάπτετο*. The man, the human nature, encreaseth, which suffered and died also.

4. 'TIS farther to be considered *how* the Evangelists report this matter, they do it in such terms as are very observable. *Of that day and hour knoweth no man*; it follows, *neither the Son*. * He doth not say the *Son of GOD*, nor the *Logos*, or, *Word*; but the *Son* only: And when his *increase in wisdom and stature* is mentioned by St. Luke, 'tis not said that the *Word*, or *Son of GOD* increased; that would have sounded somewhat harsh: But that JESUS *increased in wisdom and stature*; the child JESUS of whom he spake before. JESUS was the name by which he went, and by which he was commonly known among men; that it might appear to be *ἀνθρώπινος φύσις* *πρόσωπον*, an increase relating altogether to the *human* nature.

^p V. Photii Epist. 228.

* That is; No man knoweth it, no not in particular the Son himself, the most eminent of all men, knoweth it, as he is man.

I DO not know all this while, where there is any inconsistency in the faith of *Christians*; when we believe, that JESUS was *in all things made like unto us*, and in some respect *a little lower than the angels*, Heb. ii. 7, 17. I see no force in the above-named objection; but this I cannot but add, That the *Jews* in bringing such objections, as have been named, to impugn the divinity of JESUS, are chargeable with great inconsistency. One great pretence, why they reject *Christianity* is, because we believe the divinity of JESUS; and yet at the same time they pretend to prove this belief to be contrary to the *Christian* doctrine. If it be contrary, why do they reject *Christianity* upon the account of this belief? If it be not, why do they take all this pains to prove that it is? GOD of his infinite mercy open their eyes!

[III.] AND *Lastly*, Those words *Mat. xii. 40.* are ^a urged, as inconsistent with the account, which *Christians* give of the *time* between the *death* and *resurrection* of JESUS from the dead, *Mat. xii. 40.* *For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whales belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.* Here the *Jew* pretends, that these words of JESUS were not verified in him: For he died on the evening of the *Friday*, and rose very early on the first day of the week; which doth not make (says the *Jew*) two whole days and nights; and yet JESUS foretels, That he should continue in the grave, or *heart of the earth*, three days and three nights.

I HAVE ^r elsewhere considered this matter already, and shall need say the less of it in this place: Yet because the *Jews* object it frequently, and some *Christians* also think it a considerable difficulty, I shall in this place more particularly consider this matter; and make it appear, that the *Jew* ought not to make this objection, and that he is inexcusable when he doth it: For it must argue in *him* a great ignorance of things, or something worse. For whatever is objected on this account by *another*, or whatever difficulty it may be to any *other* man; 'tis very certain, that a wise and honest *Jew* cannot think this objection of any weight at all: That he ought not to do; though it receive farther *strength* from the words of JESUS. And that it may want *none*, I shall add *his words*, where he says, That *after three days he shall rise again.* *Mark viii. 31.* Which words may seem to import, that he would not rise till three days were fully compleated. In answer whereunto consider,

1. THAT 'tis a received maxim among the *Jews*, that any part of a precise time is to be reckoned for the whole: And therefore any part of the natural day is to be accounted for the whole *Νυχθημερον*. Among them one day of the month passed for the whole month, and one month of the year for the whole year. A very famous ^r author among them lays this down as a rule in this matter. *מקצת חרש ככולו ומקצת השנה ככולה* i. e. *Part of the month is as the whole, and part of the year is as the whole.* If this be so, as it is admitted by the *Jews* themselves, then might JESUS be truly said to be *three natural days* (expressed after the manner of the *Jews*, who are wont to express the whole by its several parts, a whole *triduum* by *three days and three nights*) in the heart of the earth, if he was there any *part* of these three days.

^a V. Nizach, vet. p. 236. MS. Luf. n. 191.

^r Part I. p. 104.

^r Sedor Olam, c. iv. p. 1.

THIS ought not by the *Jews* to be objected against *JESUS*, because 'tis but the very same liberty, which their *sacred writers* use. *Abijam* is said to have reigned *three years*, 1 King. xv. 3. yet 'tis said, when the beginning of his reign is mentioned, That it was in the eighteenth year of king *Jeroboam*, ver. 1. And yet his son *Asa*, who succeeded him upon his death, is said to have reigned in the twentieth year of king *Jeroboam*. ver. 9. It is enough, that *Abijam* reigned any time above two years. Again, *Elah* is said to begin to reign in the twenty sixth year of *Asa*, 1 King. xvi. 8. and to have reigned two years; and after this *Zimri* is said to have killed him in the twenty seventh year of king *Asa*, ver. 10.

2. THAT the *Jews* allow in matters of *this* nature of a reckoning that was inclusive: I mean such an account of days and years, as took in both the time from whence they began that account, and the time on which it did determine. Of this I have given, elsewhere, several instances and proofs. The *Jubilee* is expressly called the *fiftieth year*, Levit. xxv. 10, 11. and yet 'tis certain, That 'tis but the *forty ninth* from the end of the foregoing *Jubilee*. The same may be said of the *Pentecost* or feast of weeks. *Josephus* agreeably hereunto reckons *eight days* from one sabbath to another, as hath been elsewhere observed. And tho' the feast of unleavened bread, as is well known, lasted but seven days, yet when he reports that institution, he doth it thus, Ἐορτήν ἄρτους ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἀζύμων λεγομένην. And yet the same author in another book expressly tells us, That the feast of unleavened bread was seven days: And the sabbath day with respect to the sabbath day immediately preceding is the *eighth day*. And therefore *Justin Martyr*, speaking of the first day of the week, on which *JESUS* rose, says of it, ὁ γὰρ ἡμέραν πρώτην καλεῖται, ἢ πρώτην ἡμέραν, i. e. 'Tis called the *eighth*, and remains the first as it was. 'Tis the *eighth day* with respect to the preceding first day. *Joh. xx. 26*. St. *Barnabas* in his epistle says Ἀγαπᾶτε ἡμέραν ὁ γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγέρθη, i. e. We rejoyce (as on a festival) on the *eighth day*, in which *JESUS* rose from the dead.

3. THAT therefore the sacred writers will justify our *JESUS*, when he foretels, that he should rise again after *three days*. It will appear, that *JESUS* useth the same manner of speaking, which the sacred writers of the *old Testament* made use of. If those expressions may be defended, then may also the words of *JESUS*; if the words of *JESUS* cannot, neither can those writers. The *Jew* must confess, either that there is no weight and force in this objection, or if it have any force, it bears as hard upon their own *sacred writers*, as upon our *JESUS*. After *three days* *JESUS* saith he will rise again: But this expression doth not infer, that the three days shall be fully expired and compleated before he rise again. *Moses* requires the reading of the law כקץ שבע שנים at the end of every seven years. Deut. xxxi. 10. Post septem annos, says the vulgar: Μετὰ ἑπτα ἔτη (LXXII.) after (or, after the end of) seven years. This was to be done, not after the expiration of the seventh year; then it should be done in the eighth: But (as the *Jews* confess, and the text teacheth us) in the seventh year. This will farther appear from the words of the prophet *Jeremiah*, where he puts the *Jews* in mind of the law of *Moses*. At the end of seven years let ye go every man his brother, an Hebrew which hath been sold unto thee. Jer. xxxiv. 14. כקץ שבע שנים i. e. after the end of seven years; for so much the

¹ Antiqu. l. 7. c. 11.
² V. Barnab. Epistol.

³ Antiqu. l. 2. c. 15. l. 3. c. 10.

⁴ Dialog. cum Tryphon.

words in the *Hebrew* do signifie. And by the *vulgar* they are rendered, *cum completi fuerint septem anni*. And yet it is most certain, that *seven* years service was not required; and that by this expression no more is meant than in the *seventh* year. This appears from the following words in *Jeremiah*, when he hath served thee six years; and also from the words of the *law*, to which the prophet there refers the *Jews*. By comparing those words with these of the prophet, we shall find that what in the prophet is expressed by, *At* (or *after*) *the end of seven years*, is in the law to which he refers expressed by *in* the seventh year. *Exod.* xxi. 2. with *Deut.* xv. 12. What is expressed in one place² by *at* (or, *after*) *the end of three years*, *Deut.* xiv. 28. is expressed in a parallel place by the *third* year. chap. xxvi. 12. And the former place implies no more than the latter. Again, *At the end* (or, *after the end*, as the *Hebrew* and² ancient versions may be rendered) *of three years* 2 *King.* xviii. 10. Where 'tis impossible that the *expiration* of the three years should be meant, as appears by the context. * This is so far from being the sense of that place, that what is said to have happened *at*, or *after* the end of three years, could not happen at the *close*, but probably came to pass at the very *beginning* of those three years. Besides what hath been said, our SAVIOUR's words *Mark* viii. 31. where he says, that he should rise again *after three days*, are sufficiently explained by the same *Evangelist*, by *the third* day chap. ix. 31. and by another *Evangelist* *Matth.* xvi. 21. and by JESUS in a third. *In three days I will raise it up.* *Joh.* xi. 19. Moreover, the very enemies of JESUS seem to understand no more, by what he had said, That he *would rise after three days*, than that he would rise the *third* day. They tell *Pilate* what he said, viz. *After three days I will rise again*: They go on, saying, *Command therefore, that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away.* *Matth.* xxvii. 63, 64. If by *after three days*, had been meant, after the full *expiration of three days*, their advice had been short, when they put *Pilate* upon making the sepulchre sure *to the third* day only. Tho' what hath been said may suffice as to the *Jews*, and ought to satisfy them abundantly; yet for the sake of others I shall add,

4. THAT the way of speaking, which JESUS made use of, when he said he would rise *after three days*, need not seem uncouth or strange, because other good authors have used the same liberty, without any reprehension, or any just cause of it. I shall produce an instance or two. *Livy*^b tells us, That a peace was made with the *Carthaginians*, when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were consuls: That three and twenty years after this, when *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were consuls, a war began: Whereas it is evident, that three and twenty years could not *expire* and be compleated fully, between the consulship of *Q. Lutatius*, and *P. Cornelius*; nor can the three and twenty years be made up, but by *taking in* the years of *each* consulship. But any small part of a year goes for the whole. 'Tis a thing agreed, that *Hannibal* came into *Italy* in the consulship of *P. Cornelius*

² Μετὰ τρία ἔτη. LXXII.

^a Post annos tres. V. L. Ἀπὸ τῆς τριῶν ἐτῶν LXXII.

* Thus circumcision was to be performed on him, who was eight days old, *Gen.* xvii. 12. And this was always performed on the same day sevensnight; so that there were but six whole days between. And he, who was born on the latter end of the first day, might be circumcised at any time on the beginning of the eighth. There are more proofs of this nature, which this Reverend Prelate hath collected, Part I. pag. 104 and 105, to which the reader may have recourse for further satisfaction.

^b Lib. 30. c. 44.

Scipio and *T. Sempronius Longus*: 'Tis also certain, that he left *Italy* in the consulship of *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *C. Servilius Nepos*: This, as *Livy*^c tells us truly, was in the sixteenth year of this *Punick* war; and so it was the *current* year in which *Hannibal* left *Italy*. But tho' the year was not *expired*, when he went away; yet *Livy*^d tells us of his going, *Post sextum decimum annum*: Where what came to pass in the sixteenth year *current*, is by that grave historian expressed by *after* the sixteenth year.

To what hath been said much might be added, *v. g.* The *Nundine*, among the ancient *Romans*, were appointed for the country people, that they might every ninth day leave their country business, come to the city, and receive laws. The *ninth* day is implied in the word *nundine*: And yet it hath been observed from^e great authors (whatever *Rutilius* affirms) that the people were not obliged to stay in the country any more than *seven* intire days; and after the full expiration of them were to come to the city. The *Olympiad* was every fourth year: And yet 'tis observed, that the poet says, *quinquennis Olympias acta est*. We call that ague a *quartan*, which yet returns after *two* days intermission: And *that*, among^f the *Romans*, was called the *third* after the *Calends*, between which and the *Calends* one only intire day did intervene. If it be still urged, that our SAVIOUR says, That he would rise *after three days and three nights*, it may be added to what hath been said before, that even among the *Romans*, this would have imported no more than, *upon the third day*. Among^g them these words, *after the tenth of the Kalends*, and, *before the tenth of the Kalends*, signify no more than the *very tenth of the Kalends*. One imports *after* that day was *begun*; the other, *before* it was *ended*.

IV. THE four *Evangelists* are charged with *misquoting* and *misapplying* the testimonies, which they produce out of the *old Testament*, *v. g.* That they quote what is *no where to be found*: Or that they quote *falsly*, and with *mistake*: Or else that they quote places *nothing to the purpose*.

[I.] Matthew ii. 23. *And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene*. These words will need some explication; for there is scarcely any place in the *Gospels*, which is attended with so great difficulty, as this is. The *Jews*^h here insult and triumph, accusing the *Evangelist* of quoting the prophets, for what they never said. It must be confessed, that the difficulties are very great: For besides that the *Christians* are not able to produce any prophet, who affirms, That the *MESSIAS* should be called a *Nazarene*; so it is strange, that his bare dwelling at this city of *Nazareth* (which is not so much as mentioned in the *old Testament*) should be sufficient ground for calling him a *Nazarene*, whatever is meant by it. I shall, before I go any farther, account for this difficulty; and make no doubt, but I shall make it appear, That the *Jew* hath not so great cause to insult, as he may think that he hath. For the better removing this difficulty, I shall premise some particulars, for the clearer understanding the sense of the words, as they lie before us.

^c Lib. 30. c. 1.

^f Abricii Vita Ciceronis.

^h R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 6.

^d Ibid. c. 28.

^e Vid. Selden de jure Natural. l. 3. c. 15.

^g Vid. Bosii Not. in Ciceron, ad Atticum, Epist. 1.

1. THAT the Evangelist doth not quote any particular prophet for these words, as he doth in other cases, where he quotes the words of a prophet; and sometimes he names the prophet whom he cites. This is well observed by one of the ancient fathers of the church, I mean St. *Hierom* in his comment on the place; That if the Evangelist would have laid before us any fixed example out of the Scriptures, he would not have said, *It was said by the prophets, but rather, It was said by the prophet: But now, when he useth the word prophets, in the plural number, he makes it plain, That he doth not take the words from the Scripture, but the sense.* This observation is of great use to my present purpose: And therefore, if the sense of what the Evangelist affirms here, be found in the *old Testament*, it is enough to justify him against the *Jews* and all others: For they ought not to accuse him of a fault, in quoting the *old Testament* to his purpose, if it do contain the sense, tho' not the very words, which are found in the Evangelist.

2. THAT expression, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, imports no more than this, that he shall be one. And this goes a great way towards the lessening the difficulty, which this place is attended with. Now it is very evident, That among the *sacred writers*, to be called, and to be, is one and the same thing. The *Hebrews* express word and thing by one and the same word; and nothing is more common with them than to express themselves after this manner. The name of GOD, among the *Hebrew* writers, is all one with GOD himself; and the names are all one with the Persons, in the phrase and manner of speech used among them. *My house shall be called an house of prayer.* Isa. lvi. 7. Mark xi. 17. i. e. *It shall be an house of prayer, &c.* His name shall be called wonderful, counsellor, the mighty GOD, &c. Isa. ix. 6. i. e. He shall be all this. And so here, He shall be called, that is, he shall be: So that if the MESSIAS was to be a Nazarene, and JESUS was so, what was either predicted, or typified of the MESSIAS may be said to be then fulfilled, when it received an accomplishment in our JESUS.

3. The Evangelist only says, That it was spoken by the prophets; he doth not say, that it was written by them. Our SAVIOUR quotes the place of *Isaiah* as written; *Is it not written?* Mark xi. 17. and thus it is frequently expressed, when places are quoted in the *new Testament* out of the *old*. But this place is not so quoted: This answer alone is sufficient to stop the mouths of the perverse *Jews*; and I do not see what the later *Jews* could object against it. For let us but suppose, that there was among the ancient prophets a belief that the MESSIAS should be a Nazarene, and that this were delivered down by tradition, I do not see why the Evangelist might not truly say, That this was spoken by the prophets tho' there was no mention made of any such thing in any of their writings.

WE may very well admit, that some things in the *new Testament* are mentioned, as said or done of old, which are not mentioned any where in the *old Testament*, but were received by tradition. I will give one example of the truth of what I say: The apostle says, *As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth,* 2 Tim. iii. 8. We do not find any mention of these men in the history of *Moses*, or in any part of the *old Testament*; and yet the *Jews* have not the face to deny, that there were such men as these, who did withstand *Moses*; and we find them both named expressly in the *Targum*, or *Chaldee* paraphrase of *Jonathan*, upon *Exod.* vii. 11. It would be no hard task to give some other instances

to this purpose; but I content my self with this as a clear proof, and very convincing to the *Jews*. And if this was all I could say towards the vindication of the Evangelist, this would be sufficient to silence the *Jew*.

BUT having premised these things toward the abating the difficulty of this text, I shall now proceed to the farther clearing of it. If it appears that the MESSIAS was to be a *Nazarene* (whatever the sense of the word be) and that JESUS was such a one, and so acknowledged to be, the *Jew* will have no cause to find fault with the *Evangelist* for these words; tho' it should be granted (which may be safely done) that his dwelling at *Nazareth* was not the main *design* of those predictions of the MESSIAS, but only an *occasion*, upon which these predictions were more generally owned to belong to him. He was to be really all that, which the word *Nazarene* imports; and his dwelling at *Nazareth* gave an *occasion* of the more publick notice and acknowledgment, that he was so. I proceed to shew, that the MESSIAS was to be a *Nazarene*, in whatever sense that word is to be understood. I grant, that there is some variety among the learned, about the various senses of the word; but in this diversity we shall find, that as they agree to the MESSIAS, so they were fulfilled in our JESUS.

FIRST, Supposing this word, which is here rendered *Nazarene*, to come from the *Hebrew* word *Netzer*, which signifies a branch; we shall find the MESSIAS so called by the *prophet*; *And there shall come a rod out of the stem of Jesse and [Netzer] a branch shall grow out his roots.* Isa. xi. 1. That this place is to be understood of the MESSIAS, the *Jews* themselves do not deny. *Abravenel* (a bitter enemy to *Christianity*) expounds it of him; and so doth the *Chaldee* paraphrast upon the place, who expounds those words, *A branch shall grow out of his roots*, by these; CHRIST shall be anointed from among his childrens children. The MESSIAS is elsewhere called (tho' by a different word in the *Hebrew* text of that place) a *righteous branch* Jer. 23. 5. Where again instead of *branch* the *Chaldee* paraphrast hath the word MESSIAH, or CHRIST; and so he renders the same word again in another place of the same prophet. Now when JESUS went to dwell in *Nazareth*, he gave occasion for his being a new called the *branch*; the very name of that place carrying a very near cognation to *Netzer*, by which we find the MESSIAS called in the prophet.

SECONDLY, Supposing the word translated *Nazarene*, to proceed from the *Hebrew* word *Nazir*, which signifies a *Nazarite*, and in its original signification, a *separate* person, this sense agrees very well, both with what is said of the MESSIAS, and what was verified in our JESUS. If by a *separate* person we mean such an one as *Joseph* was, who is said to ^k be *separate from his brethren*, and was by them despised, rejected, and betrayed, this agrees well with what was foretold of the MESSIAS, in the fifty third of *Isaiah* and ^l elsewhere; and as eminently fulfilled in our JESUS. Nay more than that, his very going to dwell at *Nazareth* was one *occasion* of his being contemned and despised. That was a mean place, and remote from the chief city, and from the temple; and had no fame or reputation among the *Jews*. When *Philip* told *Nathanael*, that they had found JESUS of *Nazareth*, that person of whom *Moses* in the law and the prophets did write; *Nathanael* said unto him, *Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?* Joh. i. 46. That city was placed in a very obscure

^k Jer. xxxiii. 15.

^l Gen. xlix. 26.

^l Deut. xxxiii. 16.

country of *Galilee*; a country that had not been observed to have produced any great persons for wisdom and divine inspirations. *Search and look* (say the *Jews*) *for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet*: Joh. vii. 52. And yet, as I have elsewhere shewed, The MESSIAS was, according to the prediction of the prophet *Isaiah*, to dwell in that country, tho' he was to be born at *Bethlehem*, *Isa.* ix. 1.

OR if by a *separate* person be meant one, that was separate from the faults and follies, the vanities and the crimes of the rest of mankind; as this was predicted of the MESSIAS, so it was fulfilled in our JESUS. It is very well known, that the MESSIAS, according to the predictions of the prophets, was to be a very holy person, the LORD's anointed, and consequently separated from all common persons and things. I should be endless, if I should go about to reckon up the predictions in the *old Testament* to this purpose. It cannot be denied, that the most *holy* and *separate* persons in the *old Testament* were *types* of the MESSIAS: Such was the *High Priest*; such was ^m *David*, by whose name the MESSIAS is sometimes called; such were the *Nazarites* under the law of *Moses*; and such was *Joseph*, who was *separate from his brethren*. Among the *Nazarites*, none were more famous than *Sampson* and *Samuel* (who were perpetual *Nazarites*, as the *Jews* well observe) and among all them that were separate from their brethren, *Joseph* was the most considerable: And these were all so like our JESUS, that to him who duly considers things, they will appear to be very eminent types of *him*. I cannot forbear to shew the admirable congruity between these separate persons and our JESUS; the due consideration whereof may serve, if not to convince the *Jew*, yet to strengthen the *Christian*.

JOSEPH was a *Nazarene*, or as the word may denote, a *separate person*. And tho' he was not under a *Nazarite's* vow; yet as he was *separate from his brethren*, he is called *Nazir*, a *Nazarite*, in the more general and lax signification of the word. And there is a very singular correspondence between him and JESUS. *Joseph* was the beloved son of his father; and so is JESUS too. But as *he* was hated by his brethren; so JESUS came *unto his own*, and *his own* received him not. If the sun, moon and stars did in a figure obeisance to *Joseph*, they did it to JESUS without a trope. *Come, let us kill him*, was the language of the brethren both of *Joseph* and of JESUS: They were *both* sold for pieces of money; *both* became servants. The bloody coat of *Joseph* answers to the blood of JESUS. They were both forced down into *Egypt*; both were *numbred with transgressors*. *Joseph* is imprisoned with *Pharaoh's butler and baker*; one of them is saved, the other destroyed: JESUS suffers with two thieves; and one of them is saved also. *Joseph* sold corn, and saves his people; so doth JESUS, the *multiplier of loaves*, and the *bread of life*. If *Joseph* exhort his brethren to peace, so did JESUS. If they bowed the knee to *Joseph*, *every knee must bow to JESUS*. If *Joseph* was highly exalted upon his sufferings, so was JESUS. They were *both men of sorrow*, both fruitful branches, both highly lifted up from a low and sorrowful condition.

SAMPSON was a *Nazarite*, (in the strictest sense) and a perpetual one; and a type of the MESSIAS too, as the *Jews* intimate in two of their *Targums*, upon *Gen.* xlix. 18. A very fit type he was of JESUS CHRIST.

^m Jer. xxx. 9. Ezek. xxxiv. 23.

He was so in his very *birth*: He was the son of a *barren woman*; JESUS of a *virgin*. The tidings of the birth of *Sampson* was brought to his mother by an *angel*; as was that of the birth of JESUS. He shall be a *Nazarite* says the angel of *Sampson*: and of JESUS 'tis said, That he dwelt in *Nazareth*, that it might be fulfilled which was said by the prophets, *He shall be called a Nazarene*. Of *Sampson* the angel foretels, that he should deliver *Israel*; and the angel tells of JESUS, that *he should save his people*. An angel was sent to satisfy both *Manoah* and *Joseph*. If the Spirit of God be said to move *Sampson*; that Spirit descended upon JESUS, and led him into the wilderness. If *Sampson* marries a *Philistine* woman, JESUS espoused the *Gentiles*. *Sampson* killed the *lion*, destroyed the *Philistines*, removed the gates of the city; and at his *death* gave the greatest blow to his enemies: But it is JESUS CHRIST, that overcame the devil, and the world, that got the conquest of death and hell, that destroyed the devil by his *death*, and that raised himself from death to life, broke and scattered the bands of death, and by his resurrection triumphed over all his enemies.

SAMUEL was also a *Nazarite*, the son of a barren woman, an only son. He was a priest and a prophet, and a great judge in *Israel*; one who went about discharging his great office; and upon these accounts a fit type of JESUS CHRIST.

I SHALL add, That as JESUS and his followers were from the beginning called *Galileans*, because they lived in *Galilee*; so there is nothing to this day more common among the *Jewish* writers, than to call JESUS by the title of the *Notzri* (i. e. *Nazarene*) and his followers *Notzerim*, i. e. *Nazarenes*. So that as the MESSIAS was to be a *Nazarene* (in the sense, in which I have considered the word, and indeed in every sense that the word is capable of) so he was to dwell in *Galilee*; and not without the divine providence went to *Nazareth*; by means whereof the title of *Nazarene* was fixed upon him, who was upon other accounts really one.

NOR is there any thing more common than this, that a man should be called not only from the place of his birth, but from the place where he resideth and converseth. I shall not need to seek for examples to this purpose from profane authors: I will give examples of it from the *sacred writ*, as that is interpreted by the *Jewish* writers themselves. Thus *Ithra* the father of *Amasa* is called an *Israelite*, 2 Sam. xvii. 25. The same man is called an *Ishmaelite* 1 Chron. ii. 17. *David Kimchi*ⁿ gives us this account, viz. that tho' he really were an *Israelite*, yet because he dwelt among the *Ishmaelites*, he was called an *Ishmaelite*. He adds, That^o his father had written, that when he lived among the *Ishmaelites*, they called him an *Israelite*; but when he returned thence to the land of *Israel*, he was there called an *Ishmaelite*. Again, *Hiram's* father is said to be a man of *Tyre*, 1 King. vii. 14. Because, says^p *Kimchi*, he sojourned there; as *Obed Edom*, who was a *Levite*, is yet called the *Gittite*, because he sojourned in *Gath*.

(2.) AGAIN, *Matthew* v. 43. *Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy*. Here the *Jew*^q gives St. *Matthew* the lie, and consequently JESUS. The former part of these words is indeed to be found *Levit.* xix. 18. but the latter part is no where

ⁿ R. D. Kimchi in 1 Sam. xvii. 25.
¹ King. vii. 14.

^o Rash. in 1 Chron. ii. 17.
^q R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 11.

^p Kimchi in

to be met with in the *old Testament*. It was so far from being a precept of the law of *Moses*, that the *Jews* should *hate* their enemies, That by their law they were obliged to do them *kindnesses*. *If thou meet thine enemies ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou seest the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burthen, and wouldst forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.* Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. How then can JESUS be justified, for charging those words upon the law of *Moses*, which are not to be found there, and so far from that, that the law of *Moses* expressly teacheth the contrary?

IN answer to this, which seems at first sight a considerable difficulty, I shall not lay hold of any advantage that might look like a subterfuge. I will not therefore say, That JESUS doth not quote the law of *Moses*, for all that is here said. That he doth not say, *'Tis written in your law*; nor doth he use the stile, which he makes use of before, *It hath been said by them of old time*. All that JESUS says here is, *Ye have heard, that it hath been said*. But I pass this by; and let the *Jew* make the most of the objection, and suppose JESUS to cite the law of *Moses*; yet hath this objection no force in it at all against the authority of the gospels. And this will appear, if we duly consider the following particulars.

1. THAT the sense of those words, *Hate thine enemy*, is found in the law of *Moses*: And if so, this is sufficient: For if the substance of the thing be there, 'tis no matter, whether the formal words be there or no. The prophet *Ezekiel* tells us, what GOD said to the *Israelites*, when he undertook to deliver them out of *Egypt*. Ezek. xx. 7. *Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not your selves with the idols of Egypt; I am the LORD your God.* 'Tis expressly said, That GOD said thus unto them: Let any *Jew* shew me, where this is said in so many words. If it be enough, that the substance of this is said, 'twill be sufficient to justify JESUS to shew, that the substance of what he says was said in the law of *Moses*. And that so it is, is evident beyond all manner of exception. 'Tis well known, what law the *Jews* were under as to the seven nations. They were forbidden to make any *covenant* with them, or by marriage to contract any *affinity*. Exod. xxxiv. 12, 16. They were required to *smite* and *utterly destroy* them, and expressly *forbidden* to shew them *mercy*. Deut. vii. 2, 3. And as for the *Amalekites*, they were obliged to *blot out their remembrance from under heaven*, and expressly charged to *remember* and *not to forget it*, Deut. xxv. 17, 19. with Exod. xvii. And it is hence very evident, that JESUS said with great truth, that it had been said, *Hate thine enemy*.

2. As for the pretence of the *Jew*, that they were by their law obliged to shew kindnesses to their enemy, it will be found to be of no force, if that law be duly examined; because the *enemy* mentioned in the law extends no farther than to one of their own *nation* or *religion*; to an *Israelite* or *Profelyte* at farthest. As to *foreigners* and *aliens* they were at liberty by the letter of their law. This will evidently appear, if we compare Exod. xxiii. 4. with Deut. xxii. 1, 2, 3. He that is called an *enemy* in the one place, in the parallel place is called a *brother* three times together; and from the context 'tis plain, that it could not be understood of *foreigners*; the *Jew* could not be obliged to bring the strayed ox or sheep to the dwelling place of a foreigner. This will be put out of doubt, if we remember, what is said elsewhere, *Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of*

of thy people; and it follows, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self*; Levit. xix. 18. where *neighbour* is restrained to the *nation* of the *Jews*, or *religion* at farthest: Of which I may have occasion afterward to speak somewhat farther. The kindness, which that law required, was *directed* and *determined*; and did not belong to *foreigners*. The seventh year was a year of release; the *Jew* might not then *exact* his debt of his *neighbour* or *brother*; of a *foreigner* he might exact it. Deut. xv. 2, 3. They might not lend upon usury to a *brother*, but were left at liberty as to a *stranger*. By a *brother* they meant an *Israelite* only, *ὁ ἀδελφεός, ὁ ἰσραηλῆς*, says Philo^r, Deut. xxiii. 19, 20. *He that stealeth a man, &c. shall surely be put to death.* Exod. xxi. 16. These are the words of the law. Onkelos the Chaldee paraphrast^t adds something to the text: *He that stealeth a man of the children of Israel*, says he. Nor doth he deserve any blame upon this account; for we find it so explained in *Deuteronomy*: Thus 'tis expressed there, *If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, &c. that thief shall die.* Deut. xxiv. 7. Indeed the oppression of an hired servant is forbidden; but then this regards only that servant, that is an *Israelite* or a *Profelyte*, as appears from the text. Deut. xxiv. 14.

3. THE practice of the *Jews* confirms us in the sense of their law. They are observed to have been remarkably and notoriously given to enmity against those, who are not of their nation or religion: And whereas there are offices due to all mankind, they refused these common civilities to foreigners. The heathens observed their moroseness and stiffness in this matter;

*Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti;
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.*

THEY would not shew the way to a foreigner; nor shew him the commonest civility, which is due to humane nature. The heathen historian^c takes notice of their enmity and hatred towards all strangers whatever: *Et quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu; sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium.*

AND if these things be considered, our LORD cannot be charged with any shadow of reason for these words of his, which are perfectly agreeable both to the *law* and *practice* of the *Jews*.

(3.) AGAIN, *John* vii. 38. *He hath believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* Tho' in our margin we find a reference to *Deut.* xviii. 15. yet the *Scripture* doth neither there, nor any where else affirm, That rivers of water shall flow out of the belly of him, who believes in *JESUS*; which yet is that which *JESUS* affirms in this place. But I answer,

1. THAT those words, *As the scripture hath said*, need not refer to what follows, but to the words immediately going before them: *q. d.* He that believes on me, as the *Scripture* requires and directs him, &c. *Theophylact*^u gives this account of the place; *He that believeth on me as the scripture hath said*, *ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς γραφῆς*, i. e. here must be put a stop (says he) and then read on, *Out of his belly, &c.* And he doth accordingly interpret those words, *As the scripture hath said*. He tells us, That there were those, who were by *CHRIST's* miracles induced to believe; but that a

^r Lib. de Charitate.
Hist. l. 5.

^t Vid. Onkel. & Targum Jonath. in Exod. xxi. 16.
^u Theophylact. in locum.

^c Tacit.

right faith is from the *Scriptures*. *He that believeth as the Scripture hath said*: That is, *καθὼς μαρτυρεῖ ἡ γραφή*, &c. i. c. *As the Scripture testifies of me, that I am the son of GOD, the creator, the LORD of all, the SAVIOUR of the world.* For some (says he) seemed to believe, not as the Scripture saith (or hath directed) but as they followed their heresies, or heretical fancies. He believes aright in JESUS, who believes him to be the CHRIST, the son of the living GOD; he who believes in him, as he is truly represented to us in the *sacred writings*, which do testify of him. And to this sense the words are turned in a late *French* translation (printed at Bourdeaux, 1686.) *He that believeth on me, Suivant ce que dit l'Ecriture, i. c. following what the scripture saith.* And if this be so, then all the force of the objection is removed, and the marginal citation justified: And I need not give any other answer than this, which is enough to stop the mouth of the Jew.

2. SUPPOSING * those words to refer to the following; yet is there no cause, why JESUS should be charged with quoting *Scripture*, which is no where to be found, because our SAVIOUR doth speak of the great assistance of the *Holy Spirit*: ver. 39. And that is not only well compared to water; but promised in the days of the MESSIAS under that *idea*. And the solemn drawing of water at the feast of tabernacles, when these were spoken, is allowed to have been a sign at least (by R. Levi an ancient Jew) of the HOLY GHOST, which they should receive.

(4.) Again John xix. 28. *And after this, JESUS knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, said, I thirst.* If the Jew pretends that the *Scripture* no where foretels, that the MESSIAS should say, *I thirst*, yet this objection hath no weight at all, because the words of the *Evangelists* do not import such a thing. 'Tis enough, that this thirst at that time gave an occasion to the fulfilling a prediction, which we find Psalm lxix. 21. *In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.* And so they did by JESUS, as appears by what follows in this *Evangelist*. And therefore the Jew doth nothing, unless he proves that the words in the Psalmist can have no reference to the MESSIAS; and when he attempts to do this, he may justly expect another answer: in the mean time this will by any indifferent person be judged to be sufficient.

(5.) ONCE more, John xix. 36. *For these things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken.* Here the Jew may pretend, that there is no such prediction as this in the *old Testament*: But there is no need here to be at any stand for an answer. For to say nothing of the *Paschal lamb*, where there was a provision made in the law, That a bone of it shall not be broken. Exod. xii. 46. Thus it was provided in the type: But not to insist upon this, the *Scripture* is express; the psalmist, speaking of GOD's special providence over the righteous, adds, *He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.* Psal. xxxiv. 20. And to this *Scripture* the *Evangelist* seems to refer; nor do I see, what imputation can lie against the *Evangelist* for applying those words to JESUS, in whom they received so very remarkable and singular a completion. Nor is there any necessity, that I should maintain, that the *Psalm* is to be understood of the MESSIAS; 'tis enough, that what GOD promiseth there to the righteous in general, was particularly fulfilled in JESUS. For the *Scrip-*

* Isa. xlv. 3. Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, 27. with Joh. iii. 5. iv. 10, 14. in Talm. Hierosol.

ture may be said to be then fulfilled, not only when a *type* is made good in the *antitype*, and a *prediction* in the *event*; but when a *general promise* is made good to a *particular person*, as 'tis in the case before us.

[II.] THE four *Evangelists* ¹ are charged that they quote *falsly*, and with mistake. *Mark* ii. 26. *In the days of Abiathar the high priest*: Here the *Evangelist* is accused for affirming *David* to have done that in the days of *Abiathar*, which appears to have been done in the days of *Abimelech*. 1 *Sam.* xxi. 1. whose son *Abiathar* was, as appears, 1 *Sam.* xxii. 20. And this the *Jew* imputes to the *Evangelist* *St. Mark* as an error; and (tho' very falsly) he chargeth *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* with the same: But he hath no reason to triumph upon this account. For,

1. IT is certain, that *Abiathar* both lived at that time, and knew very well, not only what *David* had done, but what followed upon it. He was the son of the high priest, an eminent priest himself, and his father's *Vicarius*, as is highly probable; and 'tis certain, that he succeeded him in the high priesthood also. *That* might truly be said to be done in the days of *Abiathar* the high priest, which was done in the days of *Abiathar*, tho' it was done somewhat before he arrived to the dignity of the high priesthood; as *that* may be said to have happened in the days of such, or such a king or emperor, which came to pass, before they were declared either emperor or king.

2 THERE is an opinion among ² learned men, that this *Abiathar* the son of *Abimelech* was called also *Abimelech*, and once *Abimelech*, 1 *Chron.* xviii. 16. As also that ² his father was called both *Abiathar* and also *Abimelech*. If this opinion be well grounded, all the difficulty is removed. And there is good ground to believe it true: For *Zadock* and *Abimelech* are said to be priests (and that *Abimelech* is called the son of *Abiathar*) in *David's* reign, and after the death of *Saul*. 2 *Sam.* viii. 17. compare 1 *Chron.* xviii. 16. and whoever will take the pains to compare these places, and consider the time to which they refer, will not see cause to reject this opinion. It is confirmed by *Victor Antiochenus* ^b upon *Mark* ii. 26. And is not therefore to be rejected as a novel or vain opinion. But be it as it will, I need not rely upon this answer: And therefore I proceed:

3. THE *Greek* text is here to be considered: What we render *in the days of Abiathar the high priest*, is ἐν Ἀβιάθῃ Ἀρχιερεὶς, i. e. *about* or *before* *Abiathar's* being high priest. That particle is observed to signify sometimes not the present time, but that time which soon after succeeds it. Thus *Josiah* is said to have begotten *Jechonias* and his brethren ἐν τῇ μεταστάσει, &c. i. e. near upon, or towards the time of the transportation to *Babylon*. *Mat.* i. 11. For certain it is that *Jechonias* was not begotten under the *Babylonish captivity*, but some time before it. And the *Latin*, *sub*, by which the *vulgar* renders this *Greek* particle, hath also the same signification.

4. WE are to judge of the writers of the *new Testament* by the manner of speech, which they commonly use: And certain it is, That by the *Greek* word, which we render *high priest*, they do not only mean him, that was strictly so called among the *Jews*, who was but one at one time, but the more eminent men of that order. Thus we have *two high priests* mentioned

¹ R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 28.
Success. in Pontiff. l. 1. c. 3.

² V. R. D. Kimchi in 2 *Sam.* viii. 17.
^b V. Caten. Gr. Patrum in *St. Marc.* P. Poffin.

^a Selden de

Luke iii. 2. And elsewhere have frequent mention of the *high priests*. It is affirmed by *Antiochenus*, as Mr. *Selden*^c observes, that *they* are called *high* or *chief priests*, who were the *Vicarii* of those, who were strictly so called; as also those who were *exauktorati*, and those also who were nearest in blood to them, and the heads of these several sacerdotal courses: *1 Chron.* xxiv. 5. These were more eminent in their order; and might well be called *chief priests*. It is farther to be observed, That some of the priests are to be considered in a double capacity; either with respect to the *sacerdotal* function, or as persons purely *ecclesiastical* (in which sense I have shewed, who were accounted *chief* under him, who was the *high priest*;) or else they may be considered as vested with *civil* power, as they were members, and sometimes principal members of the council, or *Sanhedrin*; and then the priests that chanced to be the *נשיא* the prince, or *אב בית דין* the father of the great council, might well be called *Ἀρχιερεῖς* chief priests; not with respect to their *ecclesiastical* function, but with respect to their *civil* dignity and jurisdiction.

THE book of ^d *Siphra*, an ancient book among the *Jews*, doth in part confirm what is said above; for there it is expressly said, That the high priest's son may be said to be an *high priest*: And that *the high priest's son, who is deputed by his father in his stead*, *כהן גדול אמור* i. e. *is said to be an high priest*; and consequently *Abiathar* might well be called high priest, in the time of his father, who was an high priest.

MAIMONIDES^e reckons the several orders and degrees of priests, between him that was strictly the high priest, and the lower or ordinary priest, whom the *Jews* commonly called the *כהן הדיוט*. He tells us their precedence and their dignity: Among which he reckons the *Sagan*, who stood at the high priests right hand, and was in dignity, as the second man of the kingdom is to the king. And he adds, That when the high priest died, his son was to succeed in that dignity, and was preferable to any other; and that *he* stood next to the *dignity*, who was next to the *inheritance*. What hath been said is enough to justify the *Evangelist*.

(2.) AGAIN, *Matth.* xxv. 32. *From the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar*. Here, says the ^f *Jew*, is a manifest error, because *that Zacharias*, who was thus slain, was the son of *Jehojadah*; as appears from *2 Chron.* xxiv. 20, 21. And he pretends this to be not only an error; but such an one as can admit of no salvo. But I answer,

1. THAT the *Jew* hath no reason to lay any stress upon this objection; not only because many such pretences might be brought against the writers of the *old Testament*, which yet are not of any force to destroy their authority; but besides, that for any thing which they can tell to the contrary, the same man might be called by two names, that of *Jehojadah* and *Barachiah*: Nothing was more common among the *Jews* than this. Can any man question the authority of the *Psalmist*, because he calls the same man *Abimelech*, whom another *sacred writer* calls *Achish*? *Psal.* xxxiv. *Tit.* with *1 Sam.* xxi. 11. Shall we call in question the book of *Chronicles*, because the person is called *Ner*, who in *Samuel* is called *Abiel*? *1 Sam.* ix. 1. with *1 Chron.* viii. 32, or because *he* is called *Ammiel* in one, who in the other is called *Eliam*? *2 Sam.* xi. 3. with *1 Chron.* iii. 5. Doth

^c V. Selden de Success. Pontif. l. 1. c. 12.
mickdash. c. 4.

^f R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 22.

^d Siphra fol. 17. col. 2.

^e H. Kele Ha-

not one of these books call that son of *David Chileab*, whom the other calls *Daniel*? 2 *Sam.* iii. 3. with 1 *Chron.* iii. 1. The same woman *Basbemat* and in the same book, is said to be in one place the daughter of *Elon*; *Gen.* xxvi. 34. and in another place she is called the daughter of *Ishmael*: *Chap.* xxxvi. 3. And yet we do not call in question the authority of that book. [*V. Selden de Success. Pontif. l. 1. c. 5.*] And is it not very easie to heap up many such examples? Why must that be an objection against the *Evangelist*, which is allowed to have no force against any writer of the *old Testament*? 'Tis certain, that there is not a greater distance between *Jehojadah* and *Barachias*, than between *Chileab* and *Daniel*, and between *Reuel*, *Jethro*, and *Hobab*; which yet are allowed by the *Jewish* writers, to be the names of the same person. I may add, that ^g *Barachias* and *Jehojadah*, if we consider the signification of the words, import the same thing; for *praise God* is but the *English* of the one and of the other; and both import the very same thing as ^h *Eliakim* and *Jehojakim* do, which were the names of the same person. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 4. If the *Jew* urgeth, that it appears not, that *Jehojadah* was called *Barachias*; I answer, That 'tis enough, that the contrary doth not appear; for that should have appeared, before they could have just ground to charge the *Evangelist* with an error.

To what hath been said I shall also add, That the gospel of *St. Matthew* was at first written in *Hebrew*; and *St. Hierom* doth ⁱ tell us expressly, That in that *Hebrew* copy, which the *Nazarenes* used, it is *Jojada*, where we now read *Barachias*. We have ^k no reason to doubt of one or the other. The *Jew* hath then a very small reason to object this matter against the *Evangelist*. For this objection can have no force against the *original*, and very small against the *Greek* version; because the *Hebrew* word, as hath been observed above, signifies the very same thing, which *Jehojadah* doth.

2. THE *Jew* is not certain, but the *Evangelist* might refer to some other *Zacharias*, who was the son of *Barachias* that was slain about that time; and the story thereof might then be well known, tho' the history of it be not transmitted to us. And indeed this is not improbable at all, but very likely. For when our SAVIOUR began as high as *Abel*, it is strange, that he should go no lower than *Zachariah* the son of *Jehojadah*: It might be expected he should, since he began so high, and charges the then *Jews* with killing him; That 'tis likely, he meant some person of that name, who was slain at the end and expiration of the *Jewish* polity. But that *Zacharias*, mentioned in the book of *Chronicles*, was slain above eight hundred years, before *JESUS* spake these words.

3. THERE is another *Zacharias* mentioned by ^l *Josephus*, who was slain by the *Jews*: Him he calls ^m *Βασιλῆς*. He was accused, as guilty of treachery, and too great a favourer of the *Romans*; and tho' he was absolved by the suffrages of the *Sanhedrin*; yet he was slain by the *Jewish* zealots, ⁿ *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, in the middle of the temple. This answers to *Abel* slain from the beginning, He was the son of *Baruch* also, and slain in the temple. And then the words of *JESUS* are *proleptical*, and are a *prophecy* of what was shortly to be done; and only expressed, as such predictions frequently are in the old prophets, as if the thing had already come to pass. The

^g V. Menass. B. Israel Conciliat. in Exod. qu. 1. ^h Joseph Antiqu. l. 2. c. 12. ⁱ St. Hierom in Matth. xxiii. ^k V. P. Sim. Hist. Critic. D. N. T. c. 7. ^l De bello Judaic. l. 4. c. 18.

time past is frequently used for the future, both in the old prophets and writers of the *new Testament*. And if the words of JESUS refer to this person, they are so far from being an objection against the gospel, that they much confirm it.

(3.) AGAIN, *Matth. xxvii. 9. Then was fulfilled, that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet.* Here St. Matthew may be accused for citing *Jeremiah*, as we see he doth, when he ought to have cited *Zechariah*, to whom the citation of right belongs. But I answer,

1. THAT it is not evident, that St. Matthew did cite *Jeremiah*. 'Tis true, that we find this name in the generality of *Greek* copies at present: but this is no argument, that it was there from the beginning: On the other hand, 'tis certain that the *Syriac* and *Persic* version have no name, but barely mention *the prophet*. And to him that hence makes a doubt of the fidelity of the *Evangelist*, St. *Austin*^m says as follows; *Primò, noverit non omnes codices evangeliorum habere, quòd per Hieremiam dictum sit, sed tantummodò per prophetam: Possemus ergo dicere, his potiùs codicibus esse credendum qui Hieremiæ nomen non habent.* Some copies had not *Jeremiah*, but only the *prophet*. The ordinary glossⁿ affirms the same, *Quidam codices non habent per Hieremiam, sed tantum per prophetam.* I add, That *R. Isaac*, who^o objects against the *Evangelists*, every thing that he can lay hold of, and doth quote this place of St. Matthew, and pretends to shew that the place in *Zechariah* is not to the purpose; yet is so far from reprehending him for putting *Jeremiah* for *Zechariah*; that when he quotes the words of St. Matthew, he tells us only, אִי נִתְקַן מִי הַנְּבִיא i. e. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the *prophet*. Thus doth he represent St. Matthew speaking here. And tho' I thought fit to mention this place here, as that which the *Jews* might cavil at; yet in those exceptions which I have seen, that the *Jews* commonly make against the *Evangelists*, I do not remember that I have found this, That St. Matthew puts *Jeremiah* for *Zechariah*; which is to me a good argument that they do not think, there is any weight in this matter.

2. SUPPOSING St. Matthew to have quoted *Jeremiah*; yet is it not a just imputation upon his credit. For not to say, that for what appears, *Jeremiah* might be the writer even of some of *those chapters* (and the *eleventh* particularly, where this passage is,) which are now in the prophet *Zechariah*, and go under his name; not to insist upon this in this place, (of which I shall speak afterward,) for what we know, *Jeremiah* might have written what is here quoted from him, tho' it be not now in that, which we have of his in the canon of *Scripture*. And that these words were written in some *Apocryphal* book of *Jeremiah* seems credible from what S. *Hierom*^p affirms. He tells us, That he read the very words here quoted, in an *Hebrew* volume, communicated to him by a *Jew* of the *Nazarene* sect; being an apocryphal work of *Jeremiah*. Nor is it any disparagement to cite an apocryphal book: That book, which is apocryphal, is not therefore unworthy of credit. The *Apostle* mentions *Jannes* and *Jambres*, tho' they were no where mentioned in the canon of *Scripture*; which yet are in a *Jewish* book that is of less credit. The divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* seems to refer to the story of the *Maccabees*; St. *Jude* mentions

^m Augustin. de Consens. Evangelist. l. 3.

^o R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 27.

^p Hierom. in Matth. xxvii. 9.

ⁿ Gloss. ordinat. in Matth. xxvii. 9.

the prophecy of *Enoch*; and the *holy writers* mention * the sayings of *Aratus* and *Epimenides*, who were heathen writers. Those books, which were not received into the canon, might yet be worthy of belief: And where the *book* is not in the canon; yet the *truth*, which it contains, may be canonical.

3. THAT *Jeremiah* wrote the ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, and xiv. chapters in *Zechariah*, is a very probable opinion. This is certain, That such things are contained in those chapters, as agree well with the time of *Jeremiah*, but by no means with that of *Zechariah*, e. g. That the *pride of Assyria* shall be brought down, and the *sceptre of Egypt* depart, is foretold, *Zech.* x. 11. It is well known, that this was past in *Zechariah's* time: And tho' *Jeremiah* might, *Zechariah* could not predict this. What is said^a of the cities of the *Philistines*, *Zechar.* ix. 5. agrees very well with what we read, *Jer.* xxv. 20. but what is said of *Gaza*, *Zech.* ix. 5. cannot be said by *Zechariah*, but agrees very well with the time of *Jeremiah*. For 'tis most certain, that *Gaza* was smitten in the end of *Jeremiah's* time; and therefore not remaining in *Zechariah's* as is supposed in that place. *Jer.* xlvii. 1. The same may be said of *Askelon*, which is supposed in being, *Zech.* ix. 5. and was really so in the time *Jeremiah*; but was cut off in the close of *Jeremiah's* time, and long before the days of *Zechariah*, *Jer.* xlvii. 5. compared with *Zephaniah* ii. 4. I add what is said, *Zech.* xiv. 5. *Ye shall flee, like as ye fled from before the earthquake, in the days of Uzziab king of Judah*; these words report a matter which 'tis possible, that some might remember to have heard their fathers report in *Jeremiah's* time, and as such 'tis mentioned in that place; but 'tis not credible, that it should be remembered in the time of *Zechariah*.

[III.] LASTLY, The four *Evangelists* are charged with quoting places nothing to the purpose. *Matt.* ii. 15. *That it might be fulfilled, which was spoken of the LORD by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.*

THESE words will require a farther consideration; for they are attended with some difficulty. For besides, that it is not said by what prophet these words are spoken, and we are therefore left at some uncertainty; it's hard to conceive, how these words, which were meant of *Israel*, can be said to be fulfilled in *JESUS*; and that what was said of *Israel* of old, should, upon what happened to *JESUS*, be said to be fulfilled; and this should be said to *come to pass*, That, *that might* be fulfilled, which *was* fulfilled long before. The *Jews* do much insult over us on this occasion, and accuse the *Evangelist* of misapplying the *holy Scripture*. I shall endeavour to remove the difficulty, and then proceed.

FIRST, I grant, that it is not said, by what prophet this is said; nor is it very material that it should: For there is hardly any prophet, but he says the substance of what is here affirmed; mentioning frequently the bringing the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. Nor do the prophets of *Israel* only mention this; but *Balaam* also, who was not of that race, speaks of it very expressly. *GOD brought them out of Egypt*, says he; and presently afterwards he speaks

* St. Paul quotes *Aratus.* *Act.* xvii. 28. *Epimenides,* *Tit.* i. 12. and takes a verse out of *Euripides.* *1 Cor.* xv. 33.

^a This apply to texts in *Zech.* ix. to chap. xiv.

^b R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 4. MS. Lusit. n. 186.

of the people brought out of *Egypt*, as of *one man*, as it is here in *St. Matthew*; *God brought him forth out of Egypt*. It hath been^r thought, that the *Evangelist* hath respect to the words of *Balaam* here; but there is no need we should go back so far: We have the words in the prophet *Hosea*: *When Israel was a child, then I loved him; and called my son out of Egypt*. *Hof. xi. 1.* Here are the very express words of that prophet; and the *Evangelist* reports them, as they lie there in the *Hebrew* text, not as they are there turned by the *Greek* interpreters. So that we have not only the substance of what is here said frequently in the former prophets, but the very words also in this prophet. Upon this account the *Jews* have no cause to quarrel.

SECONDLY, I am to shew, how these words, which were spoken of *Israel*, can be applied unto *JESUS*: And this is indeed the greater difficulty. It is very evident, that the words of *Balaam* referred to the people of *Israel*; and so do the words of *Hosea* likewise. As to the main point, it matters not to what place in the *old Testament* *St. Matthew* doth refer, It is granted, that the words are spoken of the children of *Israel*; however applied by the *Evangelist* unto *JESUS*. For the removing this difficulty, I offer the following particulars to be considered,

1. IT is granted by the *Jewish* writers, that the *old Testament* is full of mystery, and insinuations of somewhat farther than what the letter of the text, or first intention of the institution, or thing mentioned, doth amount unto. There is nothing more common than for the *Jewish* writers, in their commentaries upon the *Scriptures*, to expound the mystical sense of their law, and of their rights and usages. They grant, that there was much of type and mystery in their religion; and it is full of a farther sense than the literal: Hence it is, that we have such great store of *Midrashim*, or commentaries, which give account of the mystical sense of the text. The *Jews* very wisely suppose, that their law had a farther meaning, than what results from the bare letter. They take great liberty to expound their law accordingly; and if the *Christian* writers do affirm, that the *old Testament* was full of shadows, they say nothing, but what agrees with the sense of the *Jews* themselves.

2. THERE being many *types* as well as prophecies of the MESSIAS, those passages of the *old Testament* may truly be said to be fulfilled in the MESSIAS, which were compleated in him as in the antitype, tho' they were such things, as were before done in the *type*. There are *some* things said in the *old Testament* of the MESSIAS so immediately, that they belong to him intirely and to none else: There are *other* things, that have a literal sense *first*; and *then* a spiritual meaning and reference to the MESSIAS. It is easie to give instances of both these. That *Scripture* is fulfilled in *CHRIST*, which did refer to him, as well as that, which only belonged to him and to no other. The law it self was a *shadow of things to come*; and there were during the legal dispensation, a great number of *types* of *CHRIST*, and of what he was to be, to do, and to suffer; and these things were then fulfilled, when those things did happen to him, which were thus typified and fore-shadowed. For whatever happened before in the *type*, received a new completion in the *antitype*. And *then* the *Scripture* may truly be said to be fulfilled, when the spiritual and mystical meaning of it

^r Numb. xxiii. 22. with chap. xxiv. 8. V. P. Simon. Hist. Crit. du Text. Du. N. T. p. 241.

was obtained. For as a *prophetical prediction* is then fulfilled, when what was foretold is come to pass; so a *type* is then fulfilled, when that is done in the *anti-type* which was done in the *type* before. That there were many types of the MESSIAS in the *old Testament* (as well as *predictions*) cannot reasonably be denied. For the law being full of symbols and shadows (which the *Jews* deny not) it cannot be supposed void of those, which had a reference to CHRIST; who was the end of that law, and the great blessing predicted and hoped for by all the faithful; and then were those *Scriptures* fulfilled in CHRIST, which did relate those *types* of him, whatever completion they might have before. The *brazen serpent* in the wilderness was, by the *Jews* confession, a *symbol of salvation*; and had a farther meaning, than what the letter of that relation amounts unto. This is by our SAVIOUR applied to himself; and cannot reasonably be denied to belong to the MESSIAS. Thus the law, which forbade the *breaking the bones* of the *paschal lamb*, was a *type* of what *happened* to CHRIST on the *cross*; and *that lamb* was a *type* of CHRIST, who was offered up for our salvation. And the *Jews* have no cause to quarrel with JESUS or his followers, for making these applications, unless they could demonstrate (which they can never do) that those things had no reference to that matter, to which they are applied.

3. ISRAEL, of whom these words were spoken by the prophet, was a *type* of CHRIST, to whom these words are applied by the *Evangelist*; and therefore this *Scripture* may truly be said to be *now* fulfilled, which yet in the letter was verified long before in *Israel*. *Egypt* was a refuge to *Israel* and to CHRIST; both went thither, and both returned thence. A famine sent *Israel* thither; and the sword of *Herod* was the occasion of CHRIST's being carried to the same place. CHRIST was the *Son of God*, and the *first born*; and so was *Israel* too (tho' in a lower sense, he being but the *type* of CHRIST) as it is said, *Thus saith the LORD, Israel is my son, even my first born*. Exod. iv. 22. CHRIST called GOD his *Father*; and GOD styles himself *Israel's*. *I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first born*, Jer. xxxi. 9. 'Twas by means of *Joseph* that *Israel* went into *Egypt*; it was another *Joseph* that carried CHRIST thither. The MESSIAS was GOD's *anointed*; and so was *Israel* also. CHRIST was driven from his own country to a strange land; and 'tis said of *Israel*, *That they went from one nation to another, and from one kingdom to another people*. They were both *preserved* in *Egypt*, from the cruelties of a *Pharaoh* and an *Herod*. GOD *suffered no man to do them wrong, he reprov'd kings for their sakes*: Saying, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*. Psal. cv. 13, 14, 15. Here was a discriminating *providence* to be seen in the preservation of *Israel* and of CHRIST. *Israel* is kept alive, when the first born of the *Egyptians* are slain; and CHRIST is preserved in the same place, whilst the babes about *Bethlehem* die by the sword. *Israel* left *Egypt* upon the death of the *one*; CHRIST soon after the death of the other. GOD *calls* both his sons out of *Egypt*; *Israel* the *type*, and CHRIST the *anti-type*: And the deliverance out of *Egypt* was a shadow of that which was to be wrought by CHRIST. It is no wonder, that the *afflictions in Egypt* should be called, by the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, *the afflictions of CHRIST*: Heb. xi. 26. for they befel him in the *type*, and he suffered in *Israel*; as he was offered up in *Isaac*, and slain in the sacrifices, which were types of his death. He is called *the lamb of God slain from*

from the beginning of the world. He died not only in the latter time of the Jewish state (which is called the end of the world) but he was slain in the beginning of it, in the paschal lamb, and those other sacrifices, which were types and shadows of him.

JUSTIN Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, tells him, that GOD calls CHRIST (by way of parable, or similitude,) *Jacob and Israel*. And to that purpose he quotes that place in *Isaiah*; *Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth*. Isa. xlii. 1. But he quotes that passage according to the reading of the Greek interpreters, who put in *Jacob and Israel* to the text, which is unquestionably to be meant of the MESSIAS. Let this avail what it will: It will sure have some force with those, who have a great veneration for the translation of the *Seventy*: Yet it must, however be confessed, that the *Evangelist*, when^t he cites that place, doth not follow the Greek interpreters, but the *Hebrew* text; and therefore I shall not lay a greater stress upon this argument, than it will bear. It is manifest however that *Israel* was a type of CHRIST; and as the type or sign is often put for the anti-type or thing signified; so it is here; *Israel* is put for CHRIST, whose type he was. And this appears from another place in *Isaiah*; *Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified*. Isa. xlix. 3. That by *Israel* in that place is not meant either *Jacob*, or the people which came from him, but the MESSIAS, will be very evident to any man, who will diligently consult the context, and compare what is said afterwards, ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

IF these things be duly considered and laid together, we shall have no cause to find fault with the *Evangelist*, for applying that to CHRIST, which did at first belong to *Israel*, who was a type of him.

(2.) AGAIN, *Matth. ii. 17, 18*. *Then was fulfilled, that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet saying, In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children; and would not be comforted, because they are not*. Here the Jews object against the *Evangelist*, for misapplying^u the place of *Jeremiah*; and I think my self obliged to represent the force of their objection, and to answer it.

THE Jew^x pretends, that the place in *Jeremiah* belongs to another matter; and cannot be applied without a manifest wresting of the place to the slaying of the children of *Bethlehem* in *Judah*. For why should *Rachel* be said to weep for her children here, when the children of *Bethlehem* were not hers, but *Leah's*? Besides, the prophet doth not speak of *Rachel's* weeping for the dead (to which his words be applied here) but for those who were led captive: which is evident from the following words in the prophet, where a promise is made of their return. *Thus saith the LORD, Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears. For thy work shall be rewarded, saith the LORD, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy; And there is hope in thine end, saith the LORD, that thy children shall come again to their own border*. Jer. xxxi. 16, 17. The words in the y prophet refer to the captivity of the ten tribes; who are called *Ephraim*, because *Jeroboam* their first king upon their first separation from *Judah*, was of that tribe. Agreeably hereunto, it follows in the prophet, *I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself*, Jer. xxxi. 18. This is the substance of what I find objected among the writings of the later Jews.

^t Matth. xii. 18.

^u Jer. xxxi. 5.

^x R. Isaac. l. 1. c. 28.

^y Jer. vii. 15.

FOR an answer to this difficulty (for it must be allowed that it is so) I shall offer the following particulars to your consideration.

1. I DO readily grant, that the words in *Jeremiah* do belong to another matter: Nor will I contend with the *Jew* about it; nor yet do I deny that they refer to the *captivity*; and not the *death* of those, who are *lamented*. But it doth not hence follow, that the *Evangelist* is guilty of fraud, and perverting the *Scriptures*, when he applies these words to the *lamentation*, which was made upon the account of the *innocents*, that were *slain* at *Bethlehem*.

2. RACHEL may with congruity enough be brought in weeping upon this occasion for her children, by way of a *protopopæia*; nothing being more common than for writers to bring in a person speaking, who is not really any individual person concerned in that matter. Thus is *Ephraim* brought in bemoaning himself, in that very chapter to which the *Evangelist* doth refer. This is a figure very common to all authors, to bring in a person speaking; and there is no man in his wits, who quarrels with them for it. *Rachel* is here brought in weeping, and not *Leah*; nor hath the *Jew* any reason to except against the *Evangelist* on this account. *Rachel* was known to be fond of having children, (*Give me children, says she, or else I die,*) and is therefore fitly enough brought in here in the room of the tender mothers, who wept for the death of their children. And as for that reason she was fitly made use of by the prophet; so she is by the *Evangelist* also, as a person fit to represent the concern of the kindest and most compassionate mothers. This may satisfy any indifferent person in this matter. But besides this I may add, that the tribe of *Judah* and that of *Benjamin* bordered on each other; and one is sometimes taken in as a part of the other. If *Bethlehem*^a was in *Judah*, *Ramah* was in *Benjamin* the next tribe thereunto; and not only so, but not far from *Bethlehem*. The *slaughter* of the *innocents* was not restrained to the town of *Bethlehem*, but extended to all the coasts and confines thereof: And then the voice might well be heard in *Ramah*; and *Rachel* (from whom the tribe of *Benjamin* sprang) might be truly said to weep for her children in the closest and strictest sense.

THE town of *Bethlehem*^a was the very place, where *Rachel* was buried: The *Bethlehemites*^b were descended from her husband and from her own sister: She might as truly be said to be the mother of those *Bethlehemites*, as *Leah* was called the mother of *Joseph*. The *Jews* have no reason to quarrel with the *Evangelist*, when he speaks after the manner of their law. Let it be, that *Jeremiah* speaks of *captives*, and the *Evangelist* applies the words to them that were *slain*. All that the text saith, both in the prophet and the *Evangelist*; both in the *Hebrew* and the version of the *Seventy*, is this, that *they are not*. This is the ground of their weeping; hence the tears of *Rachel*. This expression is general, and is competent to them that were *captives*, and to them that are *dead*. The one are *not in their own land*; the other *not in the land of the living*. *They are not*; there lies the cause of the lamentation: The meaning is not, that they are annihilated, and turned out of all being, whatever other sense the words do admit. But they are *not what, or where they were before*.

3. IT is very reasonable, that we grant a *second sense* to many places and passages in the *old Testament*; and when they happen to arrive to the verifying of that sense, they then may be said to be accomplished and fulfilled. I have before discoursed of this, when I considered, *Matt. ii. 15*. No man can deny the

^a Josh. xviii. 11.

^a Gen. xxxv. 19.

^b Gen. xxxvii. 10.

words of the prophet to belong at first to another matter: They were *then* literally fulfilled: but yet notwithstanding they may again be farther fulfilled, and receive their final accomplishment. The reason of things is one and the same; nor is there any thing more steady than that is: And yet where the first reason of an institution, or of the names of persons hath continued, there have risen up afterwards some new reasons (which appeared not before) of the same institutions or names. The ^c *sabbath-day* was from the beginning appointed as a standing memorial of the creation; this reason was given of it at mount *Sinai*; and yet afterwards it was required as a memorial of the deliverance out of *Egypt*. The *eating* of ^d *blood* was forbidden at first because the blood was the *life* of the creature; it was ^e afterwards forbidden because it made *atonement*. *Beersheba* had its name from ^f the *oath* that was there taken; and ^g from the *seven* ewe-lambs also: *Sheba* signifying both an *oath*, and *seven*. *Esau* ^h was called *Edom*, i. e. *red*: So he was at his *birth*; but he was called so afterwards from the *red-pottage*. If these things were so, it need not seem strange at all, that many things said and done in the *old Testament*, should receive a new completion and accomplishment in the *new*. This may well be allowed upon account of the likeness of things in the *old* and *new Testament*; and the subordination and reference which the one have to the other.

4. WE have still one great reason, besides what hath been insisted on, to believe those words in *Jeremiah* to be rightly applied by the *Evangelist*; because they are found in that very chapter, where the prophet, more than once, prophesies of the MESSIAS. And that he doth so, is very evident: For he predicts the miraculous birth of the MESSIAS presently after. *The LORD hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man.* Jer. xxxi. 22. And soon after that he mentions ver. 31. the *new covenant*, which GOD would enter into. This manifestly belongs to the days of the MESSIAS; and is therefore applied to that purpose by the divine author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, Heb. viii. 8.

LASTLY, It is to be considered, that a *Scripture* may be said to be fulfilled several ways: v. g. *properly*, in the *letter*; as when that which was foretold comes to pass; or again when what was fulfilled in the *type*, is fulfilled again in the *anti-type*. Or else a *Scripture* may be said to be fulfilled more *improperly*; v. g. by way of *accommodation*: As when a like event happens to any place or people, to that which fell out some time before. The sorrow and the mourning, which now fell upon the coasts of *Bethlehem* and *Ramah*, was very bitter and grievous; and like that which is reported to have befallen those places by *Jeremiah* upon another occasion: And then those words are made use of by way of *allusion* to express this sorrow by. The *Evangelist* doth not say, *That it might be fulfilled; but then was fulfilled*; q. d. Such another scene of sorrow appeared then upon the murder of the *innocents*, as that was, which *Jeremiah* mentions upon another sad occasion. This is a way of speaking used in the *new Testament*. What the prophet *Isaiah* says of the *hypocrites* of his time, *Isaiah* xxix. 13. is appliedⁱ by JESUS to those who were like them. *Ye hypocrites, well did Isaias prophesie of you saying, this people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me.* These men were *hypocrites* like those in the prophet's

^c Gen. ii. 3. Exod. xx. 11. Deut. v. 15.

^f Gen. xxi. 30, 31.

^g Chap. xxvi. 39.

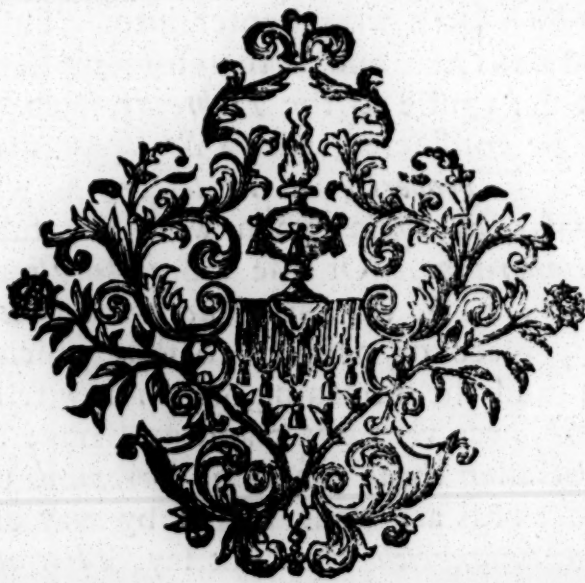
^d Gen. ix. 4.

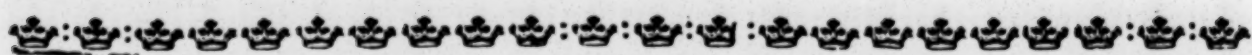
^h Gen. xxv. 25, 30.

^e Levit. xvii. 11, 12.

ⁱ Matt. xv. 7, 8.

time; and therefore the words of the prophet are accommodable to *them*, though they were spoken of *other* men. Again, the words of the *same* prophet, which were spoken to those of his *own* time, are said to be fulfilled in those, who lived in our SAVIOUR's, and are accommodated to them. *In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaias*, says our SAVIOUR; *Matt.* xiii. 14. with *Isa.* vi. 9. St. Paul applies the same words to the *Jews* of *his* time; and at the same time allows them to have been spoken to their *fathers*: *Acts* xxviii. 25. It is easie to give more instances to this purpose. Compare *Matt.* xiii. 34, 35, with *Psal.* lxxviii. 2. *Matt.* xxi. 13. with *Jer.* vii. 11. And this is a liberty to be allowed to, and that is *taken by* all writers. St. *Matthew* was an *Hebrew*; and wrote (as 'tis commonly believed) in the *Hebrew* tongue, and for the use of the *Hebrews*, and in their stile and manner of writing. He must be a stranger to the *Hebrew* writers, that doth not know, that nothing is more common among *them*, than such accommodations of the text upon all occasions. They *abound* in such applications: I may say their *Midrashim* do very much *exceed* in them. The *Jews* of all men in the world have no cause to object against our *Evangelist* on this account. And this which I have said in the *last* place, I take to be alone a full answer to the objection of the *Jews*.





C H A P. IV.

The Jew pretends, that the proceeding against Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. was unjust. An answer to his objection. An objection against the truth of what is related, Acts vii. 4. An answer to it. The like against ver. 14. answered. and ver. 16. defended against many objections. A defence of St. Stephen for what he quotes ver. 42, 43.-----Of the time of Saul's reign, Acts 13, 21. defended. The Jew's objection against Acts xvi. 3. answered. The Jew's objection against St. Paul for perverting the place which he quotes out of the old Testament, 1 Cor. xv. 54. A defence of St. Paul. The Jew pretends to prove that St. Paul wanted skill and true judgment, from Gal. iii. 16. A defence of St. Paul. The Jew pretends that St. Paul perverts the words of the Psalmist, which he cites Eph. iv. and that he doth it to serve a turn: An answer to the Jew's objection. An objection against the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for misapplying words quoted from the second Psalm, Heb. ii. 5. An answer to that objection. The same author is charged to speak inconsistently of himself; Because he doth, chap. i. exalt J E S U S above the angels; and yet chap. ii. 7. he owns him to be a little lower than the angels. An answer to that objection. A quotation from Jeremiah, Heb. viii. 8. It is pretended, that the place in Jeremiah is nothing to the purpose. The divine author of that epistle is defended. The Jew pretends, that the same author hath corrupted a place, which he quotes from the book of Psalms, Heb. x. 5. A defence of that divine author against the Jew's charge. St. James is produced by the Jew, as teaching justification by works, Jam. ii. 24. which is a doctrine directly contrary to what St. Paul. teacheth. An answer to this pretence; where it is proved that St. Paul and St. James do not contradict each other. A severe charge against St. John, the writer of the Apocalypse, upon occasion of his words, Rev. vii. 5, 6, 7, 8. He charges him with forgetfulness in not mentioning the tribe of Dan; and of gross ignorance. A full answer to that charge, and a just defence of that sacred writer.

HAVING produced some of the more plausible and common objections of the *Jews* against the four gospels, and such as are of the greatest weight, I shall now proceed to consider those, which they bring against the other parts of the *new Testament*. And as I have in the preceeding chapter given their objections the greatest force; so I shall do in those that follow. And as I have not thought my self obliged to take notice of those Exceptions, which are trifling and of very little moment; so I shall pass them by in the following chapter, for no other reason, but because they are so weak as not to deserve any answer. But as for the *Method*, I shall not fail to consider them in this following chapter, in that order in which they lie before us in the books of the *new Testament*; following herein the method in which *R. Isaac* hath laid them before us. And if in the preceeding or following chapter, the reader shall find any objection of weight and moment pretermitted, I desire, that he would not conclude too suddenly, that it is through negligence or design: For he will find those things considered in some other place, that was proper for that matter: It being not my design in these two chapters to take in those objections, which did not occur in some other place.

I. Acts v. 1. *But a certain man named Ananias, &c.* The *Jew*^a objects here the injustice of the proceeding against *Ananias* and *Sapphira*. He that gives alms, is at liberty to give what he thinks fit; nor is it fit, that a man should give all away. If this law of selling their possessions was well made, why did it not continue? And if it was not well made, why did *Ananias* and *Sapphira* suffer? In answer whereunto I consider,

1. What was the sin of *Ananias*: And that may easily be learned from the words. He had sold his possession, and set apart the price of it, and devoted it to the use of the church: He had given it to GOD, and afterwards goes about to convert part of it to a private use: *He kept back part of the price*, ver. 2. So indeed we render it: But the *Greek* word ἐκκρίνω (which the *Latin*^b renders by *fraudavit*) is observed to signifie purloining, stealing, or fraudulently taking what is not our own. The word is used by the LXXII^c in the story of *Achan*; and in the *Greek* of the book of *Maccabees*, in the^d account of the sacrilege of *Menelaus*. The word signifies theft, or taking away what is not our own; and where what is so taken away is devoted to GOD, it signifies sacrilege: And this was the case here. *Ananias* might have kept his possession if he pleased. *Whiles it remained was it not thine own?* saith St. Peter, ver. 4. He was not by any law obliged to sell his possession, nor to give all his estate to the poor. He was obliged to make good his vow; and when he had devoted his estate to GOD, he might not alienate it. This was the sin of *Ananias*. This is expressed by, *lying to the HOLY GHOST*, and *lying to GOD*, ver. 3, 4. It was a trespass against GOD, a breach of faith, and an invasion upon GOD's part and portion. 'Tis no matter, whether *Ananias* had devoted his estate in a set and solemn form of words: This is not of the essence of a vow: For a vow being nothing else but a promise made to GOD, there needs not any set form of words to make it binding. This *Maimonides*^e lays down as a rule that

In vows, and voluntary offerings, it is not needful to utter any thing with the lips. 'Tis certain, that *Ananias* had a full purpose to devote his pos-

^a MS. L. n. 129.

^b Tit. ii. 10.

^c Jos. vii. 1.

^d 2 Maccab. iv. 32.

^e Maimon. Hal Maalhe Corban, c. 14.

session; and make a shew of bringing the *full* price. 'Tis the breach of his vow that was his sin.

2. As this was his sin; so 'twas an heinous one, and such as deserved death: 'Twas a robbing of GOD, and a wilful sacrilege; for which the law of *Moses* allowed no Atonement. In case of a trespass of this kind through ignorance, there was room for forgiveness: But in that case restitution was required, and the addition of a fifth part, and a trespass offering also. *Lev. v. 15, 16.* He that wilfully sinned in this kind was left to be cut off *בְּיַד שָׁמַיִם* by the hand of heaven, as we see here *Ananias* was, *Deut. xxiii. 21.* for GOD cut him off; 'tis not to be charged upon any particular law of *JESUS*, or sentence of the *apostles*. For the sin of *Ananias* was wilful, and destitute of all excuse. He was indeed at liberty *before* he had devoted his possessions; but by no means *afterward*: *St. Peter* lets him know, that there was no excuse left for him. Had the estate been none of his, his dedicating it had been a nullity from the first. Had he had but a right to part of it, he could have been answerable for no more than he had a right to sell. Again, had he sold it, and not received the price, he might have been excused: But it was quite otherwise. *Whiles it remained, was it not thine own?* i. e. Before it was sold, wast thou not the *right owner, and full proprietor of it?* *And after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?* i. e. *After it was sold, didst thou not receive the full price of it into thy possession?* Or, *hadst thou not the money which it was sold for?* This must be the sense of those words: And this shews abundantly the inexcusableness of the man.

3. NOR ought the *Jew* upon this account to object against the *Christians* the severity of the infliction; especially if it be considered, that 'tis the *first* offence of this kind, which ought not to pass without an exemplary punishment. 'Twas thought needful upon the first planting of *Christianity* to punish so great a crime: Nor hath the *Jew* reason to think it too great severity, when he considers what was inflicted on *Nadab* and *Abihu*; and upon him that *gathered sticks* on the *Sabbath day*: Not to insist upon *other* examples of sinners in this kind, who were most severely punished under the oeconomy of *Moses*: Such were *Achan* and the *sons of Eli*: That I may say nothing of those, who were remarkably punished for their irreverence and profaneness.

II. Again, *Acts vii. 4.* --- *And from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell.* Here the *Jew*^t objects against the truth of what is here affirmed. He undertakes to prove, that *Terah* lived 60 years after this removal of *Abraham*; and thus he proceeds, *Terah* at the age of 70 years begat *Abraham*, *Gen. xi. 26.* *Abraham* when he was 75 years old left *Charran*, and removed into *Canaan*. *Gen. xii. 5.* Then was *Terah* 145 years old. *Terah* lived in all 205 years. *Gen. xi. 32.* and therefore lived after *Abraham's* removal into *Canaan* 60 years. And yet *Stephen* pretends, that he removed not till after his father's death: This is the substance of the *Jew's* objection.

In answer whereunto, I examine what truth there is in what the *Jew* affirms, concerning the age of *Terah*, when he begat *Abram*. Upon this the rest is built: If the *Jew* be mistaken here, the force of the objection is quite gone. He confidently affirms, that *Abram* was begotten when *Terah* was 70 years old. For this he grounds himself upon these words: *And*

^t R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 61.

Terah *lived 70 years and begat* Abram, Nahor, and Haran. *Gen.* xi. 26. Had *Abram* alone been mentioned, his argument had been good: But now the most that can be inferred from this place is, that *Terah* began to beget children when he was 70 years old.

Abram indeed is first named; but not therefore to be supposed the first-born. We may not conclude, that *Shem* was the first-born of *Noah*, because he is named before *Ham* and *Japhet*. *Gen.* v. 32. The *worthiest* and not the *eldest* is sometime first named in *Holy Writ*. Of which it were very easy to give a great number of examples. (See *Gen.* xlviii. 20. *Exod.* vii. 7. *1 Chron.* i. 28. and *ch.* ii. *ver.* 2.) Several of the ^s *Jews* believe it to be so in this place. Unless *Abram* appeared to be the eldest son, the place alledged will be no proof, that he was begotten when *Terah* was seventy years old.

BUT instead of any such proof we have sufficient evidence, that *Abram* was not the eldest son of *Terah*. *Haran* did not only die long before *Abram*, *Gen.* xi. 28. but *Abraham* married his daughter *ver.* 29. and she was but ten years younger than he, *Gen.* xvii. 17. And if from the order of the words *Gen.* xi. 26. *Abram* must be concluded to be the *eldest* son, *Haran* must be the youngest. And if so, *Haran's* daughter *Sarah* must be begotten by him, when about the age of seven years; and if *Milcha* was the eldest of *Haran's* daughter, she must be begotten before he was of that age.

THAT by *Iscah*, *Sarah* is meant *Gen.* xi. 29. is evident from the text; and as much is acknowledged by the *Jewish* and *Christian* writers.

WE do therefore agree with a ^b learned *Jew*, that *Terah* began to beget when seventy years old. That after 60 years he begat *Abram*; according to which account, when *Terah* was two hundred and five years old, *Abram* was seventy five: And this is agreeable with the words of *St. Stephen*.

III. AGAIN, *Acts* vii. 14. *Then sent Joseph and called his father Jacob to him and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.* Here the ⁱ *Jews* pretend again, that *Stephen* was mistaken, tho' it be said of him that he was *full of the HOLY GHOST*; for this which he affirms here (say they) agrees not with the account, which we have in the *old Testament*. *Gen.* xlvii. For the number that went with *Jacob* into *Egypt* amounts not to any more than seventy, tho' *Joseph* and his sons be added to the rest. Besides, they are elsewhere called seventy. *Deut.* x. And therefore *Stephen* mistook when he reckoned seventy five. I answer,

THAT this matter will be best understood by reflecting first upon the account which *Moses* gives, and then upon the design and words of *Stephen*; for the places are not such exact parallels as the *Jews* fancy.

I. LET us consider what *Moses* says, and the design of his account. 'Tis plain, that *Moses* designs to give an account of *Jacob's* whole family, or *Jacob* and his seed, or as 'tis expressed, such as *came out of his loyns*. *Gen.* xlvii. 6, 7, 8, 26. And to this end, that the reader might, by comparing this small number with the great number, which came out of *Egypt* after two hundred and fifteen years stay there, and oppression, admire the good providence of *GOD* over that people, *Moses* plainly tells us, That he doth

^s V. M. B. Israel. Conciliat. in *Gen.* quæst. 1. 35. *Lusit.* n. 189. R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 63.

^b M. B. Israel ubi supra.

ⁱ MS.

not reckon *Jacob's* sons wives in this account, *ver.* 26. but himself and such as proceeded from him; and therefore to make up his sum, he reckons some, that were born in *Egypt*, as *Joseph's* sons, &c. because all these belonged to the family and off-spring of *Jacob*, and the purpose of *Moses*. Put ^k all together, and reckon *Jacob* in, and the number ariseth no higher than seventy, *ver.* 27.

2. LET us next consider the *design* and *words* of *Stephen*: He undertakes to tell, not the number of those, who came out of *Jacob's* loins, much less to compare this number with the number that came out of *Egypt* (both which *Moses* lays before his reader) but the number of them whom *Joseph* called into *Egypt*; *Then sent Joseph and called his father to him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.* So that *Stephen* speaks of another matter from what *Moses* mentions; and cannot be supposed therefore to agree with him in the same number. Whereas *Moses* tells us, how many *Jacob* and his off-spring or seed amounted to, omitting his sons wives; *Stephen* tells us how many they were, that *Joseph* called into *Egypt*. Some in the list of *Moses* must be left out of the number of *Stephen*. Be it then, that *Moses* reckons seventy, several of them must be left out of *Stephen's* number, as being inconsistent with his design. *Joseph* and his two sons could not be said to be called into *Egypt*, who were there already; nor *Hezon* and *Hamul*, who were not yet born. Besides this, *Jacob* is considered here apart, and the seventy five are called besides him. All these belonged to the purpose and number of *Moses*; but could not to that of *Stephen*. Be it so then, that the number of *Moses* amounts to just seventy, and that six of that number are to be removed from that of *Stephen*; there will remain sixty four, which *Stephen* could reckon in his number. To which if we add the eleven wives of the sons of *Jacob*, we shall find the whole amount to seventy five.

3. WE shall be confirmed in this account, if we look into *Genesis*, and consider who they were, that were by *Joseph* called into *Egypt*. And we shall quickly find, that he did not only call *Jacob's* seed, or those that proceeded out of his loins, but his whole kindred also, not only γένος αὐτοῦ, but as 'tis expressed by *Stephen*, παῖς καὶ συγγένεια αὐτοῦ. He called *Jacob* and *all that he had*, His household. *Gen.* xlv. 10, 11. And *Joseph* received a particular command from *Pharaoh* to take waggons, not only for the little ones, but for the *wives* also, *ver.* 19. And the sons of *Jacob* are expressly said to have carried in the waggons, not only their little ones, but their *wives*, *Gen.* xlv. 5. *Josephus* ^l reports *Joseph's* words to his brethren thus, Ἀυτὸν δὲ τῶτον καὶ γυναῖκας ὑμῶν καὶ τέκνα, καὶ παῖς καὶ συγγένεια ὑμῶν ἀναλαβόντες, ἐνθάδε μετακίζετε. Where he requires them to take their father, their wives, and children, and all their kindred, and to bring them to him.

4. THE wives of *Jacob's* sons, tho' they were not of his loins, and so not reckoned by *Moses* among them that were, yet they were of his συγγένεια, and were among them, whom *Joseph* called to him with his father into *Egypt*; and consequently must be taken in to make up the number of *St. Stephen*, tho' they belonged not to them, who are reckoned up by *Moses*, *Gen.* xlv. For they who are there reckoned, are *Jacob's* off-spring, and are by *Josephus* ^m called, his τέκνα and τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ. But the συγγένεια extendeth farther, viz. to his *affinity*, or his sons wives. Thus the word is used; The father's brother's wife is by the LXXII expressed by συγγένεις *Lev.* xviii.

^k V. Phil. Judæus περί ἀποικίας

^l Antiqu. l. 2. c. 3.

^m Antiqu. l. 2. c. 4.

14. *chap. xx. 20.* And it is said in the story of *Jericho*, that before the destruction of that city, they brought out *Rahab*, her *father*, and *mother*, and *brethren* (that is her γένος) and it follows ἐξ ἧς συγγένειας αὐτῆς, i. e. her kindred, *Jos. vi. 23.* And in this sense the word is frequently used in ⁿ *Josephus*. In the story of *David* he tells us, That when *Saul* offered him his daughter in marriage, *David* was pleased in thinking him sincere ἐπεὶ ἦ συγγένειαν, in that affinity which he offered. He tells elsewhere that *Alexander* sent to *Ptolomy* desiring his daughter in marriage, as not being unworthy, συνάψαι συγγένειαν, of contracting that affinity. And *Demetrius* is said to be to *Ptolomy*, διὰ τὸ ἦ Κλεοπάτρας γάμον συγγένους, i. e. his *affinis*, or kinsman by the marriage of *Cleopatra*. So that the πᾶσι συγγένεια may well extend to the daughters-in-law of *Jacob*, or the wives of his sons.

IV. AGAIN, *Acts vii. ver. 16.* And were carried over into *Sychem*, and laid in the sepulchre that *Abraham* bought for a sum of money, of the sons of *Emmor* the father of *Sychem*. That *Jacob* went into *Egypt*, and he died, and the fathers, *Stephen* tells in the foregoing words: And of this we have no dispute. But what he affirms in these following words, the ^o *Jews* except against. And one of them finds a great many exceptions; and is so confident, as to charge *Stephen* with six errors or mistakes at once. I shall lay these exceptions fairly before the reader, as I find them in this *Jewish* writer. (1.) *Jacob* was not buried in *Sychem*, as *Stephen* insinuates, but in the cave of *Machpelah*. *Gen. l. 13.* (2.) Nor were the fathers (*Joseph* excepted, *Josb. xxiv. 32.*) buried in *Sychem*, but in *Egypt*. (3.) *Abraham* did not buy *Sychem*, but *Machpelah*, *Gen. xxiii. 17.* (4.) That *Abraham* bought it not of the sons of *Emmor*, but of *Ephron*, *Gen. xxiii. 16.* (5.) Part of the field of *Sychem* *Jacob* bought, not *Abraham*, *Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19.* (6.) That in the *Greek* text, *Emmor* is said to be the son of *Sychem*; whereas in truth he was his father. *Gen. xxxiii. 19.* This is the most, that what he objects amounts unto. And indeed there is a considerable difficulty in the place: But I shall shew that difficulty to be less, than it appears at first sight; and to be no sufficient ground for rejecting the book, where it is found, or any part of it.

I will not keep the method, which the *Jew* useth in proposing his objections, but shall take care to give an answer to the whole in the following particulars.

I. WHAT he says in the *sixth* place is a manifest falshood. We grant *Emmor* to be the father of *Sychem*; and so our *English* interpreters have it. I grant, that in the *Greek*, 'tis Ἐμμόρ ὁ Συχῆμ. These words by the *Vulgar* are rendered *Hemor filii Sychem*. But tho' the *Vulgar*, generally speaking is a good version, yet we are not bound to defend it every where: And tho' the words will bear that rendering; yet the subject matter will not. Hence the *Jew* might take his occasion of excepting against *Stephen*; but the words of *Stephen* do not give this occasion. The words are *Elliptical*; and therefore the supply is to be made by the version: But in the *Greek*, the expression is such as doth by no means oblige us to receive the version of the *Vulgar*; for they will bear very well the versions, which our *English* give. And thus Μαρία Ἰακώβου, is truly translated *Mary* the mother of *James*. *Luk. xxiv. 10.* And this version is justified by *St. Mark, chap. xv. 40.* so that this objection ought to be struck out of the list.

ⁿ Antiqu. l. 6. c. 11. & c. 13. l. 13. c. 7. & c. 8. ^o MS. Lusit. n. 190. R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 63.
2. WHERE E-

2. WHEREAS in his *second* exception the *Jew* affirms, That the fathers (*Joseph* only excepted, *Josh.* xxiv. 32.) were buried in *Egypt*, 'tis certain that he proves not what he says: And let the exception be never so pertinent or strong; yet it can have no force till it be made good. The *Jew* is so far from proving what he says, that he doth not attempt it. More still; 'tis impossible, that he should prove that the fathers were buried in *Egypt*; tho' if he could, we are little concerned in that matter: Because they might for all that be afterward carried into *Canaan*; and that is it, which *St. Stephen* affirms. And therefore the *Jew* ought to prove, that the fathers were buried in *Egypt*; and which is most to the purpose, that they were not at length carried into *Canaan*. Instead of this, he only confidently affirms the former.

WE have on the other hand good reason to believe, That the other fathers were carried into *Canaan* to be buried, as well as *Joseph*. For no reason can be assigned, why *Joseph* should desire to be buried there, that was peculiar, and might not as well move the rest of his brethren. That *Joseph*^p predicted the *Israelites* going out of *Egypt*, and took an oath of them concerning his bones, we read: And hence it was very fit, that we should be informed, that the *Israelites* did perform what he so solemnly required; and so we are in the book of *Joshua*. But tho' the same be not said of the other fathers; yet we have good reason to believe (had *St. Stephen* said nothing of it) that they also were buried in the land of *Canaan*. *Josephus*^q a very learned *Jew*, expressly affirms this. He tells us, That *Joseph's* brethren died; and adds, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν οὐρανὴν. i. e. *Their children and off-spring, after this, took their bodies and buried them in Hebron*. And in^r another place, where he tells us, that *Simon* took the city of *Hebron*, he gives an account of that place: He tells that it was the place where *Abraham* abode, when he left *Mesopotamia*; that whence his children went into *Egypt* ἐν ᾗ τὰ μνημεῖα μίχου τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν, &c. i. e. *whose sepulchres are now to be seen in this city, &c.* They did not stay till the *Israelites* went out of *Egypt*, as it was in the case of the bones of *Joseph*; as we may learn from the same author in the following words. We have another testimony, as^t old as *St. Hierom*, of one who saw the sepulchres of the twelve patriarchs, having diverted from *Sychem*. Had the *Jew* been just, he ought not to have put his *second* exception into his list.

3. AS for his *first* exception, viz. that *Jacob* was not buried in *Sychem*, but in the cave of *Machpelah*, I grant it to be true; but 'tis nothing to the purpose: Here's nothing in the words of *St. Stephen* that contradicts it. If the fathers were carried over, which *Josephus* the *Jew* says they were, *St. Stephen's* words cannot, as to that matter, be excepted against. And I appeal to any indifferent man that heeds them.

4. THAT *Abraham* did not buy *Sychem* but *Machpelah*, is the *third* of the *Jews* exceptions. I will not contend with them about this matter, but grant it so to be: I do not see the force of this exception. *St. Stephen* doth not say that *Abraham* bought *Sychem*; but that he bought a sepulchre; and so the *Scripture* tells us, that he did, *Gen.* xxiii.

5. WHAT is affirmed by the *Jew* in the *fourth* and *fifth* of his exceptions is also granted to be true, viz. that *Abraham* bought the sepulchre

^p Gen. i. 25. Exod. xiii. 19. Heb. xi. 22. with *Josh.* xv. 32.
Bello Judaico, l. 5. c. 31.

^q Hierom Epitaph. Paul.

^q Antiqu. l. 6. c. 4.
^t Gen. l. 13.

^r De

not of the sons of *Emmor*, but of *Ephron*. *Gen.* xxiii. 16. And that *Jacob* bought part of the field of *Sychem*, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18, 19.

6. *St. Stephen* tells us, how *they* were buried, of whom he speaks; some of them in *Sychem* with *Joseph*, others in the field of *Ephron* with *Jacob*: Which reconciles what is above related differently from *Josephus* and *St. Hierom*. And allowing the words of *St. Stephen* to be *Elliptical*, I shall give the following paraphrase of them, *Jacob and our fathers, who died in Egypt, were carried thence unto Sychem: And thus they were disposed of: Jacob and some of our fathers in that sepulchre which Abraham bought for a sum of money: Others of them were buried with Joseph, in that which was bought by Jacob of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem*. This is a fair account of the words, without either altering or straining of them: Nor will the *Jew* have any cause to complain. Here is supposed an *Ellipsis* of the *Copula*: And after the word *money*; (of which we have an example, *Pf.* cxxxiii. 3.) and of *sepulchre*, which was mentioned just above: And that is no great matter. They were buried in the sepulchre that *Abraham* bought, &c. And in that (*sc.* bought) of the sons of *Emmor*, the father of *Sychem*.

V. *Acts* vii. 42, 43. ----- As it is written in the book of the prophets, O ye house of *Israel*, have ye offered to me slain beasts, and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of *Moloch*, and the Star of your *GOD Remphan*, figures which ye made to worship them; and I will carry you away beyond *Babylon*. Here ^u the *Jew* pretends, that *St. Stephen* hath misrepresented the prophet, and reported the words otherwise than they are in him. ^v But he hath not said wherein he hath mis-represented him: If he had done this, I should have thought my self obliged to have considered his exceptions. 'Tis certain, that upon the main matter *St. Stephen's* words agree with those of the *LXXII*, which for what appears hath given us the true sense of the *Hebrew*. It must be confessed, that instead of *Damascus*, both in the *Hebrew* and *LXXII*, *St. Stephen* hath *Babylon*. For this difference I must account.

HERE the reader is to consider, that though there be a difference between the words of the *prophet* and *St. Stephen*; yet there is no contradiction or inconsistency. The *prophet* predicts the captivity of the ten tribes; and they were carried captive, not only beyond *Damascus*, as the *prophet* predicts, but beyond *Babylon*, as *St. Stephen* doth express it. For ^x *Assyria* and *Media* whither the ten tribes were carried, was beyond *Damascus*, and *Babylon* also. As to the matter of fact, the words of *St. Stephen* are as true as the words of the *prophet* are; and the event of things speaks them so to be.

'Tis true, that the *Jews* are threatened in *Amos* with a captivity beyond *Damascus*: But how much beyond, the *prophet* says not: And we may well suppose more to be meant than is expressed.

NOR will it be hard to assign the cause, why the captivity is thus expressed in *Amos*. The *Israelites* had suffered severely from the king of *Damascus*. *Amos* i. 3. After this *Ahaz* sent to *Tilgath Pileser* the *Assyrian* king, to fight against *Israel* and the *Syrians*. 2 *King* xvi. 5. He did fight against the *one* and the *other*, and carried them both captives. 2 *Kings* xv.

^u R. *Isaac*. l. 2. c. 64.

^x 2 *Kings* xv. 29. xvii. 6.

29. with *chap.* xvi. 9. He carried away the riches of *Damascus*, and the spoil of *Samaria*. *Iſa.* viii. 4. 'Tis very probable that the captives of *Iſrael* were carried by him to *Damascus*, whose inhabitants he captivated at the same time. For we read, that *Abaz* went thither to him, *2 Kings* xvi. 10. after his victory. Since then they, who had suffered from *Damascus*, and had been led captives thither, might flatter themselves with hopes of return: And since *Damascus* was the way to *Aſſyria*, and had been a confederate of *Iſrael's*, and consequently looked upon by them as a fence; their future captivity is fitly expreſſed, by the prophet, by carrying them *beyond Damascus*; and after this event as fitly by *St. Stephen*, by carrying them *beyond Babylon*; which was the same thing which the prophet meant in the other words.

VI. *Acts* xiii. 21. *And God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years.* Here the Jew excepts against *St. Paul*, and endeavours to prove, that *Saul* was so far from reigning forty years, that he thinks it not reasonable to allow him to have reigned ten. For (says the Jew) before *Saul's* miscarriage in the matter of the *Amalekites* he reigned but two years: For the proof whereof he alledgeth *1 Sam.* xiii. 1. After this miscarriage of *Saul's*, he was reputed as a man dead, and the years of his reign are not numbred; *Samuel* upon this anoints *David*, who (says the Jew) could not at that time be less than twenty years old. *1 Sam.* xvi. 18. *David* after *Saul's* death was but 30 years old, *2 Sam.* v. 4. whence he concludes, that *Saul* could not reign ten years; when yet *St. Paul* reports him to have reigned forty. But to this I answer,

1. THAT what the Jew alledgeth for the proof of his opinion, is insufficient. It doth by no means appear from *1 Sam.* xiii. 1. that *Saul* reigned but two years before his miscarriage in the matter of the *Amalekites*. The words are these, *Saul reigned one year; and when he had reigned two years over Israel, &c.* The sense of which words seems to be this: q. d. *After the Philistines were subdued by Samuel a year passed; when Saul began to reign: And after this he reigned two years free from their yoke.* After this time *Saul* was brought under by them, and his people in slavery to them: When this yoke was broken upon the victory over the *Philistines*, 'tis said, *So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, i. e.* he recovered it again: *1 Sam.* xiv. 47. Here's no shadow for that, which the Jew would prove from the words.

2. WHAT the Jew adds, that upon *Saul's* miscarriage in the matter of the *Amalekites* *Samuel* anointed *David*, is nothing to the purpose; unless he could make it appear in what year of *Saul's* reign this was done; and from thence shew, that the *Apostle* speaks inconsistently with the history of *Samuel*.

3. I shall not deny *David* to be twenty years old when he was anointed; tho' I do not see how it can be proved from *1 Sam.* xvi. 18. Be it so: All this still is nothing to the purpose, for which it is produced; unless it could be proved, that he was anointed in the former part of *Saul's* reign.

4. CERTAIN it is, that the years of *Saul's* reign are no where reckoned up in the *old Testament*: And the Jewish writers are not agreed among

v R. *Iſaac.* l. 2. c. 67.

z *1 Sam.* xiii. 1, 2.

L 1 2

them:

themselves about the number of them. The author^a of the *Seder Olam* allows him but two years; and the author^b of the *Juchasin* allows him no more: And this proceeds from a mistake of those words 1 Sam. xiii. 1. And we find^c several others of the *Jewish* writers objecting against it: And *Abarbenel* himself allows, that *Saul* reigned seventeen years: So great a variety is there among the *Jewish* writers in this matter. Which is a clear argument, that the years of *Saul's* reign are no where in *Scripture* expressly mentioned; and consequently, that the *Jew* had no just cause to fall upon St. *Paul* as mis-reporting this matter, unless he could have refuted him from some text, or given sufficient proof that he was mistaken. This is a matter, in which the *Scripture* is silent, and in which the *Jews* are divided among themselves: And yet *Josephus*^d owns, that he reigned forty years; for he says expressly, that he reigned 18 years during *Samuel's* life, and 22 years after his decease.

5. St. *Paul* is not to be strained, beyond what his words do amount unto. And though his words at first sight seem to imply, that *Saul* reigned 40 years, and are very capable of being so understood (nor have we cause from what the *Jew* hath objected, to disown that sense of them) yet he doth not use such an expression, as is capable of no other sense. He doth not expressly say, that *Saul* reigned 40 years. The 40 years may refer to those words, *Until Samuel the prophet*, ver. 20. and the following words may be read in a parenthesis, till these words, *by the space of forty years*. And then the words are thus to be read, from ver. 20. *And after that he gave unto them judges about the space of 450 years; until Samuel the prophet (and afterwards they desired a king; and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin) by the space of 40 years*. But I take no advantage from this reading; nor am I under any necessity from what the *Jew* hath said to fly to it.

6. I shall only add, that 'tis not my purpose to enquire any farther into the number of years which *Saul* reigned, than I am obliged by the *Jew*, who makes the above-named objection. I am only obliged to consider the force of his objections, and not to run out in this argument beyond that obligation. Had he thought good to have produced any thing of greater force, it should have been considered. I am well satisfied, that I have abundantly answered his exceptions; and that he hath no cause at all to complain of want of skill or sincerity in the holy *Apostle*. And tho' the number of years which *Saul* reigned, is not set down in the *old Testament*; yet we may collect from it, that he reigned many years longer, than this *Jew* will allow him. There were no less than three *high priests* during his reign, *Abiah*, *Abimelec*, and *Abiathar*. 1 Sam. xiv. 3. ch. xxii. 20. and ch. xxiii. 9. The last of them officiated before *Samuel's* death, and consequently a considerable while before *Saul's*, 1 Sam. xxv. 1. And *Saul* reigned several years, before we read that *Abiah* ministred. 1 Sam. xiii. 1. Again *Saul* was a young man when he began to reign, 1 Sam. ix. 2. And yet not so young, but that he had a Son *Jonathan* a young man of valour, when he had reigned two years, 1 Sam. xiii. 1, 3. *Saul* had three other sons, the youngest whereof was called *Esh-Baal*, 1 Chron. viii. 33. and *Isb-boseth*, 2 Sam. iv. 8. He was at *Saul's* death 40 years old, ver. 10. If *Saul* reigned not ten years (as this *Jew* would have it) then must this

^a Seder Olam c. 13.

^b Juchasin p. 11.

^c V. Gantz. cum Vorst. Abarbenel in 1 Sam. xiii. 1.

^d Antiqu. l. 6. c. ult.

youngest of his four sons be above 30 years old, when *Saul* began to reign; and then 'twill be hard to say, how at that time and age he could be called a young man, when in all likelihood he must be well advanced towards 60 years of age. 'Tis much more probable, that this youngest son was born in the first year of *Saul's* reign; and perhaps received that name, which speaks defiance to *Baal* from *Saul*, who upon coming to the kingdom designed the destruction of the worshippers of *Baal*.

VII. Acts xvi. 3. ----- *And circumcised him because of the Jews which were in those quarters: For they all knew that his Father was a Greek.* The Jew^e pretends, that St. Paul in circumcising *Timothy* acted contrary to the *Christian* religion; Circumcision being according to the belief of *Christians* to continue only to the coming of the MESSIAS; and that he is in this matter inconsistent with himself: For elsewhere he says, *Is any man called in uncircumcision? Let him not be circumcised.* 1 Cor. vii. 18. And^f elsewhere, *Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.* Why then did he circumcise *Timothy*? And why did not he afterwards oblige him to keep the law of *Moses*? And why did not he, who was circumcised himself, think himself obliged to keep it? Another Jew^s proceeds farther, and chargeth St. Paul and his followers as guilty of hypocrisy, in their compliances with the Jewish rites; and particularly St. Paul here for circumcising *Timothy* for fear of the Jews; which he represents as a mean thing, and no way becoming a person inspired, and him who declares, *If I yet please men, I should not be the servant of CHRIST:* Gal. i. 10. In a word, he says, that St. Paul did not behave himself as a man sent by GOD; for he was to the Jews a Jew; of great compliance, and far from the steadiness of a man of GOD.

IN answer whereunto I desire the following particulars may be considered; whence it will appear, that St. Paul did no evil thing and cannot be justly blamed.

(1.) WHAT the Jew affirms, that *Christians* believe, that circumcision was to cease upon the coming of JESUS, if by the coming of JESUS he mean his first appearance or birth, we deny, that we are of that belief. JESUS himself was circumcised; nor doth he in any of his sermons or discourses speak against circumcision.

(2.) That circumcision is acknowledged to have been a thing not evil, but in its own nature indifferent; neither required by the *Christian* religion, nor yet any bar to it, or inconsistent with it. *Is any man called being circumcised? Let him not be uncircumcised: Is any called in uncircumcision? Let him not become circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the commandments of GOD.* 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19. St. Paul else-where declares, that GOD would justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith, Rom. iii. 30.

(3.) THAT notwithstanding what hath been said, circumcision might be so taught and practised, as to become an evil, and inconsistent with the *Christian* doctrine. And therefore, for the better comprehending this whole matter, I shall consider, in what cases circumcision, which was no

^e R. Isaac, l. 2.c. 74. and 85. ^f Gal. v. 2, 3. ^g MS. L. n. 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170.

evil thing in it self, became an evil, and inconsistent with the *Christian doctrine*, *Viz.*

1. WHEN it was urged as a *necessary* duty, and such as we are obliged to : Then what was in truth but *indifferent*, was required as indispensably *necessary* to be done; and that which was only no bar to the *Christian* religion, was required as a *precept* of it. This was the way of false teachers, who endeavoured to bring men under a yoke, which our SAVIOUR never put upon them. *Gal. v. 1.* with *Acts xv. 1.*

2. WHEN 'twas not only required as a duty, but as that without which we cannot be justified and saved. There were those who taught the brethren, *Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.* *Acts xv. 1.* These men would have put a yoke on the disciples, which GOD never designed for them; and which was a burdensome one also, and an infraction upon their *Christian* liberty. *Gal. v. 1.* *Acts xv. 10.* And not only so, but it would have subverted the *Christian* doctrine; according to which, we are justified by faith in CHRIST JESUS, and not by the works of the law. CHRIST is become of no effect unto you; whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace, says St. Paul, *Gal. v. 4.* And he that preached this necessity of circumcision, did at the same time, what in him lay, to subvert the *Christian* religion, and send men back again to the law of *Moses*, to be justified by the works thereof.

3. WHEN circumcision was used as a *mark* to distinguish the *Jew* from the *Christian*; and so was used as a special token, to shew what religion a man was of. 'Twas a *religious* sign under the law of *Moses*; and intended to distinguish the *Jew* from the *Heathen*, and from the other uncircumcised part of mankind. And in this sense circumcision was unlawful to a *Christian*; because it spake his renouncing *Christianity*, and adhering to the law of *Moses* in opposition thereunto. The false teachers^h preached up *circumcision after the manner of Moses*; that is, as it was commanded by him in his law: And there it was used as a *note* and *mark* of a *Jew*; and to distinguish him from all other men, who were of any other religion or profession.

(4.) HENCE it appears, that St. Paul in circumcising *Timothy* did nothing contrary to the *Christian* doctrine: He is very unjustly charged by the *Jew* on this account. He circumcised *Timothy* indeed; but in this he offended against no law; there was no law of CHRIST, or the church which forbade him. His mother was a *Jewess*, his father a *Greek* or *Gentile*. It might be presumed, that he was not circumcised: That care belonged to the father; and if he continued uncircumcised, he would be of no use to him: He circumcised him, that he might remove the prejudice of the *Jews*, and render *Timothy* the fitter instrument to prevail upon them. Here's an argument of St. Paul's great charity; but no shadow of any fault.

(5.) NOR did he offend against the decree of the *Apostles. chap. xv.* This will plainly appear to any man, that will take the pains to consider that decree. That decree concerned them only, who from *among the gentiles* were turned unto GOD. *Acts xv. 19, 23.* They were not obliged to circumcision upon peril of damnation, *ver. 2.* They were discharged indeed from any such obligation, as the false teachers would have laid upon them, *chap. xxi. 25.* And therefore *Titus*, who was a *Greek* or *gentile*, was not

^h *Acts xv. 1.*

circumcised, *Gal. ii. 3.* The circumcising of *him* might have offended the *gentiles*; but not the circumcision of *Timothy*, who was born of a *Jewess*. He shewed great wisdom and charity; but was guilty of no fault.

(6.) *NOR* is he in this inconsistent with himself. He did not circumcise *Timothy*, that he might be justified thereby; so that what he writes to the *Galatians, chap. v. 4.* is very consistent with what he doth, when he circumciseth *Timothy*. The *Galatians* were *gentiles*, and in no wise under the law, which required circumcision. They renounced *Christianity*, when they submitted to circumcision in order to be justified thereby. This is plainly the *Apostle's* meaning: He that among them was circumcised, was supposed to submit to it, that he might be justified by the law. *Gal. v. 3, 4.* He says indeed, *I testifie to every man, that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.* *Gal. v. 3.* But 'tis to be considered, to whom he speaks, *viz.* to the *gentiles*, who were never under the law of circumcision; and therefore could not be supposed to submit to it, but in order to be justified thereby, and to become *Jews*. What we render truly enough, *That is circumcised*, is rendered by the Vulgar *circumcidenti se*; so that this *Version* gives us the sense of the place: 'Tis every one among them, that voluntarily gives up himself to that yoke, which *GOD* never laid upon him; *He* must be presumed to turn *Jew* and renounce *Christianity*. Such a man must be a debtor to the whole law, *Non absolute ex genere operis, sed ex intentione operantis*. Not that circumcision of its own nature implies so much; but he that in that case submits to it, must be presumed to intend an obedience to the whole law of *Moses*; i. e. to renounce *Christianity* and turn *Jew*.

VIII. *1 Cor. xv. 54.* ----- *Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* Here ⁱ the *Jew* chargeth the *Apostle* with perverting the *Prophet's* words, that he might draw them to support his false belief; and to this purpose he refers the reader to the words themselves, as they lie in the *old Testament*, as a plain proof of the justice of his charge.

IN answer whereunto it will be necessary, that we duly consider both the words of the *Apostle*, and the words of the *old Testament* to which they do refer.

(1.) The words of the *Apostle*. All that he says is, That then shall be brought to pass, ὁ ἄγος ὁ κτενοῦντος the saying that is written, so we render it. Or the thing that is written: For the *Hebrew* דבר, as well as ἄγος, signifies not only saying, or word, but thing. The *Apostle* doth not quote any *Prophet*; much less doth he pretend to give us the formal words of any writer whatsoever. If we find the thing or substance, of what he alledgeth to his present purpose, we shall be at no loss to defend the *Apostle* against the *Jew*. If no such thing was written, we might have some shadow of objection against the *Apostle*.

(2.) THE words of the *old Testament*, to which the *Apostle* doth refer: And here we find two places; which shall therefore be considered separately and apart.

THE first of them is *Isa. xxv. 8.* for those words of the *Apostle*, *Death is swallowed up in victory.* This is indeed the ἄγος κτενοῦντος that the *A-*

ⁱ R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 87.

postle speaks of. Let us see, whether any such thing be written or no. And we shall find it written in the place above mentioned; and that in the *Hebrew* text also, בלע המית לנצח; we render it, *He will swallow up death in victory*. The *Apostle* keeps to the *Hebrew* text, and doth not follow the LXXII. This is indeed expressed by the *Apostle*, *Death is swallowed up in victory*. Nor can any man justly blame the *Apostle* for using the *passive* voice; for besides that the *Syriac* version renders the *Hebrew* verb by a *passive*, 'tis certain that there is not any *person* expressed in the words, as they lie in the *Hebrew*. And where the *person* is not expressed, there the word is frequently to be understood in an *impersonal* or *passive* signification. Of which matter I have elsewhere spoken more largely. Here is not the least ground for charging the *Apostle* with perverting the words of the *Prophet*. Nor doth the *Jew* attempt to shew, that the *Apostle* hath misapplied them; and therefore I am under no obligation to prove them to belong to the matter for which they are produced.

THE *second* place to which the *Apostle* is supposed to refer, is *Hosea* xiii. 14. And the following words of the *Apostle* refer to it. *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* I presume, that the *Jew* laid the greatest stress and weight upon this place, because of the difference between the words in the *Apostle*, and the words as they lie in the *Prophet*. For in the *Prophet*, these are the words, *O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction*. In answer whereunto,

1. I subjoin, That the *Apostle* doth not cite any prophet for these words, nor so much as insinuate, that he takes these words from the *old Testament*. The saying that is written is, *Death is swallowed up in victory*: And that this is written, I have shewed before. There is no necessity, that what follows should be written also. And 'tis a great folly to charge the *Apostle* with *misquoting* and perverting, where it doth not plainly appear, that he so much as *quotes* at all.

2. ALLOWING that he *quotes* (which can never be proved) or rather *refers* to *Hosea* xiii. yet 'tis certain, that he hath not perverted, nor so much as mis-represented the sense of that place. This will appear to any man, that will look over the words, and compare them diligently. 'Tis true indeed, that what in the *Hebrew* is איה, and we translate *I will be*; St. *Paul* expresseth by אי, and we render by *where*, a note of interrogation. And this is the most considerable difficulty in this matter: Hence some men perhaps may be forward to accuse the *Apostle* of mistake and precipitancy, in taking one word for another, viz. איה which signifies *I will be*, for אי which signifies *where*. But these men are too forward: St. *Paul* may be justified before all the world in this matter: For 'tis certain, that איה tho' it commonly signifies *I will*, or *I will be*; yet it sometime signifies the same with אי as it hath the same letters with it always. We have an instance *Hosea* xiii. 10. where איה is rendred to the same sense, as if it was אי, which signifies *where*; both by the LXXII, the *Vulgar*, *Syriac*, and *Chaldee* also.

AFTER all, 'tis certain the sense is the same; and the place of *Hosea* contains a promise. The *Jew* can never shew, that 'twas fulfilled either in the *two* tribes or the *ten*. And St. *Paul* is so far from perverting the place, that 'twill be hard to find any sense so agreeable as his. Not now

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to mention, that some of the *Hebrew* doctors teach, that the place in *Hosea* refers to the days of the MESSIAS.

IX. GAL. iii. 16. *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one; And to thy seed, which is CHRIST.* The *Jew*^k pretends, that St. Paul shews want of skill or something worse, when he lays a stress upon the singular number; and thence infers the promise to belong particularly to CHRIST. For the genius of the *Hebrew* language requires the singular number; but then 'tis as evident, that the word is used of great numbers, *e. g.* I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth. Gen. xiii. 16. Again, *Tell the stars, if thou be able to number them.* It follows, and he said unto him, *So shall thy seed be,* chap. xv. 5. So that in the words of the *Apostle* there is no argument or force at all; since the *Hebrew* word, which signifies seed, is a collective word and extends to many. I answer,

1. THAT the word *seed* is not always taken collectively, in the old Testament, but sometimes for one individual person. Not to insist upon Gen. iii. 15. where the MESSIAS is promised under the character of *the seed of the woman*; Seth is called *another seed*, chap. iv. 25. And Abram said, *To me thou hast given no seed*, i. e. no one to inherit. chap. xv. 3. To which may be added, chap. xxxviii. 8, 9. But the *Jew* did not think fit to take notice of this, when he formed his objection; which would have abated the force of it.

2. NOR do we want other good authorities to justify the *Apostle* against the afore said objection. The^l author of the *Seder Olam*, having occasion to mention those words of GOD to Abraham, Gen. xv. 13. *Know of a surety, that thy seed shall be a stranger, &c.* ואי ירה ורע: וכו'. And (says he) *What is this seed?* He answers, *This is Isaac, as it is said. In Isaac shall thy seed be called.* chap. xxi. 12. Here we see, that the word *seed* is limited and restrained. Maimonides^m hath a remarkable passage to my present purpose. His words are these המילה: וכו'. i. e. *Circumcision was commanded to Abraham and his seed only; as itⁿ is written, Thou and thy seed after thee. The seed of Ishmael is excused: For of Isaac it^o is written, In Isaac shall thy seed be called. Esau is excused: For behold Isaac^p said unto Jacob, GOD give the blessing of Abraham to thee and to thy seed with thee. So that upon the whole matter, that alone is the seed of Abraham, who observes his law, and continues in his righteous steps; and these are they which are obliged to circumcision.* Here *seed* is restrained and limited to Isaac, which may justify the *Apostle's* way of speaking. Moreover, they are said to be Abraham's seed, who tread in his steps, and observe his discipline; which is very agreeable to what is taught in the new Testament. See Galat. iii. 9. John viii. 39. And very agreeable also to the notion among the *Hebrews*, who allow him to be our father, whom we imitate, tho' we were not born of him: A remarkable place to this purpose is what we read Ezek. xvi. 3. compared with Isaiah i. 10. Thus also,

Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor.

^k R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 90. ^l Seder Olam Rab. c. 3. ^m H. Melakim & Milcham, c. 10. ⁿ Gen. xvii. 10, 21. ^o Gen. xxi. 12. ^p Gen. xxviii. 4.

3. THAT supposing the word *seed* was always a *collective* word; yet still ought not the *Apostle* to be blamed, as he is by the objector. For when he says, *Which is CHRIST*; we are not to infer, that by *CHRIST* he means the person of *CHRIST* only; but his mystical body the church also; the whole being denominated from the head, the principal part. And as in the *old Testament*, by *Israel* and *Ephraim*, are not always meant those individual persons known by those names, but their posterity and people; so by *CHRIST* is meant, not his person only, but his followers. Thus is *CHRIST* taken *collectively*, as comprehending his members, or the whole church, 1 Cor. xii. 12. *Which is his body; the fulness of him that filleth all in all.* Eph. i. 23.

4. 'TIS certain, that *Abraham*^a had a *double seed*. Not only *Isaac* the seed of the promise, but *Ishmael* who was born after the flesh; not only a carnal seed, which the *Jews* themselves were; but a *spiritual* one, which the *gentiles* were by *faith* in *CHRIST*. For those, that follow the faith of *Abraham*, are his children. Gal. iii. 7, 29. *Isaac* was a type of *CHRIST*; and they who came from him, obtained the *letter* of the promise: But the *mystical* and more *spiritual* part of the promise was reserved to *Abraham's spiritual seed*, i. e. the followers of his *faith*. This belongs no more to *Abraham's carnal seed*, than the promised land did to the posterity of *Ishmael*. The promise was never promiscuously given to all, that were descended from *Abraham*, or to his *seeds* that were divers from one another; but to *his seed*: i. e. The mystical and spiritual promise was made to his *spiritual seed*. This is that which the *Apostle* teacheth; and 'tis certain, that the promise was not made to *all* his seed.

X. EPH. iv. 8. *And gave gifts unto men.* Here the *Jew*^r chargeth the *Apostle* again, with perverting the words which he quotes; where instead of *gave* we find *received*: and insinuates, that he doth this to serve his cause. I answer,

1. THAT it cannot be imagined, that the *Apostle* should pervert the words of the *Psalmist* to serve his cause. Here's no shadow for such a pretence, because there was no need of it at all: And had he perverted the *Psalmist's* words, it would have been a great disservice to his cause.

2. THE *Jew* hath no cause to object this against the *Apostle*, because their own *Chaldee* paraphrast will justify him. For he turns the *Hebrew* word, by a *Chaldee* that signifies *giving*; and he cannot be supposed to do it to serve a cause. Besides, the *Syriack*, *Aethiopick*, and *Arabick* versions go the same way: And whatever authority *these* versions may have, I am sure, that the *Jew* ought not to reject that of the *Targumist*.

3. HE that *receives gifts for men*, is supposed to *give them* also to them: for whom he receives them: And he that *gives* them, is supposed to have *received* them for that purpose. Here's nothing in the words of the *Apostle* which clasheth with those of the *Psalmist*. The *Psalmist's* words are a prediction, and were written long before they were fulfilled; the *Apostle's* words were written after this prediction was fulfilled: *Then* these gifts were not only received, but were actually given and bestowed upon men. If the *Psalmist* mentions the *receiving* these gifts, the *Apostle* doth not only imply that, but he tells us, that they were actually *given* and bestowed.

4. 'TIS highly probable, that as the same word among the *Arabs* signifies both to *receive* and to *give* (as^t a learned man hath observed) so doth

^a Gal. iv. 23.

^r R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 91.

^t Dr. Pocock's Miscell. p. 24.

the *Hebrew* לקח also. This may well be admitted in the *Hebrew* language, considering the narrowness of that tongue, and consequently the variety of significations of one and the same word; and that *receiving for*, and *giving*, are *relatives* to each other. But besides all this, some passages in the *old Testament* give us ground to believe thus; e.g. ^t *Speak unto the children of Israel*, לי ויקחו *that they bring me*, so we render it; *Elijah* ^u said to the widow לי נא קחי, *fetch me*, we render it: *Da mihi*, says the *Vulgar*. Thus לי קח we ^x render *fetch me*; and the *Vulgar*, *affer*. This will abundantly justify our *Apostle* here, against the imputation of perverting the words of the *Psalmist*.

XI. HEB. i. 5. *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.* The *Jew* ^y pretends, that these words, being spoken of king *David*, can afford no proof for the *Christians*: And he refers his reader to what he hath ^z elsewhere discoursed to this purpose upon *Acts* xiii. 33. where these words are produced as a proof of the resurrection of *CHRIST*. In which place he labours to prove the words to be meant of *David*, the *LORD*'s anointed; and boldly affirms, That the *Psalms*, whence these words are taken, cannot belong to *JESUS*; who because he says he came to *minister*, and not to be *ministred* unto, cannot therefore be the *MESSIAS*; who was promised the *heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.* I answer,

I. THAT whatever reference the second *Psalms* may have to *David*, 'tis most certain, that it belongs to the *MESSIAS*. For the truth of this I appeal to the *Jews* themselves; I make no doubt, but this was the sense of the *ancient Jews*; and notwithstanding all the shuffling of the *latter Jews*, we have still cause to believe the *Psalms* to be understood of the *MESSIAS*. I know very well the art used by their later writers, to apply the whole to *David*; but when they use this art, they do at the same time give us cause to believe, that they in this matter desert the tradition of their fathers. *Maimonides* ^a understands those words, *Thou art my son*, &c. of the *MESSIAS*. And by the *anointed*, ver. 2. the *Jewish* masters understood king *MESSIAS*, says ^b *Kimchi*. And where it is said, *Ask of me*, ver. 8. the *Jews* refer it to *MESSIAS*. And the ^c author of the *Midrash* on the *Psalms*, after all his shuffling, when he comes to those words, *Ask of me*, tells us of *R. Jochanan*, who said, There were three men whom *GOD* allowed to *Ask of him*: viz. *Solomon* 1 *Kin.* iii. 5. *Abaz*, *Isa.* vii. 7. And king *MESSIAS* here, ver. 8. *Ask of me.* *R. Solomon* tells us expressly, That their *Doctors* expound the second *Psalms* of king *MESSIAS*; but for all that he thinks it convenient to expound it literally of *David*, and that לתשובת המינים, *That they might be enabled to answer hereticks*, as they call the *Christians*: For it is observed in a former edition, the *Rabbi* had added those words. Upon ^d the whole, we see the *Jews* will not stick to depart from the faith and tradition of their doctors, where it is to the weakening of *Christians*. However from this it appears, that this *Psalms* hath been by the *Jews* understood of the *MESSIAS*; and that therefore the *Apostle* deserveth no censure for applying

^t Exod. xxv. 2.

^u 1 Kings xvii. 10.

^x Gen. xxvii. 13.

^y R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 95.

^z Cap. 68.

^a Sanhedr. c. 10.

^b Kimchi in Psal. ii.

^c Jalcut in loc. & Midrash

Tillim. Rashi in loc.

^d V. Dr. Pocock's Not. Miscell. p. 207.

the text to that matter; upon which account he is accused by *R. Isaac* in the objection.

2. As for what is said, *Acts* xiii. 33. where these words of the *Psalmist* are alledged as a proof of the resurrection of *CHRIST*, it hath been considered already. And for that reason I passed it by, when I took notice of ^e some objections against that book. I have there shewed that these words, *This day have I begotten thee*, are justly applied to the resurrection of *CHRIST*. I have there shewed the great affinity between the *womb* and the *earth*; and that there is nothing said by the *Apostle* on that occasion, but what is agreeable to the way of speaking among the *Jews*. To what was there said, I add, what one of ^f the *Jewish* authors observes: He tells us, That the *Rabbins* ask the reason, why the *grave* and *womb* are joined together: *Prov.* xxx. 16. And the answer is, Because they both make *returns* alike of living creatures; the *womb* sends forth *living animals*; and the *grave* in the resurrection doth so to. *Birth* and *resurrection* have a great affinity one with another.

3. AND whereas he pretends, that *JESUS* cannot be the *MESSIAS*, because he *ministred*, and because the *Heathen* were not *his inheritance*, nor *the ends of the earth* his possession; these objections would lie stronger against *David*. *JESUS* did indeed *minister*, before he made his solemn entrance upon his kingdom. After this the *gentiles* submitted to him, and he was owned to be the king among many nations. And if there be some number, who own him not to this day; yet many of those very countries have owned him. For their sins and apostacy those nations are over-run with infidels; and that great defection is foretold in the *new Testament*. And we are not *without* hope still, that all the *kingdoms of the world* will become the *LORD's* and his *CHRIST's*.

XII. *HEB.* ii. 7. *Thou madest him a little lower than the angels*; with *ver.* 9. where 'tis said, That *JESUS* was *made a little lower than the angels*. The *Jew* ^g pretends, that the writer of this epistle is inconsistent with himself: For in the foregoing chapter he extols *JESUS*, and ^h sets him *above the angels*, and applies those words to him, *Let all the angels of GOD worship him*. And yet here he placeth him *a little lower than the angels*. If this latter be true, 'tis not possible that the *angels* should *worship him*. Besides, the *Jew* pretends, that this writer depraves the words of the *Psalmist*; in applying them to *JESUS*; whereas the *Psalmist* represents the common condition of mankind in general, in the *Psalms* where these words are found; and therefore the words do not belong to the matter, to which they are applied. To which I answer,

1. 'TIS very evident, That there is no inconsistency between *chap.* i. 6. and *chap.* ii. 7. And this will appear, if we will be at the pains to consider with due application of mind the words above cited. We will begin with *cap.* i. There *CHRIST* is mentioned under the characters of the *Son of GOD*, the *Heir of all things*, by whom *GOD* made the worlds; as the *brightness of his glory*, the *express image of his person*, and one who *upholds all things by the word of his power*, and who *sits on the right hand of the majesty on high*, and who *had by inheritance a more excellent name than the angels*. *ver.* 2, 3, 4. And then he proceeds to shew, how the an-

^e Part I. Chap. VIII.
l. 2. c. 96.

^h *Heb.* i. 6.

^f Menass. B. Israel. de Resur. l. 1. c. 3. sect. 4.

^g *R. Isaac*,

gels

gels of GOD were to worship him; as it is written, *Psalms* xcvi. 7. But as CHRIST is thus considered in the *First* chapter as a divine person, and exalted to GOD's right hand; so in the *Second* he is considered as clothed with our flesh (and consequently our infirmities) and obnoxious to death: Upon which account he was indeed made lower than the angels, who are not encompassed with our mortal flesh and infirmities. And in this sense he is said to be made lower or inferior to the angels, and that *ῥῆμα* for a little space of time; or as it is *ver.* 9. *διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ θάνατον*, i. e. *by the suffering of death.*

2. As for the Jew's pretence, that the words of the *Psalmist* are misapplied, I am not bound to consider it, any farther than he gives something of *proof* to that purpose. But he is so far from this, that we have nothing but his bare *word*, that the *Psalms* represents the common condition of mankind. He should have shewed, that it is to be understood in no other sense; and that the words cannot be applied to the MESSIAS, as they are by the author of this epistle.

XIII. HEB. viii. 8, &c. *For finding fault with them, he saith, Behold the days come (saith the LORD) when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with house of Judah.* This place is quoted from *Jer.* xxxi. to the confirming of the *Christian* doctrine. The Jewⁱ pretends, that it is nothing to the purpose, for which it is produced. The *new covenant* (he says) doth not import a *new law* (that not being the necessary import of the word *covenant*, as he doth by several instances endeavour to prove) but the putting the law (which they had received before) into their inward parts. To which I answer,

1. THAT it matters not, whether the word *covenant* do necessarily import as much as *law*. Be it so, that the word doth not *always* imply such a sense; yet

2. IT is enough to our present purpose, if in *this* place it be taken in that sense. And that the word *covenant* in the prophet *Jeremiah* (in the place here referred to) signifies *law*, will appear to him, that considers the words of the prophet. There it appears, that the *new covenant*, which GOD *will make*, is opposed to that *covenant*, which he *had made* with their fathers, when he brought them out of *Egypt*, *ver.* 31, 32. That *covenant they brake*; as 'tis expressly said there: And that 'twas the *law*, which they transgressed, is evident. And therefore the *new covenant* must also be a new *law*, which GOD promiseth in that place.

XIV. HEB. x. 5. *Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not; but a body hast thou prepared me.* The Jew^k here finds great fault with the author of this epistle, for corrupting the place which he pretends to quote from^l the *fortieth Psalm*, that it may seem to serve the purpose, to which he cites it; for the words in the *Psalms* (says he) are these; *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened, &c.* The meaning of which (says he) is *q. d. Thou hast opened mine ears to hear thy voice.* This is that, which GOD required of them, that were assembled at mount *Sinai*, *Exod.* xix. 5. This is repeated by *Jeremiah*, as GOD's command to them; *Obey my voice*, *Jer.* vii. 23. And this is preferred before sacrifices; *To obey is better*

ⁱ R. Isaac. l. i. c. 29.

^k R. Isaac. l. 2. c. 98.

^l *Psal.* xl. 6.

than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. 1 Sam. xv. 22. The Jew adds, That 'tis probable, that the author of this epistle did designedly corrupt the text, when instead of *Mine ears hast thou bored*, he substituted, *A body hast thou prepared me*; to maintain the belief, that the body of JESUS was offered instead of a sacrifice; which he is pleased to call a shameful belief. Thus stands the author of this epistle charged by the Jew. To which I answer in the following particulars; which, if duly considered, will abundantly remove the Jew's objection. And to that purpose,

1. I shall consider the place, as it is in the *Psalmist*, and lies in the *Hebrew* text; and shall explain the meaning of the words. What in this place is expressed by, *A body hast thou prepared me*, is in the *Psalmist* expressed by, *Mine ears hast thou opened, or bored*: And I shall consider the import of this expression in the *Psalmist*.

THE *Jewish* writers understand the *boring*, or *opening* the ear, to import obedience to the divine precepts; which in it self, and as it is here in the *Psalmist*, is more valuable than sacrifices in the sight of GOD. The truth of this is unquestionable; and we do agree with the *Jews* in this interpretation.

BUT this matter may receive a farther illustration, if we reflect upon a passage in the law of *Moses*. It was provided by that law, that the *Hebrew* servant should be set at liberty in the seventh year: But if it happened, that a servant loved his master, and refused his liberty, his master, after he had brought him to the judges, was obliged^m to bore his servant's ear with an awl; who was thereupon obliged to serve him for ever. This *boring the ear* was a mark of *servitude* and *obedience*: And so 'tis to be understood in the *Psalms*, and 'tis to that sense interpreted by the *Chaldee* paraphrast upon the place. By this rite or ceremony the servant declared, That he was addicted to the service and obedience of his master. He was marked as his servant; and received in his body (which was at his master's disposal) this token of his subjection. And this was very fitly done by *boring the ear*, because the servant is obliged to have his ear open to his master's commands: And to hear (which we do by the ear) and to obey, is in the *Hebrew* tongue expressed by one and the same word. 'Twas the custom of old to mark the bodies of servants, as we now do those of beasts, to denote their state and low condition, and their relation to their lord, and his service. It was forbidden by the law ofⁿ *Moses* to make cuttings in the flesh, or print any marks: And this is reckoned by^o *Maimonides*, as forbidden under the general prohibition of idolatry. He describes the manner of making those marks in the flesh; and thereupon tells us expressly, That by making such incisions and marks in their bodies, the heathens did declare themselves the servants of their idol; he that was thus marked, his mark did denote לעבדותה ומורשם לה i. e. That he was sold for a servant to the idol, and marked for the worship of it. And among the *Eastern* people this was done by *boring the ear*; as appears from that of^p the *Satyr*ist, where he brings one that had been a servant, thus speaking,

*Cur timeam, dubitemve locum defendere; quamvis
Natus ad Euphratem? Molles quod in aure fenestræ
Arguerint, licet ipse negem.*

^m Exod. xxi. 2, 6.
chap. 12.

ⁿ Lev. xix. 28. with chap. xxi. 5.
^p Juvenal, Sat. 1.

^o Maimon. H. Avod. Zar.

Upon the whole matter then, we are agreed with the *Jews* in the main import of the words, as they imply a ready obedience to GOD's will; expressed by *boring the ear*, with allusion to the custom above mentioned.

2. IT is very evident, that the author of this epistle agrees in *sense* with the *Psalmist*; and however in *expression* he differs from the *Hebrew* text of the *Psalmist*; yet he cannot without notorious injustice be accused of perverting the sense of the place to which he refers. Both *Jews* and *Christians* agree, That the words in the *Psalmist* import this sense, *That obedience is better than sacrifice*: And to this sense they are applied by the author of this epistle.

MOREOVER, the words made use of by the author of this epistle, are very expressive of the sense and meaning of the words of the *Psalmist*, as they lie in the *Hebrew* text. The meaning of those words, *Mine ears hast thou opened*, hath been given already. *A body hast thou prepared me*, as the author of this epistle recites the place, imports the very same sense. To this purpose 'tis to be considered, not only that the body is only capable of servitude, and of receiving the marks and characters of it; but also that the *Greek* word *σῶμα*, i. e. *body*, used here by the author of this epistle, doth import among the ancient *Jewish* writers, as much as a *servant* or *captive*, who is altogether at the *beck* and *will* of his lord. I say among the *Jewish* writers; for *that* is most material to my present purpose. Thus we read in the book of ^a *Tobit*, that *Raguel* gave unto *Tobias*, his wife *Sarah*, and half his goods, *σῶματα*, i. e. *servants*, and cattel, and mony. The author of ^t the book of *Maccabees* tells us, that *Nicanor* proclaimed a sale, *Ἰουδαίων σωμαίων*, i. e. *of the captive Jews*; and that he promised ninety *σῶματα*, i. e. *bodies*, or *servants* for one talent. *Josephus* the ^r *Jewish* historian mentions an edict of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, in favour of the *Jews*, where he mentions the *σῶματα ἀιχμαλώτα*, that is, the *captive servants*, taken from *Judea* in his father's time; and declares what should be given by way of ransome. *ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σωμαίου*, i. e. for each *captive* or *servant*. Agreeably hereunto we ^r render *σῶματα* by *slaves*; and St. *Paul* speaking of CHRIST's incarnation tells us, he took upon him ^u *the form of a servant*. And *A body hast thou prepared me*, is an expression very agreeable to this state or condition of a *servant*.

3. AS the author of this epistle agrees in *sense* with the *Hebrew* text of the *Psalmist*; so he useth the very *same words*, that are made use of by the LXXII interpreters, in the *Psalm* from whence this place is quoted. He doth but use a translation commonly received and understood, and written in that language in which his epistle is also written: And this may justify this author to all impartial men. It being the custom of the *gentiles* to *mark* the bodies of their servants, and the *Hebrew* custom of *boring the ear* not being so generally known, 'tis no wonder, that the *Greek* interpreters, to render the phrase more universally understood, should render, *Mine ears hast thou bored*, by, *A body hast thou prepared me*. And there is less reason still, why this author should be blamed for using the very words, which these interpreters had made use of before him.

4. THERE is no shadow of reason, why this author should be accused, as having designedly corrupted the text to serve a turn and purpose, when 'tis manifest, that he could not be guilty of any such design: For the *sense* is

^a Tobit x. 10.

^r 2 Macc. viii. 11.

^r Antiqu. l. 12. c. 2.

^r Rev. xviii. 13.

^u Phil. ii. 7.

the *same* of the *Hebrew* text, and the words, which *this author* uses: And besides, his words are the very *same* with those of the LXXII.

5. THE *Jew*, had he spoken to the purpose, should have proved, that the *Psalms*, from whence these words are cited, had no reference to the MESSIAS, and that these words ought not to be accommodated to this matter. But he lets that matter alone; and therefore I cannot be obliged to follow him any farther, than he thinks fit to lead me in this matter.

XV. JAMES ii. 24. *Ye see then, that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.* The *Jew* * pretends, that what is delivered in these words, is contradicted by St. Paul; who teacheth, *that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.* Rom. iii. 28. with Galat. ii. 16. Hence the *Jew* infers, that there is no truth in the words of *Apostles*, who contradict one another.

IN answer whereunto, I desire the following particulars may be considered; from whence it will appear, that St. Paul and St. James do not contradict one the other.

(1.) WHAT those works are, which St. Paul excludes from having any hand in our justification: And they are the *deeds of the law*; and what these deeds or works of the law are, is to be considered more particularly. By these works of the law in St. Paul's dispute with the *Jews*, must be meant the works of the law of Moses, as they are opposed to evangelical obedience or faith in CHRIST; as it is evident from the *Apostle's* words, when he says, *A man is justified by faith without the works of the law*; where 'tis plain, that the works of the law are opposed to faith. The utmost that can be meant by the works of the law, which are excluded from justifying us by St. Paul, is reducible to two heads.

1. RIGOROUS and exact obedience to the precepts of the law of Moses. These are properly speaking the *works of the law* in St. Paul: *As many as are under the works of the law, are under the curse: For it is written Cursed is every one, that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law to do them.* Gal. iii. 10. with Deut. xxvii. 26.

2. By the works of the law is meant the observation of the *legal rites* and ceremonies; which some of the *Jews* urged upon *Christians* as necessary to justification, in conjunction with their faith. Thus was circumcision taught as necessary to salvation, Acts xv. 1. These works of the law the *Apostle* allows not to have any share in our justification. CHRIST is become of none effect to you (says St. Paul to the Galatians) *whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace,* Gal. v. 4. And a little before, *If you be circumcised, CHRIST shall profit you nothing,* ver. 2.

(2.) WHAT those works are, by which a man is said to be justified in St. James: And,

First, I shall shew, that by the works in St. James are not meant the works of the law mentioned by St. Paul; and that therefore they do not contradict one another, as is pretended by the *Jew*. I have already shewed, that St. Paul speaks of the works of the law of Moses; and he calls them the *works, or deeds of the law*. But doth St. James call his works the works of the law also? By no means. He discourses against the *Solifidian*; the preten-

* R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 92.

der to faith, who was void of charity and the other graces, and effects, that attend upon a saving faith. He shews, that such a bare and solitary faith shall not save him: And that it is necessary, that there be charity and evangelical obedience or good works, which are indispensably necessary, before we can be justified or saved; That faith, which is destitute of good works, doth not justify: *Good works* I say. But what is this to *those*, which St. Paul calls the *works of the law*? The good works, which St. James speaks of, are the *produce* of a *true faith*; *Charity* ver. 15, 16. a *ready obedience* to God's voice, ver. 21. a *constant affiance* in God, and *compliance with his will*, ver. 23, 25. These are not the *works of the law*, but the *hearing* (or obedience) *of faith*. Gal. iii. 2. This is plain from the text of St. James. Let us consider what works he mentions. He doth not mention *circumcision* or legal *washings*: These are works of the law. He mentions charity and beneficence, ver. 16. which is a great *effect*, and a *constant companion* of *faith*, Gal. v. 6. He mentions *Abraham's* offering up *Isaac*. But this could be none of the *deeds* of the *law*, which was not yet given. 'Twas an act of *faith*, and so it is said to be ver. 23. *Rahab's* was also no work of the law of *Moses*, (which she was a stranger to) 'twas an act of faith, Heb. xi. 31.

Secondly, By the works in St. James must be meant evangelical obedience, or the obedience of faith. This in some measure appears from what hath been said before: And from hence it appears farther, because St. James all along impugns a *bare* and *solitary faith* only: And therefore must be understood of those works, which do accompany a *lively faith*. And then he is so far from contradicting St. Paul, that he perfectly agrees with him. For it cannot reasonably be supposed, that when St. Paul imputes our justification to *faith*, he should exclude those good works, which faith produces, and which are essential to it, and involved in it. The *works of St. James* are the same with the *faith of St. Paul*. And the faith of St. Paul, excludes only the *deeds* of the *law*; but not the obedience of that faith: For then he would exclude the essentials of faith. And St. Paul would then have excused us from good works; which he is so far from, that he always presseth us to them.

(3.) IT is to be considered, in what sense it may be said, We are justified by works, in St. James. What those works are, hath been explained, *viz.* evangelical obedience, or the fruits of a saving faith. By these we are justified; not by virtue of a covenant of works, but by a covenant of grace, and through the divine acceptance. These works do not *merit* our justification; but are a condition on our part, that gives us a title to the *merits of JESUS CHRIST*. 'Tis enough, that our faith in JESUS, and our *sincere* (tho' not *sinless*) obedience is so far accepted of GOD, that he esteems us righteous thereupon. *

XVI.

* HOWEVER let us suppose, that St. Paul and St. James by *works* do mean the same thing, *viz.* evangelical obedience, or such good works as do proceed from a true faith in CHRIST JESUS. In this sense we may say with St. Paul, that a man is justified by faith without any such works, and also with St. James, that notwithstanding all this, yet a true faith will be shewn or manifested by such works as these. In this sense our church seems to take the doctrine of justification as mentioned by St. Paul, as appears in her eleventh article. We are accounted righteous before GOD, only for the merit of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST by faith, and not for our own works, or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the homily of justification. And in the beginning of the same homily the faith, No man can by his own acts, works, and deeds, seem they never never so good, be justified and made righteous before GOD: But every man of necessity is constrained to seek for another righteousness of justifi-

fication to be received of GOD's own hands, that is to say, the forgiveness of his sins and trespasses, in such things as he hath offended. And this justification or righteousness, which we so receive of GOD's mercy and CHRIST's merits embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of GOD for our perfect and full justification. Thus in our liturgy we daily confess to GOD, That there is no health in us, *Nulla est salus in nobis*. We are not able to save, help, or deliver our selves by any thing in our selves, and therefore we pray to GOD to have mercy upon us miserable sinners, according to his promises declared unto mankind in CHRIST JESUS our LORD. And that St. Paul's words, *Rom. iii. 28.* may be also understood in this larger sense, is evident from verse 31. where he adds, *Do we then make void the law through faith? GOD forbid.* He did preach down circumcision, because CHRIST would now no longer have a distinction between Jew and Gentile: He did absolutely preach down the covenant of works, and only depended on the covenant of grace. He did preach down all the Levitical law, the sacrifices and outward ceremonies, because CHRIST the substance was exhibited. He desired to be found in CHRIST, not having his own righteousness, which was by the law, but that which was by the faith of CHRIST, even the righteousness which is of GOD by faith. And *Acts xv. 1, 2.* when certain men taught the brethren and said, *Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, and ver. 5. keep the law, ye cannot be saved.* St. Paul himself had no small dissention and disputation with them, he went to Jerusalem to the apostles and elders to lay the controversy before them, and desire their determination, which they did accordingly, that there was no such necessity, that it was a putting a yoke upon the necks of others, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear, and that those teachers had troubled others with words subverting their souls, saying, *Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law, to whom they had given no such commandment.* St. Paul carried this determination back to Antioch, and when this heresy spread farther, he wrote the epistles to the Galatians and Colossians on purpose to confute it; in both which he endeavours by many arguments to make void all the Levitical and ceremonial law through faith in CHRIST JESUS. But did he endeavour to make void any part of the moral law, or of the precepts of the gospel through faith? GOD forbid. He was so far from that, that he established all these laws. He perswaded them to yield obedience upon more forcible arguments, and stronger motives than ever was urged before. The grace of GOD, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live godly, righteously and soberly in this present world, Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great GOD, and our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. So that, tho' what this right reverend Prelate hath observed, is enough to silence any Jew; yet I hope it will not be amiss to add something more for the satisfaction and confirmation of a Christian: St. Paul having therefore declared his mind most fully in this great doctrine of justification, that it came through faith alone, without any thing which we can perform; it may well be reckoned as one of those doctrines which at that time was hard to be understood, and which they who were unlearned and unstable did wrest, as they did also the other scriptures to their own destruction. Accordingly the Gnosticks soon sprang up in the church, who taught from hence, that men should be saved by their knowledge only, tho' they lived as they thought fit, neglecting the commands of GOD, and indulging themselves in all manner of sin and licentiousness. St. James therefore in this epistle sets himself to confute this dangerous heresy. St. Paul saith, *Fides sola justificat*, faith alone justifies. To this St. James adds, *Sed non fides, quæ est sola.* But not that faith, which is alone. St. Paul saith, That we are justified by a true faith, St. James gives us an infallible sign, by which we may know, that it is true. If it is a justifying faith, it will be lively and active, and provoke us to good works. Faith and works are as inseparable as the light and heat in the sun. We see and believe those things to be real, which we see by the benefit of the light alone, and the heat contributes nothing to it. But if we see by virtue of the light, we shall also be warmed by the virtue of the heat. We are justified by that faith, whereby we lay hold on CHRIST as our priest, to satisfy the divine justice for our sins, to reconcile us to GOD, and make intercession for us. But this can never be effectual, unless we also take him for our king to rule and govern us, and require an exact obedience to his laws. Accordingly tho' St. Paul and St. James may speak of the same works, and so they may seem to differ; yet the difference is easily reconciled, when we consider, that they speak of a different manner of justification. By faith alone we approve our selves, or are justified in the sight of GOD, and this St. Paul continually testifies. But by works alone we are justified, or approve our selves in the sight of men, and therefore St. James adds, *Tu, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: Shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works.* Or thus, By faith alone we are justified before GOD, as St. Paul assures us. But our good works are an undeniable evidence to our own consciences of a true faith, and thereby we assure our selves, that we shall be justified by faith. GOD knew the faith of Abraham and of Rahab long before, which are two instances that St. James alledges; but the offering up of Isaac, and the hiding of the spies, must be a convincing argument to both, that their faith or trust in GOD's promises was real and not feigned. Our countryman Mr. Burkitt writes most excellently on this subject, in his expository notes upon St. James. Our Apostle (saith he) shews the vanity of a fruitless faith, that such a faith as is not the parent and principle of obedience, and productive of good works is altogether ineffectual and unprofitable. Faith of no kind, when it is alone, is justifying. As there can be no good works without faith; so where true faith is, it will be fruitful in good works, otherwise faith is no more faith. No believing without obedience will avail us. Therefore St. Paul and St. James both agree together to render to faith the things that are faith's, and not to take away from works the things that are work's. And therefore I shall conclude with the words of the same author in the same place. *Quest. But doth not St. James by affirming, that by works a man is justified and not by faith only, contradict St. Paul, who saith, By the deed of the law shall no flesh be justified in the sight of GOD. Rom. iii. 20. To this I answer, Not at all. 1. Because they do not speak ad idem, to the same thing. St. Paul speaks of justification before GOD: St. James of our justification before man. St. Paul speaks of the justification of*

of our persons: St. James of the justification of our faith. 2. They do not speak iisdem to the same persons. St. Paul had to do with false Apostles, and Judaizing Christians, who sought to substitute the works of the law, and a righteousness of their own instead of, or at least in conjunction with the grace of GOD; but St. James had to do with hypocritical professors, who abused St. Paul's doctrine of free grace, and took encouragement to sin, affirming, that if they believed, it was sufficient, no matter how they lived; therefore St. James urges the necessity of good works, as evidences of the sincerity of our faith. The sum of the matter is this, What GOD hath joyned, none must divide, and what GOD hath divided, none must joyn. He hath separated faith and works in the business of justification according to St. Paul, and we must not joyn them in it: And he hath joyned them in the lives of justified persons as St. James tells us, and there we must not separate them. St. Paul assures us, that works have not a co-efficiency in justification it self; but St. James assures us, that they may and ought to have a co-existence in them that are justified.

XVI. REVEL. vii. 5, 6, 7, 8. *Of the tribe of Juda were, &c.* The writer of this book reckons up the several tribes of *Israel*. The Jew finds great fault with him in this matter. He charges him with *forgetfulness*, in not making mention of the tribe of *Dan*; and for putting *Manasseh* in the stead thereof, though he were otherwise included in the mention of *Joseph*. Hence he concludes, that the writer of this book (whom he is pleased to call the writer of *dreams*) did not so much as understand (what children commonly do) the names of the tribes of *Israel*. And hence he takes an occasion to inveigh against the writers of the *new Testament*, as ignorant men, and unacquainted with the writings of the *old Testament*.

IN answer to this severe charge, I desire, that the following particulars may be duly considered.

1. IT will be granted by the Jew, that *Moses* well knew the names of the children of *Israel*; and yet when he undertakes to bless them, *Deut. xxxiii.* he makes no mention of *Simeon*, when he makes particular mention of all the rest. I hope, that the Jew will not charge him with forgetfulness, or ignorance. And whereas the Jew chargeth it as a fault upon St. *John*, for putting *Manasseh* instead of *Dan* left out, whereas he was included in the mention of *Joseph*, I hope he will not accuse *Moses* also: And yet he may do it with the same justice, with which he accuseth the other. For tho' *Moses* reckons *Joseph* among the children of *Israel*, and pronounceth a particular and ample blessing upon him; yet for all that he makes express mention of the *ten thousands of Ephraim*, and of the *thousands of Manasseh*, ver. 13, 17. And yet they were as much included in *Joseph* there, as *Manasseh* can be supposed to be in this place, which the Jew objects against.

2. THE author of the first book of *Chronicles* gives us a catalogue of the sons of *Israel* chap. ii. 1, 2. He names *Dan* indeed, and mentions not *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* among them. But when he proceeds to give us a distinct account of their families, as he doth in the following chapters, he gives an account of every one of them, excepting *Dan*. And whereas *Dan* was in his list, and *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* left out; yet in the account, which he gives, he omits *Dan* only, and in his stead gives an account of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*. I hope also, that this author must not for this be charged with ignorance or forgetfulness. He leaves out *Dan*, where he gives an account of all the rest; and as we doubt not, but he did it upon good reason; so may it well be supposed, that St. *John* did it also. Moreover, we find, in that list in the second chapter of the first book of *Chronicles*, *Joseph* among the sons of *Israel*; but in the account given afterwards, we find a particular mention of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*. The mentioning of *Joseph*

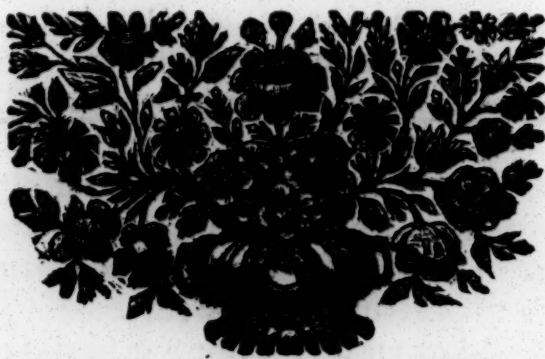
did not exclude his two sons; and there is therefore no reason, that St. *John* should be blamed for mentioning of *Manasseh*, when he had named *Joseph* before.

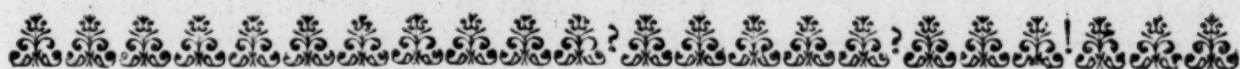
3. *David* hath composed a *Psalm of praise*, *Psal.* cxlv. He begins *ver.* 1. with the first letter of the *Alphabet*; and so he goes on throughout that *Psalm*, omitting only the letter *l*, which is the fourteenth letter of the *Hebrew Alphabet*. I hope, that the *Jew* will not therefore accuse the *Psalmist*, as one ignorant of the *Hebrew Alphabet*; and yet hemay do it with as good reason, as he accuseth St. *John* here. I am sure, that a modest *Christian* will not upon that account complain of the *Psalmist*, or suppose him to be an ignorant person.

4. I AM not obliged to give the *Jew* a reason, why *Dan* is omitted, nor will I positively affirm any thing in this matter: But yet 'tis not hard to offer something to this purpose. 'Tis certain, that the true servants of God are here to be marked in order to their being saved. This is represented under the names of the sons of *Israel* (the type of all God's people that were to come) and in a *number* also that was much endeared to that people. Upon this consideration the divine author of this book might think fit to omit *Dan*, as an unfit type of God's sincere worshippers, because of his *apostacy* and *idolatry*, of which we have express mention in the books of *Judges* and *Kings*. One ^a of *Jeroboam's* calves was set up in the tribe of *Dan*. And for the same reason *Levi* was put in his place, having been very eminent for his zeal in the service of God, *Deut.* xxxiii. 8. And *Ephraim* also upon the same account may be supposed to be omitted: For *Ephraim* is not expressly mentioned in this place; nor indeed mentioned any otherwise than as he is intimated under *Joseph*. So it was, that ^a *Ephraim* had an ill name *betimes* for his idolatry and apostacy from God; and afterwards *Ephraim* gave name to those schismatics, who forsook the appointed worship of God after the death of *Solomon*.

^a 2 Kings xviii. 13.

^a Judg. xvii.





C H A P. V.

St. Matthew is accused by the Jews for misapplying the words of the Prophet. The occasion of the words of the Prophet considered. That the words were not spoken to Ahaz, but to the house of David. That as those words are applied by St. Matthew, and understood by Christians, they are very agreeable to the persons, to whom they were directed, and their present circumstances. That Alma doth properly signify a Virgin. The Jew's pretences to the contrary from Prov. 20. 19. and Cant. 6. 8. considered. Of calling by the name Emmanuel. An answer to a cavil of Abravenel. How the words in the Prophet, as applied by St. Matthew, tend very much to the support of the house of David. Of signs, and several sorts of them. Of the Midrash among the Jews. That the words of the Prophet cannot be understood of Hezekiah. St. Matthew hath not misquoted the Prophet: His rendring shall call, by καλέσσει no fault.

Matth. I. Vers. 22, 23.

Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled, which was spoken of the LORD by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel.

ST. *Matthew* in the foregoing words gives us an account of the miraculous conception of **JESUS**, and that the virgin *Mary* was found with child of the **HOLY GHOST**; and that an angel tells *Joseph* no less, and foretells, that she should bring forth a son, that should be called **JESUS**, &c. *St. Matthew* adds, that *all this was done*, &c. He produceth the words of the *Prophet*, where this is foretold.

THE Jewish writers^a accuse the *Evangelist* for misapplying, at least, (if not misquoting) the words of the *Prophet*, which (as they pretend) belong to another matter. And the substance of what they object may be reduced to the following heads.

FIRST, That the words of the *Prophet* cannot with any reason be applied, as they are, to the conception or birth of **JESUS** of the virgin *Mary*; because the *Hebrew* word עִלְמָה used by the *Prophet*, doth not

^a Lipman. Nizach. p. 123. Nizachon. vet. p. 84. R. Isaac, Chizuk. Emun. par. 1. ch. 21.

necessarily signify a *virgin*, but sometimes is used to denote a young woman who hath had the knowledge of a man. And to that purpose two instances are produced, *viz.* Prov. 30. 19. Cant. 6. 8.

SECONDLY, That the name of the *son* mentioned by the *Prophet* was to be *Emmanuel*; whereas that of the *son* of *Mary* was *JESUS*; and that was his name according to the express command of the angel to *Joseph*, Matth. 1. 21.

THIRDLY, That whereas there was a son to be born promised to *Abaz*, as a sign to support his faith in *GOD*'s promises, 'tis certain that by that son *JESUS* could not be meant; because *his* birth, whatever it might have of wonder or miracle in it, could be of no use to *Abaz*, since he was not born till several hundreds of years after the death of *Abaz*. And that therefore *that* promise must be meant of *Hezekiah*, or some other man-child to be born soon after the promise made, and before the death of *Abaz*.

BEFORE I come to take off these objections, there are some things to be premised. And,

FIRST, I shall consider the words of the *Prophet* with the context, and give a short history of that time, when those words were spoken.

IT is to be considered, that when *Abaz* was king of *Judah*, *Rezin* the king of *Syria*, and *Pekah* king of *Israel* went to *Jerusalem*, the chief city of the king of *Judah*, to war against it. Upon this confederacy *Abaz* and his people (when they knew it) fell under a great fear and consternation; their hearts were moved, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Upon this occasion also, the *Prophet* is commanded to go with his son *Shear-jashub*, and meet king *Abaz*; to encourage him not to fear these confederate kings, and to assure him, that *GOD* would defeat their confederacy. And whereas *Abaz* was very fearful and full of distrust and diffidence, *GOD* (such was his goodness and condescension) offers him a sign to confirm his own promise, and to beget faith in *Abaz*: But *this* sign *Abaz* impiously refuseth; with a specious pretence indeed that he would not tempt *GOD*. Upon this, *GOD* expostulates with the house of *David* by the *Prophet*, saying, *Is it a small thing for you to weary men! But will you weary my GOD also?* v. 13. It follows, *Therefore the LORD himself will give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel,* (v. 14.) 'Tis to be observed, that this promise is not made to *Abaz*, but to the house of *David*; as I have observed else-where. *Abaz* had refused a sign; what is now promised, is to the house of *David*, which was in great jeopardy at this time. This is well observed by several of the ancients upon the place.

JUDAH and particularly the house of *David* was never in such danger of being extinguished, as in the days of *Abaz*; and it appears, that *Abaz* and his people were under a most fearful consternation and apprehension of it. Indeed, the *Prophet* endeavoured to remove their fears; he had assured them, that *GOD* would deliver them, and offered any sign to confirm the truth of this promise; but that offer was rejected by *Abaz*. Upon his *GOD* himself lets the house of *David* know, that he will give them a sign; *Behold a virgin shall conceive, &c.*

WE *Christians* believe this to be a prediction of the birth of the *MESSIAS* of a pure virgin: 'Tis to that purpose produced and applied by St. *Matthew*.

² Isaiah 7. v. 1, 2, 3, 4.—

³ Basilus. Theodoret. Procopius Gazæus.

The great difficulty will be to give an account, how the words in the sense of *Christians* do agree with the context.

To this purpose it is to be remembred, that the people were at this time afraid, that *Judah* and consequently the house of *David* would be utterly extinguished. Now nothing could be more proper to remove those fears than a *prophecy*, and a *miracle* or *sign*. They had the *prophecy*, ver. 7. *It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass.* A *sign* or *miracle* is offered, but refused. There's nothing remains now but this *promise* of the MESSIAS, *Behold a virgin shall conceive, &c.* And this is of great moment to destroy that fear and consternation, under which they were. To this purpose 'tis to be remembred, that the promise of the MESSIAS was at first made to mankind, under the character ' of the *seed of the woman*. He was afterward promised * in *Jacob's* blessing on *Judah*, with an assurance that that tribe should continue a polity undestroyed, till the MESSIAS should come: And after this he was promised as † the off-spring of *David*. If then he must be of that *tribe* and that *family*, and must appear whilst that tribe continued a separate and distinct people, then there was no fear of the extinction of *Judah*, and the house of *David* at that time, whatever their present distress might be.

Nor is this any new account of this matter: Several ancients give the same account. *Theodoret* on *Isaiah* the seventh, speaks to the same purpose. His words are these, Τάυτην μὲντοι, &c. i. e. *He did not rashly produce this prophecy in this place. But because they were afraid of the impression of their enemies, who threatened to destroy the Davidical kingdom, he necessarily shews, how vain they were in this attempt.* Δὲ γὰρ, &c. *For the off-spring of David must continue, until Shiloh come, and afford the expected blessing to the gentiles.* To the same purpose speaks *Procopius Gazaus* on the same place; Ἐκλιπὲν, &c. *It is impossible that your seed should fail, how great soever your fear be, till the virgin hath conceived.* And afterwards, he represents *GOD* comforting the *Jews*, upon his promise of the MESSIAS, Thus; Νῦν μὲν, &c. i. e. *Now therefore take courage from my kindness: For these kings shall not take your land: But rather receive this promise of the wonderful birth of Emmanuel, as a most pure pledge, that your land shall escape: For it cannot otherwise be, after this promise of a Saviour.*

It was quite otherwise as to the *ten tribes* called *Ephraim*, (ver. 8.) They were not under the like promise with *Judah* and the house of *David*: So far are they from any such security, that it is expressly foretold, that they should be destroyed. *Within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people*, ver. 8. But then *Judah* and the house of *David* must continue a people, till the MESSIAS be exhibited; and need not therefore fear, how powerful soever their adversaries might be, that they shall be no people before that time.

SECONDLY, That the whole stress of the cause between the *Jew* and the *Christian* doth not lie upon this debate. My meaning is, that we have irrefragable proofs of the truth of the *Christian* doctrine, besides what lies before us. We are able to prove the truth of *Christianity*, from arguments that are unanswerable, and of a separate consideration from that which is now before us. The admirable doctrine of *JESUS*, his holy and un-

* Gen. 3. 15.

† Gen. 49. 10.

‡ Mich. 5. 2. Isa. 11. 10. Jer. 23. 5. Psal 89. 3, 4.

parallel'd life, his various and mighty miracles, his undaunted courage at his death, his glorious resurrection from the dead (according to his own prediction) his ascension into heaven, and miraculous mission of the HOLY GHOST; the spreading of the *Christian* doctrine, and completion of predictions: These are unanswerable arguments of the truth of *Christianity*. This I say, that it may not be thought, that a man could not be assured of the truth of our religion, without *philological* learning, and an insight in languages and nice speculations. The *Jews* are a very subtil and witty people, and able to perplex and puzzle even understanding *Christians*: And it must be confessed, that there are very considerable difficulties in the matter here debated. But still I would not be mistaken: I am well assured, that the *Evangelist* is in the right in quoting and applying the words of the *Prophet*, tho perhaps many good *Christians* may not be able to understand all the matters debated, nor to answer the objections which lie in the way.

THIRDLY, That in this place I shall confine my self to defend St. *Matthew's* sincerity, in quoting the *Prophet* upon this occasion, against the objections of the *Jews* on this account. This is my only business at present. I shall not enter upon the article of religion, nor make any reflections upon it as such. 'Tis enough to my present design, that I fully answer the *Jews*.

Object. 1. THEY object, *First*, That the word *Alma*, used by the *Prophet*, doth not necessarily signify a *virgin*, but any young woman. And if so, St. *Matthew* had no reason to render it by a word that signifies a *virgin*.

But to this it may be easily answered,

1. THAT St. *Matthew* renders it by the same word, which the LXXII. interpreters render it by: And those interpreters were *Jews*, and rendered the word as St. *Matthew* doth, about three hundred years before St. *Matthew* wrote his gospel, and consequently long before there could be any controversy between the *Jews* and *Christians* upon this subject; which therefore must be of great authority and moment in this matter. This alone may justify St. *Matthew* before any indifferent judges; and the *Jews* can have no shadow of reason to object against this.

2. NOR can there be a fitter word to signify a *virgin* than *Alma* is; for it comes from an *Hebrew* word, which signifies *to hide*; and most fitly agrees with the custom of the eastern countries, who were wont to keep their daughters whilst in their virginity from much company, and publick conversation and interviews. Thus 'tis said upon a publick and extraordinary consternation, That the *virgins that were kept in, ran some to the gates, and some to the walls, and others looked out of the windows*, 2 Maccab. 3. 19. 'Twas of a very ill report to be gadding abroad. 'Tis the character of an ill woman, which *Solomon* gives; *Her feet abide not in her house; now is she without, now in the streets*, Prov. 7. 11, 12. Virgins were kept up. And a strumpet among the *Chaldees* is commonly expressed by נפקת כרא, i. e. a gadder abroad. *Dinah* went out to see the daughters of the land; but she was defiled before she return'd to her father's house, and her place of retirement. No word is fitter for a *virgin* than *Alma*, which the *Prophet* useth.

I SHALL here add another account of the word *Alma*, which is not inconsistent with the former; tho in my opinion it is preferable to it. I say,

¹ Gen. 34. ver. 1. & R. Bechai in loc.

it is not inconsistent ; but added to the former, it gives great light and strength to the present argument. It supposes the same original from the same *Hebrew* word, which signifies to *hide or cover*. This is a most fit word to signify a virgin, because it denotes one, who hath not known a man ; or according to the *Scripture* phrase, one whose nakedness hath not been uncovered. The knowledge of a woman is expressed in the law of *Moses* by uncovering her nakedness ; and agreeably hereunto, *Alma* is a most proper word for a virgin, who is covered, and whose nakedness was never uncovered or revealed by the knowledge of man. This account is very natural ; perfectly agreeable to the *Hebrew* manner of speech, and to the style of the law of *Moses*.

3. 'TIS very well known among learned men, that there is a very great affinity between the *Hebrew* and *Punic* language. Several learned men have shewed this, in their account of those lines in the *Punic* tongue, which we have in *Plautus* ; and *Bochartus* ¹ hath gone farther, in his reflections upon several passages of *St. Augustin*, who was himself a *Punic*. *Samuel Petit* is said, as he hath restored those lines in *Plautus*, to have taken the word *Almot* for *virgins* : I lay no great stress upon that, because I have not that book by me ; and at best it is but his conjecture. Be that as it will, the words of *St. Jerom* ² are worth our consideration : His words are these, *Lingua Punicâ, quæ de Hebræorum fontibus manare dicitur, propriè virgo, Alma appellatur, i. e. In the Punic language, which is said to be derived from the Hebrew, she who is properly a virgin, is called Alma.*

4. It is but a poor argument to pretend, that because the word *Alma* doth not necessarily or always signify a virgin, therefore it doth not signify so in this place ; and that therefore it is mis-rendred in *St. Matthew*. For we are to be governed as to the signification of a word by the context and the subject matter. And if it was granted, that it did not *always* signify so ; yet if it appeared, that it *generally* signified so, and that there is nothing in the context, that forbids that signification here, this would be enough to justify *St. Matthew*. But I have more to say than this ; that this sense is so far from being repugnant to the context, that it rather seems to require this sense and nothing less. It is to be remembered, that *GOD* had offered unto *Ahaz* a sign or miracle to confirm his promise before, and that it had been refused : *Ahaz* had his option of a sign in the *depth*, or in the *height* above. Upon his profane rejecting of this *GOD* complains, and promiseth the house of *David* a sign, *Therefore the LORD himself shall give you a sign, Behold ! a virgin, &c.* The *Jews* would have the meaning be no more than this, that a young woman being joined to a man should be with child : But where's the wonder ? Where's the miracle all this while ? Can there be any thing farther from it ? What need of those words, *the LORD himself* ? What need of that solemn notice, *Behold* ? What need of the *emphatical* way of expressing it in the *Hebrew* text ? Here would be nothing *new* or *strange* in all this, according to the interpretation of the *Jews* ; no need of these solemn words, of this great *apparatus*. *GOD* promiseth the same thing in another prophet ; but then he doth it there also after a very solemn manner, and in ³ words that must import more, than the *Jewish* sense will admit of. *The LORD hath created a new thing, a woman shall compass a man.* But it would be too great a digression to enter upon that place.

¹ Phaleg. l. 2. c. 16.² Hieron. in Isa. 7.³ Jer. 31. 22.

5. THAT *Alma* signifies a *virgin* sometimes, the *Jews* have not face enough to deny. I shall in the next place consider the two places, in which it is pretended it signifies otherwise. And we may be sure, that they have pitched on those places, which they judge most to their purpose.

THE first is in *Prov.* 30. 19. where the wise man tells of those things, which are too wonderful for him, and which he professeth not to know, viz. *The way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea, and the way of a man with a maid.* What we render *maid*, is *Alma* in the *Hebrew* text. And hence the *Jews* pretend, that the word *Alma* doth not always signify a *virgin*, but sometimes one that hath had the knowledge of a man, as is supposed here. To which I answer,

1. THAT several of the antients understand that word as signifying *youth*. The *V. Latin* renders it in *Adolescentia*: the LXXII. *Ἐν νεότητι*: And the *Syriac*, to the same purpose. If this version be right, then is the place nothing to the purpose. But I pass this by, and lay no stress upon it. I allow it to be *Alma*; that is the same word with that in *Isa.* 7. 14.

2. It is enough to satisfy any indifferent person, that supposing the *maid* in the text vitiated by the man; yet she is expressed by that word, which truly expressed her former state antecedently to such a defilement. And as this may be allow'd in any language; so doth it not at all alter the signification of the word.

THUS when we read, (*Deut.* 22. 28.) of a man lying with a virgin, every man easily understands, that she is so called, with respect to what she was antecedently to the defilement; and we make no doubt of the proper signification of the word *virgin*: for that expression doth not imply that the word signifies equally one that is defiled and undefiled.

THE true signification of the word is not alter'd; tho it should chance to be applyed to any one, to whom the thing meant by it doth not strictly belong. The word *Prophet* signifies the same thing, tho it be sometimes apply'd to one that is a false Prophet. When we say that *JESUS* opened the eyes of the *blind*; the word *blind* doth but denote the former condition; tho even when his eyes are opened, we apply that word to him. We say, An house is burnt to ashes: It was an house, and therefore we call it so.

The second place produced to prove, that *Alma* doth not necessarily signify a *virgin*, is *Cant.* 6. ver. 8. *There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number.*

I must here declare, that I am at a loss. Not that I am pressed with any difficulty; but because I can see none. I cannot possibly discern any weight here at all; nor so much as imagine, to what purpose it is produced by the *Jew*. And it is very hard to find an answer, where there is no need of any. If it serves to any purpose, it bears hard upon the *Jew*, and proves that, which it is produced to disprove; like some witnesses, that have in a court spoiled the cause, which they were brought to maintain. The *Almoth*, i. e. virgins (as we render it) are distinguished from queens and concubines. The queens are the wives of kings, the concubines are their half wives, as the *Hebrew* word imports: and then what the *Almoth* should be, but virgins, I cannot comprehend. I am sure no *Jew* can tell what to make of them else.

So

So then, the *first* place makes nothing for the *Jews*; and *this*, if it doth any thing, makes *against* them.

Object. II. It is objected, that the name of the son to be born, of whom the *Prophet* speaks, was to be *Emmanuel*; but the name of the son of *Mary*, of whom *St. Matthew* speaks, was *JESUS*; and that according to the express command of the angel: and therefore the words of the *Prophet* are misapplied by the *Evangelist*, as not having relation to one and the same person.

Ans. THIS objection I have formerly considered in another³ place, and therefore need not say much here. I do own, that *JESUS* was that name of our SAVIOUR, by which he was commonly called, and by which he was distinguished from other men. But yet there were many titles and characters given of the MESSIAS in the antient prophets with reference to his office, and the design of his appearance: and if our *JESUS* answer those characters, 'tis enough. For the *Jews* do very well know, that being called by a name, imports no more. And we *Christians* too believe, that *Emmanuel* of right belongs to him, as he was *GOD manifested in the flesh*, as he takes away our sins, and is the great *Mediator between GOD and man*.

THIS answer might very well suffice for such a trifling objection; and so it should, was it not that⁴ a *Jewish* writer hath attempted to improve this objection, and to carry it farther, than I have found any other to do. I shall truly report the strength of what he brings to this purpose. Among his other objections against *St. Matthew*, this is his fourth. From these words, *Shall call his name Emmanuel* וְיִרְעוּ שְׁלָא: וְכָרָא, Now (says he) it is known, that no man called *JESUS* the Nazarene, *Emmanuel*: neither did his mother, nor did others call him by this name. But to this (says he) the *Christians* have the assurance to answer thus: That a thing may have a Natural or Instituted name. Thus *Adam* is the natural name of a man: but *Socrates* is an instituted name, to distinguish or particularize him. That *JESUS* was his name by institution; *Emmanuel* was his natural name on the score of his divinity. But (says he) these are vain words; for the Scripture doth not speak of a natural name, when it says, *Shalt call his name Emmanuel*; but of his instituted name, which he was called by consent, or agreement. Of a natural name we say, הוּא שְׁמוֹ i. e. This is the name of it; and therefore the prophet should have said, that his name should be *Emmanuel*, and not have said, *Shalt call his name*; which fixeth the matter upon the calling, because so it is to be called. For we do not use to say of a man-child after he is born, *Thou shalt call his name man*; because that name doth not belong to him from his being so called, but 'tis his natural name. Thus doth *Abravenel* object.

I TAKE the force of what he says to be this, That *Emmanuel* must be the instituted name of the person spoken of by the *Prophet*, and not the natural; and that because the Scripture doth not use the word *call* of a natural name, but only of an instituted one: where the natural name is mentioned, it is expressed by הוּא שְׁמוֹ, i. e. This is his name: And consequently, if the words of the *Prophet* had belonged to *JESUS*, his name could not have been *JESUS*, but *Emmanuel*.

³ Part. I. ch. 1.

⁴ *Abravenel* in *Isa.* 7. 14.

I Must needs say, that this objection looks fairly, and seems to be of moment at the first sight: and therefore is to be considered; and the ground on which it is built is to be examined.

I SHALL shew, that the ground, on which he founds his assertion, is far from truth, and that this Jew hath notoriously prevaricated in this matter. I shall produce several instances from the *Scripture* to the contrary.

(1.) FIRST then, whereas he says the word *call* implies an instituted name, I shall shew the contrary from *Gen. 5. 2.* *Male and female created he them, and called their name Adam.* Now the name *Adam*, by the confession of this Jew, is a *natural*, not an *instituted* name.

(2.) On the other hand, whereas he affirms that a natural name is expressed by *הוא שמו*, I shall shew, that this is used in *Scripture* of a proper or instituted name, 1 *Kin. 13. 2.* *Behold a child shall be born of the house of David, Josphab his name.* He doth not say, he shall be called *Josphab*, but *Josphab his name*, as the *Hebrew* words signify, which we render, *Josphab* by name.

THO these two instances are sufficient to confute *Abravenel*, yet I will give some more under both the aforementioned heads, that the vanity of his pretences may more abundantly appear; nor shall I produce all that I might on this occasion.

As to the first, where he affirms, that the word *call* implies an instituted or proper name, I would know, what can be said to *Gen. 2. 23.* where *Adam* says, *This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.* Surely *woman* is the *natural* name, if there be any truth in what follows, *because she was taken out of man.* Her proper or instituted name was *Eve.* *Adam* afterwards calls her so, because she was the *Mother of all living.* Again, *His name shall be called, wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting father, the prince of peace,* *Isa. 9. 6.* Is all this the instituted or proper name of one person? I add, *Jer. 23. 6.* *And this is his name, whereby he shall be called, the LORD our righteousness.* Can we think, that this is a proper or instituted name?

SECONDLY, as to what he pretends, that the *natural* name is expressed by *הוא שמו*, i. e. This is his name (without the addition of being called by that name) the instances to the contrary are so many, that I will not undertake to number them. I shall only refer the reader to some of them. *Esther 2. 5. 2 Sam. 3. 7. 1 Sam. 1. 2. ch. 9. 1. ch. 25. 3.*

Object. III. THAT whereas there was a son to be born promised to *Abaz* as a sign to beget faith in him, 'tis certain that *JESUS* could not be meant, because his birth could be of no use to *Abaz*, for it did not happen till several hundred years after his death: and therefore that son must be meant of *Hezekiah*, or some other man-child to be born before the death of *Abaz*: and consequently, the words of the *Prophet* are misapplied by the *Evangelist*.

Ans. 1. THAT it is taken for granted, that this promise is made to *Abaz*: He had rejected a sign before, and this is promised to the house of *David*, who were at this time in great fears, and in great danger. And therefore that is taken for granted in the objection, which is by no means to be yielded.

2. OF what-ever use the promise of the *MESSIAS* (which we *Christians* do believe made in the words of the *Prophet*) was to *Abaz*, 'tis certain

certain it was very proper in this place, and must be of great use to the house of *David*, to whom it was made, and not to *Abaz*. They feared destruction at this time, they and the men of *Judah*, ver. 2. Now what could be more for their comfort, and strengthening their faith, than these words of *GOD* by the *Prophet*? *Behold*, &c. And that,

(1.) As they assure them, that they shall not be utterly destroyed by these their powerful enemies; and this is built upon *GOD*'s veracity. He had said, *The scepter shall not depart from Judah*, &c. That is, the men of that tribe shall not be destroyed from being a people, until *Shiloh* come, that is, till the *MESSIAS* doth first appear. And as this blessing was pronounced as belonging to the posterity of *Judah*; so it was annexed to the family or house of *David*. *The LORD hath sworn in truth unto David, he will not turn from it, Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne*; *Psal.* 102. 12. (compare *Luke* 1. 69. *Acts* 2. 30.) this is that *horn of salvation*, *Psal.* 132. 17. with *Ezek.* 29. 21. and *Luk.* 1. 69. and *Jer.* 23. 5, 6. and *ch.* 30. 9. The men of *Judah*, and the house of *David* might from hence be assured, that they should not be destroyed, till the *MESSIAS* should first come.

(2.) As these words assure them of *GOD*'s almighty and irresistible power: *Behold! a virgin shall conceive*, &c. This is against the laws of nature, and which no power less than that of *GOD* could effect. This is foretold as a sign or a miracle here, which *GOD* alone could bring to pass: *The LORD himself shall give you a sign*. And thus this promise is expressed in a parallel place, *The LORD hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man*; *Jer.* 31. 22. He that believes *GOD* able to do this, needs not doubt, but he is able to deliver from the power of the most potent enemies: And on this consideration this prophecy must be of great use to support the house of *David*.

(3.) As these words assured them of *GOD*'s goodness, and great goodwill toward them. The promise of the *MESSIAS* shews this abundantly. This was a mighty argument of the divine goodness and philanthropy, to promise the seed of the woman to mankind; and still a farther kindness to the *Israelites*, from whom he was to spring; and still a more particular favour to the tribe of *Judah* above the rest; and after all to the house of *David*, of whose family he was to be according to the flesh. They that had this promise, might be secure of the divine favour; and consequently need not fear their powerful enemies.

FROM what hath been last said, it appears, that tho *JESUS* was not to be born till about seven hundred years after this promise; yet this promise of the *MESSIAS* was of great use to the house of *David*, to whom it was made in a very perillous time.

IF after all this the *Jew* should urge, that what is here promised to the house of *David*, is promised as a *sign*, and must in reason therefore go before that thing, which it is a sign of: I answer,

3. THAT the word here rendred *sign* doth not always signify a prognostick of something to follow (which is such a sign as *Abaz* refused) but sometimes it signifies a miracle or wonder. This is very agreeable to the manner of speaking here used; and also with that used *Jer.* 31. 22. Besides, it is certain, that there are signs that are not only *prognostick*, but also *rememorative*: And the latter do not go before, but follow those things of which they are signs. Of these we have several instances in the *old Testament*,

ment, which are very pertinent to my present argument against the *Jews*, viz. *Exod.* 3. 12. 1 *Sam.* 2. 34. *Isa.* 37. 30. *Jer.* 44. 23, 30.

PERHAPS it may be urged under this objection, that the prophet doth speak of some son to be born about that time; and that this appears from *Isa.* 7. 15, 16. and *ch.* 8. 4. and that therefore this prophecy was then fulfilled; and consequently mis-applied by St. *Matthew*. To this I answer,

4. THAT admitting this to be true, yet will not this be an objection of force against the *Evangelist*. I will not enter into the inquiry, whether this be true or not; but will shew, that supposing it true that such a son was born then; yet the *Evangelist* may for all that be defended.

AS for the *Christians*, they do believe that the MESSIAS is not only predicted in the *old Testament*, but that there are many shadows of him and his kingdom or oeconomy; and that many actions and events that are reported there, had a farther reference to, and a full consummation in the days of the MESSIAS: so that some things might be fulfilled then in the *type*, which were afterward to be fulfilled in the *anti-type*.

NOR ought the *Jews* to reject such a way of interpretation. For they allow of their *Midrash*, which is an allegorical way of expounding; and do not boggle to allow a farther sense of their law, than what appears from the first blush of the letter. Whoever is acquainted with their ancient writers and their commentaries, will easily find very much to this purpose. They do evidently confirm their doctrines from the text with much less appearance of reason. R. D. *Kimchi* expounds the *second psalm* of *David*; but yet he owns, that their *Rabbins*, by The LORD's anointed meant king MESSIAS. Nor doth he imply any inconsistency in these several interpretations. It is certain, that *Josephus* puts a spiritual sense upon the several parts of the sanctuary, and such a sense as agrees with that of the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*. St. *Matthew* applies the *Prophet's* words to the wonderful birth of *Jesus*; and indeed the words of the *prophet* are such, that it is hard to fix a lower sense upon them. But be that as it will, it ought not to exclude that of the *Evangelist*; especially, since it may be undeniably proved from the miracles and resurrection of JESUS, that he was the MESSIAS.

I very well know, that the places quoted out of the *old Testament* by the writers of the *new* may occasion some difficulties in the minds of men. But this ought not so far to prevail with us, as to question the truth of the *Christian* doctrine, which doth not want sufficient motives of credibility.

FOR the better judging of this whole matter, 'tis requisite, that we should have recourse to the ways of speaking and reasoning used by the *Synagogue*; that we should look into the *Midrashim* and *Targumists*, and observe the passages, which they apply to the MESSIAS and his oeconomy; where we shall find many things said, that are not founded on the bare letter, and are yet very agreeable to the interpretation of CHRIST, and the writers of the *new Testament*. We shall find among the *Jews* many times interpretations extended beyond the letter to a mystical sense; and sometimes such an one as belongs to the MESSIAS. The writers of the *new Testament* follow their method and principles; and the *Jews* have no cause on this account to vilify them.

OF

OF all the books of the *new Testament* I know not any, where these mystical senses of the passages of the *old Testament*, and applications of them to the MESSIAS, are so frequent as in the epistle to the *Hebrews*: This is a probable argument, that it was written by St. *Paul*; who having been brought up by *Gamaliel* a famous doctor may be presumed to be well versed in the *Mystical* sense of the places of the *old Testament*. And he might use the greater liberty this way, because he wrote to the *H. brews*, who were much used to that way of interpretation, and were best able to judge of that method which he used. I cannot but relate a passage of a late learned writer upon this occasion. He tells us, that he gave this epistle to the *Hebrews* to a *Jew* to read, who was greatly acquainted with their antient authors. Upon the perusal of it the *Jew* frankly avowed, that that book could be writ by none but by some great *Mekubal* (i. e. man of tradition) of his own nation. This *Jew* was so far from affirming, that the writer of that epistle had set aside the true sense of the *Scripture* by allegories according to his own fancy, that he celebrated his profound knowledge in the sublime sense of the *Bible*, and spake of his great *Mekubal* (as he called him) with admiration.

THE *Jews* condemn the *Christians* for using the very same methods, which their greatest doctors have constantly used. I have too much cause to add, that some of them do urge those things against *Christians*, which they cannot but know have no weight in them.

THAT I may leave nothing unanswered, I shall consider their pretence, that the words of the prophet are to be understood of king *Hezekias*. This is an antient opinion of the *Jews*: *Trypho*, in his discourse with *Justin Martyr*, owns it.

I SHALL shew in a very few words, that this cannot be. We are agreed on all hands, that the prophet speaks of a son, that was after those words to be born. I shall prove, that it cannot therefore be meant of *Hezekias*, because he was born before these words were spoken. And this I shall prove against the *Jews* beyond all exception. That these words were spoken, whilst *Abaz* was king, is evident from the text, and owned by the *Jews*. Now *Abaz*¹ reigned but sixteen years; and *Hezekias* his son and his successor was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and therefore must be born several years before *Abaz* was king, and consequently before these words were spoken. Thus (says a learned writer of our own) while the antient *Jews* name him only to fulfil the prophecy, in whom it is impossible it should be fulfilled, they plainly shew, that for any knowledge that they had, it was not fulfilled till our SAVIOUR came: And therefore they cannot with any reason deny, but that it belonged unto the MESSIAS; as divers of the antient Rabbins thought and confessed.

WHAT other son the *Jews* may fix this prophecy upon, it is not worth my while to inquire. If they could prove, that it received some sort of completion, it will not thence follow, that it is ill applied by St. *Matthew* to an higher sense. For when once they shall advance any proposition, whence this can be truly inferred, when they design to destroy St. *Matthew*'s credit, they will certainly overthrow that of their own commentators. And thus I have defended St. *Matthew* from the charge of mis-applying the words of the Prophet.

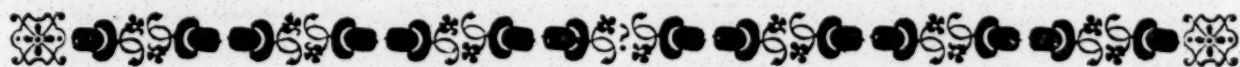
¹ P. Simon. Histon. Crit. N. T. c. 21. ch. 18. 2.

² Justin. Mart. cum Tryph.

³ 2 Kings 16. 2. with

IF St. *Matthew* be charged for mis-quoting the text, it being in LXXII καλῖσαι, agreeably to the *Hebrew*; and in St. *Matthew* καλέσῃσι, it is of no moment. And it may farther be truly said, that there is only a various lection in the case. For all copies have not καλέσῃσι. 'Tis sometimes καλέσεις in the text of St. *Matthew*.

BUT we will suppose that καλέσῃσι is the true reading in St. *Matthew*, as it is the most common in our printed copies; yet may St. *Matthew* be very easily defended against the *Jews* in this matter. For καλέσῃσι, is to be taken impersonally in this place; and imports no more than *he shall be called*. Of this there can be no dispute; and I have 'elsewhere given several instances to this purpose; and such as the *Jews* cannot deny to be agreeable to the rules of grammar. And moreover those who contend, as the *Jews* do, that this prophecy was fulfilled soon after the words were spoken, cannot justly blame St. *Matthew*, for thus rendring the word in this place as he doth. For allowing it to have received some accomplishment in the *type*, 'tis easy to say, why St. *Matthew* should thus render the word, when he applies it to the *anti-type*. For that opinion of the *Jews* may well admit, that the virgin concern'd was present, when these words were first spoken. What we render *shall call* in the text; we render *thou, O virgin, shalt call* in our marginal reading. But St. *Matthew* in this case applying to the *anti-type*, could not with any reason be obliged to render it καλέσεις, but it was to his purpose more fit to render it by καλέσῃσι, in an impersonal sense.



CHAP. VI.

The objections against the account which the Evangelists give of the Genealogy of JESUS summed up. Some general considerations toward the abating the force of these exceptions.

THERE is scarce any thing objected by the *Jews* against the writers of the *new Testament*, either more speciously or more frequently, than what they bring against St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, as touching the account, which they give of the *genealogy* of JESUS. Here they triumph and insult, and think they have a great advantage over us. For it being agreed between *Christians* and *Jews*, that the MESSIAS was to proceed not only of the tribe of *Judah*, but from the family of *David*, it had need be very evident, that JESUS was of that family; and no man could be obliged to own him for the CHRIST, unless it appeared first, that he was of that family of which CHRIST was to come: For it being so plainly predicted by the prophets, that he should be of the house of *David*, and that he should be born in *Bethlehem*, the town

^a Serm. on 2 Sam. 24. 14.

^b Nizachon yet. p. 186. R. Isaac, l. 2. c. 1. J. Albo Ikkarim, l. 4. c. 25.

where

where *David* dwelt, the *Jews* might not receive *him* for the MESSIAS, who was not born in that place, and of that family. For tho there might be, and there were several born at that time in that place and of that family, who yet had not any title or just claim to the dignity and office of the MESSIAS; yet certain it is, that no man could have any just title to it, who was born in any other place, or of another family: And as upon the appearance of the wise men, *Herod* took care to inform himself *where CHRIST should be born*: so the *Evangelists*, *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* took care also to inform us, that he was born of the family of *David*. And this one of them doth at the very beginning of his *gospel*, and before he doth relate his miraculous birth; the other doth it soon after he had given an account of his birth, and just before he relates his exercise of his publick ministry: And tho it was necessary that this matter should be cleared, and the *Evangelists* should have done it effectually, and seasonably in the beginning of their *gospels*; yet the *Jews* quarrel and contend, and pretend several things, which would render this account, which the *Evangelists* give, not worthy of belief. And therefore I think my self obliged to represent to the reader the objections which the *Jews* do, or may make against the *Evangelists* upon this account: and then to answer them, and defend the holy writers, not only against the *Jews*, but against all those false people, who are ready to disparage them as persons unworthy to be credited. As for the first part of this my work, I do solemnly profess, that I will not fail very fairly to sum up the strength of those objections, which are or may be brought against the *Evangelists* in this matter. And the reader may find the main force of these pretences in the following particulars.

FIRST, The *Jews* pretend, that what the *Evangelists* have done is nothing to the purpose; because they only give us an account of the genealogy and descent of *Joseph*, who was not the real, but only the reputed father of JESUS, as all *Christians* grant. If they would have proved what they attempted, and what was needful, they should have given an account of the genealogy of *Mary* the mother of JESUS; not of *Joseph*, who was not really his father. For if JESUS was not the son of *Joseph*, the genealogy of *Joseph* cannot belong to JESUS: If it doth belong to him, it must do so because he was *Joseph's* son, which all *Christians* do deny. That *Joseph* was the reputed father of JESUS, will not prove JESUS to be of the family of *David*, because *Joseph* was so. GOD did^a swear unto *David*, *Out of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne*. And this is own'd by *Christians* also; for^b *St. Peter* refers to this oath, saying, that to *David* GOD had sworn with an oath, *That out of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh, he would raise up CHRIST to sit upon his throne*.

SECONDLY, In the account, which they do give of the genealogy of *Joseph* (tho that be nothing to the purpose) they do not in the main agree between themselves. It is true, that they both derive him from *David* (and no wonder they should pretend to do so) but they do it after such a manner, that the accounts, which they severally give, are inconsistent one with the other. One^c tells us, that he was the son of *Jacob*; the^d other, that he was the son of *Eli*. *St. Matthew* derives him from *Solomon* the son of *David*;

^a Mat. 2. 4.^b Psal. 132. 11.^c Acts 2. 30.^d Mat. 1. 6.^e Luk. 3. 31.

and

and St. *Luke* from *Nathan*, another of *David's sons*: Certain it is, that if he was descended from *Solomon*, he did not descend from *Nathan* his brother: And if he did descend from *Nathan*, he could not descend from his brother *Solomon*: And consequently if one *Evangelist* be in the right, the other must be in the wrong; for one man cannot be descended from two brothers, and sons of the same father.

THIRDLY, Besides this main difference between them, they differ widely in relating the particulars of the genealogy of *Joseph*. St. *Matthew* reckons from *Abraham* to *JESUS* but forty and two generations: St. *Luke* reckons from *Abraham* to *JESUS* no less than fifty and six. Again, *Joseph* is both by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* (however they differ in deriving him from *Solomon* or *Nathan*) said to be descended from *Salathiel* the father of *Zorobabel*; and there is, in each of the *Evangelists*, an account of the distance of generations between *Salathiel* and *Joseph*. According to the computation of *Matthew*, these generations are but twelve: But in St. *Luke*, the generations from *Joseph* to the same *Salathiel* are no fewer than one and twenty.

FOURTHLY, as the *Evangelists* are inconsistent one with the other; so they both depart from that account of things, which we find in the *old Testament*: The authority of which *old Testament*, *Christians* are so far from calling in question, that they do upon all other occasions appeal to it, and urge it, in all their disputes and controversies with the *Jews*. And therefore, if the authority of the books of the *old Testament* be valued by the *Christians* on all other occasions, they ought to be considered in this case. Now St. *Luke* in his genealogy adds a second *Cainan*, not mentioned in the *old Testament*; and St. *Matthew* in his account takes the liberty of leaving out three kings at once. For when he tells us, that *Joram*, begat *Ozias*, it is manifest that he leaves out *Abaziah*, *Joash* and *Amaziah*: and then it will be hard to understand, with what truth he could say, that *Joram* could beget *Ozias*, who could not be begotten in his days. It may farther be objected, that *Salathiel* cannot be said to beget *Zorobabel* (for he was not his father) and that tho *Zorobabel* be said to have begotten *Abiud*, yet certain it is, that where his children are reckoned up, we find none called *Abiud*. But these things are of little weight. There are *two* other particulars in St. *Matthew* that are very exceptionable, and seem to contradict the account given in the *old Testament*. The *first* is, that where he says, that *Josias* begat *Jechonias*, and his brethren, 'tis very certain, that *Josias* did not beget *Jechonias*: He was not the son of *Josias*, but his son's son: And then it may justly seem still more strange, that he should be said to beget him and his brethren. The *other* is what we read that *Jechonias* begat *Salathiel*; this may much surprize any one, that considers, what we find in the prophet *Jeremy*, that *Jechonias* was childless.

FIFTHLY, it hath been objected against St. *Matthew*, that tho he has divided his whole time into three parts, and puts fourteen generations in each; and to this purpose takes the liberty of leaving out three at once in the second of these thirds; yet after all this needless care, his numbers do not fall right. For if we reckon *Jechonias* to belong to the third part, there will be but thirteen from *Solomon* to *Josias* inclusively left in the second: and if we leave *Jechonias* the last of the second part, we shall find but thirteen left for the third, from *Salathiel* to *CHRIST*, inclusively.

* Matt. 1. 11.

* Ver. 13.

* Jer. 22. 30.

I HAVE faithfully summed up the main objections against the account given by the *Evangelists* of this matter: I shall now proceed to give an answer to them: And before I come to a particular reply to the several objections reckoned up before, I think fit to premise some things by way of introduction thereunto.

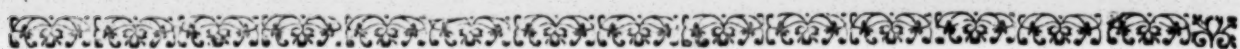
AND first it must be granted, that the difficulty is great; and these objections do require a very particular consideration, because they are levelled against the whole *Christian* religion. For if JESUS was not of the family of *David*, he could not be the CHRIST. That JESUS is the CHRIST, is the main and fundamental article of our religion, upon which all the rest, which follow upon it, do depend; and we ought not to neglect any thing, whatever it be, that attempts upon this truth. Upon which consideration I judge the present question worthy to be considered with all possible care and application.

BUT then we have not sufficient cause to question the truth of the *Christian* religion because of these difficulties. For JESUS hath given us a sufficient demonstration, that he is the CHRIST the Son of GOD, by the mighty works which he did, and his resurrection from the dead. They are very weak and foolish men, who will renounce the whole religion, because there are some things said or taught in it, which they are not able to comprehend, or give an account of. There are many difficulties in the *old Testament*, and seeming contradictions; and yet both the *Jews* and *Christians* do with great reason receive those books with great veneration. It is a very easy thing to perplex a learned *Jew* with many difficulties to be found in the books of *Moses*, of *Samuel*, the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, especially in matters of *names* and *numbers*; but he will not therefore doubt of the whole, because he is not able to give a clear account of those difficult passages, which are found therein.

BESIDES, It is not reasonable, that the *Jews* should in this matter press the *Christians*; much less ought they to exult and vaunt, as they do. For (not to insist upon this, that JESUS, while he lived, was owned to be of the house of *David*) the books of genealogy being lost, and the means of clearing this matter remov'd, the *Jews* ought not to insult over *Christians* upon this account, and at this distance of time. We do believe that JESUS was of the family of *David*; the *Jews* do not attempt to produce any positive proof against this: We challenge them to do this, if they can. Instead of going about that, they urge us with the different account given in by our *Evangelists*, and put us upon reconciling them, who in the main question do agree. I appeal to any indifferent person, whether it be likely, that the *Evangelists* should in the beginning of their relations, say that which would overthrow the credit of the whole. They may differ in their account, but 'tis not credible, that they should contradict one another. It may be difficult to reconcile them; but 'tis incredible, that they should say any thing, that doth subvert the credit of the whole. These writers were good men, or evil: They were sincere reporters of the truth, or else false men, who designed to cheat the world. If we say, that they were honest and good, they cannot be supposed to contradict one another: If we say, that they designed to cheat,

^a Rom. i. 4.

it is not to be imagined, that they would have suffered so much difference in their relation : They would rather so have ordered the matter, that there should have been no seeming contradiction betwixt them.



C H A P. VII.

The design of St. Matthew in giving an account of the genealogy of JESUS. Of his dividing the whole time from Abraham to the birth of JESUS into three intervals, each of which takes up fourteen generations. The exception against his Tessara-decads propounded. An account of the sons and successors of Josias. Jehoahaz was not the eldest son of Josias. Of Jehojakim and Jehojachin, and the little difference of those two names. Matt. 1. 11. considered at large : Of the different readings of that place. That by Jechonias first mentioned in St. Matthew is meant Jehojakim : that by Jechonias, Matt. 1. 12. is meant the son of Jehojakim : This defended against the exceptions, which may be brought against it. The testimony of St. Hierom in this matter. A table of the several Tessara-decads.

I WOULD not be mistaken, in what I said in the close of the foregoing chapter. I grant, that there is difficulty in the question which I am upon : But then I must also affirm, That it is not so great as it seems. The *Jews* have no reason upon this account to reject *Christianity*, or to insult over the professors thereof.

HAVING premised these things ; I shall now proceed to consider the force of what hath been said before, and to defend the *Evangelists* against the *Jews*. I shall not think my self obliged to observe the very same method in my answer, which is observed in the objections ; I shall only take care, that I do not omit any thing, that is worthy of consideration.

FIRST, I shall consider the account given by St. *Matthew*, and defend him against the objections, which are brought against him. What his design and purpose was, is best learned from his own words, who calls this account which he gives, *The book of the generation of JESUS CHRIST*. And the MESSIAS being promised to *Abraham* the father of the *Israelites*, of whose seed he was to spring ; and after that more particularly to *David*, out of whose family he was to be born ; therefore he calls him the son of *David* the son of *Abraham*. In the deducing of this genealogy from *Abraham* to CHRIST, he divides the whole into

• Matt. 1. 1.

three very remarkable parts or portions, according to the very different circumstances in which these descendants from *Abraham* were. The *first* is the age of the *patriarchs*, before the temple was built, and till the time that the kingdom was set up, and established in the family of *David*: and this portion of time extends from *Abraham* unto *David*. The *second* portion of time is that of the *kingdom* and of the *temple*, from *Solomon* to *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias*. The *third* takes place from the *captivity* of *Babylon*, upon which the *kingdom* received an end, and their *first temple* was destroyed: and this extends from *Jechonias*, the son of *Jehojakim* and grandchild of *Josias*, unto *CHRIST*. Each of these portions of time for the help of memory, and for the greater perspicuity, and to avoid all alteration of his account here given, he divides into so many *Tessara-decads*. To the pitching upon the number of fourteen, it is probable he was determin'd by this, that when he took a view of the *first* portion of time from *Abraham* to *David*, he found this number: and for what appears, he found the same number (even according to the *Jews* manner of reckoning) in the *third* portion of time also, *viz.* from *Jechonias* to *CHRIST*: Hereupon he reduced the *middle* portion of time to the same number also. The *Evangelist* having thus divided his whole time into three parts, and filled up each part with a *Tessara-decad* of degrees, which are particularly set down; he proceeds to tell the equal distances of degrees, from the beginning to the close of each *third* portion of the whole time. So all the generations from *Abraham* to *David* are fourteen generations; and from *David* until the carrying away into *Babylon*, are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into *Babylon* unto *CHRIST*, are fourteen generations. Where the *Evangelist* only tells, that there are fourteen degrees to be found reckoned up in the account, which he gives before in each *third* part of time: But he doth not say, that there were not above fourteen persons born from the beginning to the close of any of those intervals.

Except I. BEFORE I go any farther, I shall consider that pretence before mentioned, that the numbers of the *Evangelist* fall not right. For granting that the several *Tessara-decads* are to be understood with respect to the account, which he gives before, which cannot be reasonably denied; yet still, if we reckon *Jechonias* in the *third* part, there will be but thirteen left in the *second*; and if we place him to the *second*, there will be but thirteen left in the *third*. To which I shall add another difficulty, arising from the *Evangelist's* words, where he says, *Josias* begat *Jechonias* and his brethren: Whereas it is manifest, that *Josias* did not beget *Jechonias*, who was not his, but his son's son. And as for *Jechonias*, as it doth not appear, that he had brethren; so there could be no manner of reason, why the *Evangelist* should mention them, if there had been any. I put these exceptions together, because the same answer will serve for both of them.

Ans. IN order to give a more clear and full answer to these exceptions, I think fit to premise something of the sons and successors of *Josias* king of *Judah*. It is very well known, that *Josias* was killed at *Megiddo* by *Pharaoh* one of the kings of *Egypt*, and upon his death,

* Matt. i. 17.

* Matt. i. 11.

JEHOAHAS ' his son succeeds him in the kingdom. He was indeed the son of *Josiah*; yet ' not his eldest son, (who should have succeeded his father) but his second son. That he was not his eldest son, is so plain and evident from the text, that one would think it were hardly possible, for any man that reads it to doubt of it. But I find ' a learned man, who pretends to give an account of this matter, affirming that he was the eldest son of *Josiah*. *Postquam Josias excessit ex cœtu mortalium, populi suffragio delatum est regnum Joachaso, primogenito Josia*, saith he. That this is false, is evident from the text: For whereas *Jeboabaz* was twenty and three years old, when he began to reign, and reigned three months, *Jebojakim* his brother, who succeeded him, was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and consequently older than *Jeboabaz*. Besides, it is expressly said, that the people of the land took *Jeboabaz* the son of *Josiah*, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead. There was no need he should be *anointed*, if he had been the first born: The *Hebrew* doctors tell us, That the son of a king (to whom the kingdom belonged of right) was not wont to be anointed. This man was made king by the people against right, whilst his elder brother, to whom the kingdom did belong, was passed by. I say his *elder brother*: For so *Josephus* ' calls *Jebojakim*, whom the king of *Egypt* set over the kingdom. His words are these, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ αὐτῆ ἀδελφῇ ὁμοπατρίῳ ὄντι Ελιακίμῳ τὸν οὐκ ἐβασιλεύσαντα παραδίδωσι. *Jeboabaz* ' was taken by *Pharaoh-Necho*, put into bands at *Riblah*, and carried into *Egypt*; and he died there. He is called *Shallum*, by the prophet *Jeremiah*; who doth in ' the same chapter speak of him, and the two succeeding kings, in that order in which they succeeded one the other. And what he says of *Shallum*, must be interrupted of *Jeboabaz*, if the words of the prophet, and context of the place be duly considered. His words are these: *For thus saith the LORD concerning Shallum, the son of Josiah king of Judah, which reigned instead of Josiah his father, which went forth out of this place, He shall not return thither any more: But he shall die in the place, whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more.* Jer. 22. 11, 12. He is succeeded by his elder brother

JEHOJAKIM, who had ' before that been called *Eliakim*, and received this change in his name from *Pharaoh*, who placed him in his kingdom, and whose tributary he was. He was five and twenty years old, when he began to reign, and reigned eleven years. This king becomes a servant to *Nebuchadnezzar*.

JEHOJACHIN, the ' son of *Jebojakim* last named, succeeds in the kingdom. He was eighteen years old when he began to reign, and reigned three months. Him *Nebuchadnezzar* takes and carries to *Babylon*. This *Jebojachin* is called *Coniah*; and that is but the contraction of *Jechoniah*. The *Septuagint* ' do render both *Coniah* and *Jebojachin* by *Ιεχονίας*. *Josias* was the grandfather of this king, who was the son of *Jebojakim*; and was almost of the same name with his father. I know very well, that there is a difference in the *Hebrew* names of the one and the other; and that in two

' 2 Kin. 23. 29, 30, 31, 36.

' V. Zemah David. R. David. Gantz. p. 46.

' Seder

Olam Rab. c. 24.

' Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 6.

' 2 Kin. 23. 33, 34.

' Abravenel in

locum. V. Theodoret in Jer 22. & Aben Ezr. in Dan. 1. 1.

' 2 Kin. 23. 36.

' 2 Kin 24.

6. 8, 15: LXXII. V. Abul. Pharajii Histor. Dynastiarum, pag. 45.

' Jer. 22. 24. with 2 Chron.

36. 8, 6. with the Comment of Hieron. in Dan. 1.

letters;

letters ; and 'criticks have observed it : But they are two such letters, as make the difference very small ; and the latter of the two, which makes the chief difference, I find generally the *Seventy* interpreters so far from observing, that they give both names usually the same termination. Upon this account I presume it is, that * several of the antients have affirmed this king and his father to have been of the same name. And tho I find ' late writers severe upon them for their saying so ; yet I do conceive, that they deserve not any severity upon this account. For besides that *Josephus* makes no difference in the termination of these two names, I find the *Seventy* interpreters render both *Jebojakim* and *Jebojachin* by the same word *יְבוֹיָכִים* [*Jer.* 1. 3. 22. 18. §, 24. chap. 24. 1. &c. 25. 1. chap. 26. 1, 21. *Dan.* 1. 1, 2. with *Jer.* 52. 31. with the LXXII. in those places.]

ZEDEKIAH ' the son of *Josiah* succeeds in the kingdom. He was twenty and one years old, when he began to reign. His name was *Mattaniah* : The king of *Babylon* chang'd it into *Zedekiah* upon making him king. This was the last of the kings of *Judah*.

WE see that *Josias* left three sons, who were kings after him, viz. *Jeboabaz*, who obtained it by the people against right ; *Jebojakim*, and *Zedekiah* ; and that *Jebojakim* was succeeded immediately by his son *Jebojachin*, as he was by his uncle *Zedekiah*. Having premised these things, I shall now proceed to take off the exception against the *Evangelist*, which I mentioned above. We see by this account, that *Jechonias* was not the son of *Josias*, but his son's son : we find not, that he had brethren ; and yet *Josias* is said to have begotten him and his brethren. Besides, had he had brethren, there could be no occasion of mentioning them here. And farther according to this account, there are but thirteen degrees mentioned in one of those intervals, to which the *Evangelist* assigns fourteen. In answer to this difficulty, I have two things to offer.

1. THAT the different reading of *Matt.* 1. 11. doth remove the difficulty. We read it commonly thus, *Josias* begat *Jechonias* and his brethren, &c. But we have it remarked in the margins of our *Bibles*, that some read, *Josias* begat *Jakim*, and *Jakim* begat *Jechonias*. And thus I find it to be in the *English Bible* used in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, before the *Bible* was newly translated in the days of king *James I.* I find this reading mentioned by *Robert Stephens*, in his *new Testament* in *Folio*, printed at *Paris*, Anno Dom. 1550. and retained in the margin. The same reading I find afterward in the text in an edition of the *new Testament* by *Henry Stephens*, printed in the year 1569. I shall not need to mention any others of later date ; the diligence and integrity of those men above nam'd is unquestionable. This agrees with the account given, 1 *Chron.* 3. 15, 16. For this *Jakim* (or *Jebojakim*) was indeed the son of *Josias*, and the father of *Jechonias* also. This quite removes the pretence, that there is one wanting to make up one of the *Tessara-decads* : nor can any man justly complain, that we trespass upon the *Sacred Text*, when we prefer some other reading before that, which is vulgarly and commonly followed. But provided we do with great care examine these things, we ought not to be censured, when we follow a certain reading, which is vouched by good authority, and at the same time is more agreeable to the acknowledged truth of things. However, I shall

* J. Scaliger Annotat. in Euseb. Chron. p. 79.

* Sulp. Sever. S. Hist. l. 1.

* 2 Kin. 24. 17, 18.

* Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. Serm. 1.

not obtrude this reading, tho it be confirmed by more copies, than what I have named :

FOR besides ^{*} that it will not remove all the difficulty, which lies before us, it is not sufficiently attested. The *Vulgar Latin* agrees with our ordinary reading, so doth the *Syriac* version, and most of the *Greek* copies also. And very probable it is, that *Jakim* or *Joakim* was at first only added in the margin by some intelligent readers over against *Jechonias* first named, by way of explication ; and that afterwards it crept into the text : Yet *Robert Stephens* kept it in the margin still, nor have I seen above one copy, where it hath been received into the text. And besides all that hath been said, this reading will not fully answer the whole objection. For still *Jakim* (i. e. *Jehojakim*) will be said to beget, not only *Jechonias*, but *his brethren* : And it will be hard to defend the *truth* first, and then the *pertinence* of that expression. For I cannot join with those men, who do not only admit that reading which I have mention'd (for which there doth not want some colour) but make another alteration of their own heads, without so much as a pretence of ancient copies for their warranty, reading it thus, *Josias begat Joakim and his brethren, and Joakim begat Jechonias, &c.* And therefore I shall not rely upon this answer (tho it be not worthy of consideration) but proceed to another.

2. That *Jechonias*, mentioned *ver. 11.* and *Jechonias ver. 12.* are not the same but distinct, the first the *Father*, called *Jehojakim* ; the second the *son*, who is sometimes call'd *Jehojachin*, sometimes *Jechoniah*, and once *Coniah*, as hath been observed before. The first of these is the last of the *second* class or *Tessara-decad*, the second is the first of the *third*.

THE very text of *St. Matthew* gives us sufficient intimation of the truth of what I affirm. *Josias* (saith he) *begat Jechonias and his brethren*. It doth by no means appear, that *Jechonias* the younger, mentioned *ver. 12.* had *brethren*. But this *Jechonias* (i. e. *Jehojakim*) had *brethren* : And there is great reason, not only why he should be mentioned (he being a king, and the son of an excellent king, the brother of two, and the father of one,) but why his brethren should also : For his brethren were kings, *Jehoahaz* before him, and *Zedekiah* after him, and his *son*. This mention of his brethren determines the point, and intimates to us, who is meant by this *Jechonias*, who is first mentioned, *viz. Jehojakim*. For tho *Jehoahaz* succeeded *Josiah*, as hath been observed before, yet is not he, but *Jehojakim* mentioned here ; and with very good reason : For *Jehoahaz* was not the elder son : and tho he reigned first ; yet it was by stepping into the throne by the help of the people, and by usurpation ; and upon that score he is not mentioned here. And I am apt to believe, that for that reason, he who put himself forward against right, is ^{*} in the book of *Chronicles* mentioned in the last place of all, even after *Zedekiah*, who was younger than he. *Jehojakim* was the right heir to the crown of his father ; and did upon the removal of *Jehoahaz* succeed in the kingdom ; and left a son to succeed him of his own name. *Josias*, as hath been observed, left three sons, who were all kings after him.

BUT these three sons make but one degree in this genealogy ; and *Jehojakim* being the eldest of the three, it was enough to mention him and his brethren.

^{*} L. Brugens. Not. ad varias Lectiones N. T. R. Simon Hist. Crit. du Text du N. Testam. p 394.

^{*} 1 Chron. 3. 15.

As from what hath been said, it is evident, that by *Jechonias*, ver. 11. is meant *Joakim*, or *Jehojakim* the son of *Josiah*; so it is also demonstrable, that he cannot be the same person, who is called *Jechonias*, ver. 12. For it appears, that *Jehojakim* died three months before the transmigration, or carrying into *Babylon*; whereas *Jechonias*, mentioned, ver. 12. is said to have begotten *Salathiel*, after they were brought to *Babylon*.

AGAIN, It is manifest from the text of St. *Matthew*, that *Jechonias*, ver. 11. and *Jechonias*, ver. 12. are not one and the same person, because they are put into several classes; the first to the close of the *second*, and the second to the beginning of the *third*. Of the first it is said, that he was begotten by *Josias*, about (or towards) the time they were carried away to *Babylon*: But then when he comes to speak of the other *Jechonias*, he saith, *And after they were brought to Babylon Jechonias begat Salathiel, &c.* And that we might the more attentively heed his words, the *Evangelist* doth particularly warn us by his words ver. 17. where he tells us expressly, That all the generations from *Abraham* to *David*, are fourteen; and that he hath given in a particular of so many from *David* to the carrying away to *Babylon*, and from thence to *CHRIST*: And so many and no more there are to be found in the particulars laid before us by that *Evangelist* in the foregoing part of the chapter: which would not be, if *Jechonias*, ver. 11. and *Jechonias*, ver. 12. were one and the same person.

AND tho the father be called *Jechonias*, ver. 11. and the son called so, ver. 12. yet there are so many things said in the very text of St. *Matthew* (especially compared with the *old Testament*) as do not only sufficiently assure us, that they are not one and the same person; but do likewise give us to understand, who they are. When we read in the text of St. *Matthew*, that *Josias* did beget *Jechonias*, we are certain that by *Jechonias* there must be meant one of the sons of *Josias*, and that it can belong to none but him, who was otherwise called *Jehojakim*. And when we read (ver. 12.) that *Jechonias* begat *Salathiel*, we must of necessity understand it of *Jechonias* the son of *Jehojakim*: For this agrees with the *old Testament*.

NOR is this account of this matter any new conceit of mine, or devised craftily to get loose of the *Jews*, who press hard upon us: There is no need of artifice; nor will any honest man or good *Christian* use any, upon any consideration whatsoever. I shall content my self with one testimony to my present purpose, by which we shall understand, that the text of St. *Matthew* was not then thought defective; and that, when *Porphyry* objected this difficulty against the *Evangelist*, the answer which I now give, was given in those days. 'Tis that of St. *Hierom* upon *Daniel*, and his words are these. *Nemo putet eundem in Danielis principio esse Joakim, qui in Ezekielis exordio Joachin scribitur. Iste enim extremam syllabam Kim habet, ille Chin. Et ob hanc causam in evangelio secundum Matthæum una videtur deesse generatio; quia secunda rōgax dīnas in Joakim desinit, filio Josiæ, & tertia incipit a Joachin, filio Joakim. Quod ignorans Porphyrius calumniam struit ecclesiæ, suam ostendens imperitiam, dum evangelistæ Matthæi arguere nititur falsitatem.* Again, in another place, *Sciamus Jechoniam priorem ipsum esse, quem & Joakim; secundum autem filium non patrem.*

¹ 2 Kin. 23. 6.

⁴ Id in Mat. cap. 1.

² 1 Chron. 3. 15, 16, 17.

³ Hieronym. in Dan. c. 1.

NOR is it any objection against the *Evangelist* (nor yet against this account which hath been given in this matter) that he doth not mention the begetting of *Jechonias*, who is the first of the third *Classis*, as he doth that of those who go before and follow him. It is enough in this place, that he mentions the person; and that so plainly also, that the diligent reader cannot easily mistake. The word *γενεα* in St. *Matthew* signifies the person begotten; and it is a rule among the lawyers, as a very learned man hath well observed, That 'tis the *Person begotten which adds a degree. Semper generata persona gradum adjicit.*

SOME perhaps may cavil at the *Evangelist* (and at this account which I have given) because he says *Josias* begat *Jechonias* and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to *Babylon*. Whereas it is certain that, whatever is meant here by carrying into *Babylon*, *Josias* was dead several years before that could happen; and that he did beget *Jebojakim* (called here *Jechonias*) almost fifty years before the captivity, in the days of *Zedekiah*. If there was any weight in this, I should readily consider it; but there is nothing more trifling than this exception is. For besides that there is no reason, why we should understand the carrying away into *Babylon*, of the captivity upon the taking of *Zedekiah* (for not to mention what happened to *Jebojakim* and in his time, 2 *Chron.* 36. 5, 6, 7. there was a remarkable carrying away to *Babylon* in the days of *Jebojachin*, 2 *Kin.* 24. 12, 13, 14, 15. before the reign of *Zedekiah*) there being a manifest difference to be observed, between the transmigration or carrying away, and the captivity: Besides this, I say, it is evident, that the *Evangelist* being now come to the close of the second *Classis* or *Tessara-decas* (which ended in the sons of *Josias*) gives an account of them, as of those in whom the second portion of time received its full period; for they continued to the carrying away to *Babylon*. There is no necessity that those words, about the time they were carried away to *Babylon*, should connect with the word beget; it is as easy to connect them with the persons begotten: viz. *Jechonias* and his brethren, who are there said to have been about that time. But be that as it will, it matters not. It is very evident, tho those words should be connected with the word begat, that by them cannot be meant any precise time; unless you will say, that *Josias* begat his sons all at once: Whereas it is evident, that there were fifteen or sixteen years difference between the age of *Jebojakim* and *Zedekiah*. It is enough that *Jechonias* and his brethren were born, before the carrying away to *Babylon*, and lived about that time. The *Mons^t Testament* hath given the sense of the words of the *Evangelist*, by rendring *Matthew* 1. and 11. thus; *Josias engendra Jechonias & ses freres, vers le temps que les Juifs furent transportez en Babylone.* It is enough that these sons of *Josias* were born towards the time of the carrying away to *Babylon*; i. e. towards or about the time when some of the *Jews* were carried thither.

SOME perhaps may object against the account, which I have given, That it doth not appear, that *Jebojakim* is any where in the *old Testament* called *Jechoniah*; and that therefore I have not sufficient warranty for affirming that *Jechonias* mention'd *Matt.* 1. 11. is the same with *Jebojakim*. To this I answer, (1.) That this is but a negative argument, against what I have said, and therefore doth not conclude much. I grant, that we do not find that *Jebojakim* is called *Jechoniah*

* Petr. de Marca de stemmate Christi.

† Printed, 1672.

in any of the books of the *old Testament*; but this doth not infer, that he was not so called in the times of the *old Testament* among his own people; much less that St. *Matthew* could not of right term him *Jechonias*. (2.) That by *Jechonias* is meant *Jehojakim* (*Matt.* 1. 11.) I have abundantly proved already, from the undeniable evidence of the text of the *Evangelist*, compared with the account, which we have in the *old Testament* of the sons and successors of king *Josias*. 'Tis upon this ground, that I found my Interpretation of *Matt.* 1. 11. And therefore there remains nothing for me to do in this matter, but to defend the *Evangelist* for calling *Jehojakim* by the name of *Jechonias*. Wherefore I proceed to this, and answer, (3.) That the *Evangelist* might of right term *Jehojakim* by the name of *Jechonias*, which was the name given to his son in the *old Testament*. For *Jehojakim* the father, and *Jehojachin* the son are names very like one another. As to the sound, there is but the difference of one letter; tho there be the difference of two in the writing. The *Jews* very well know, that those letters, in which the names differ from each other in writing, are such as are frequently changed into one another. Several of the ancients call them the very same name, as hath been intimated before: and the difference of termination (wherein the main difference lies) is not so much as observed by *Jesephus*, or the *Septuagint*. Besides this, I have shewn above, that the *Greek* interpreters translate both *Jehojakim* and *Jehojachin* by the very same *Greek* word: To which I may add, That the author of the *Apocryphal* books of *Esdras* makes no difference between the one and the other. And therefore why *Jechonias* may not of right be used by the *Evangelist* for *Jehojakim*, I do not understand: I am sure the *Jews* have no cause to complain.

I SHALL lay before the reader the several *Tessara-decads* of St. *Matthew* as follows:

I.		II.		III.	
1	<i>Abraham.</i>	1	<i>Solomon.</i>	1	<i>Jechonias.</i>
2	<i>Isaac.</i>	2	<i>Roboam.</i>	2	<i>Salathiel.</i>
3	<i>Jacob.</i>	3	<i>Abia.</i>	3	<i>Zorobabel.</i>
4	<i>Judas.</i>	4	<i>Afa.</i>	4	<i>Abiud.</i>
5	<i>Phares.</i>	5	<i>Josaphat.</i>	5	<i>Eliakim.</i>
6	<i>Efrom.</i>	6	<i>Joram.</i>	6	<i>Azor.</i>
7	<i>Aram.</i>	7	<i>Ozias.</i>	7	<i>Sadoc.</i>
8	<i>Aminadab.</i>	8	<i>Joatham.</i>	8	<i>Achim.</i>
9	<i>Naasson.</i>	9	<i>Achaz.</i>	9	<i>Eliud.</i>
10	<i>Salmon.</i>	10	<i>Ezekias.</i>	10	<i>Eleazar.</i>
11	<i>Booz.</i>	11	<i>Manasses.</i>	11	<i>Matthan.</i>
12	<i>Obed.</i>	12	<i>Amon.</i>	12	<i>Jacob.</i>
13	<i>Jesse.</i>	13	<i>Josias.</i>	13	<i>Joseph.</i>
14	<i>David.</i>	14	<i>Jechonias.</i>	14	<i>Christ.</i>
Years 882.		415.		599.	

HERE the reader sees the several *Tessara-decads*, as they lie in St. *Matthew*, without any altering his text: And as this division of the whole time from *Abraham* to *CHRIST* into three parts, is very agreeable to the

* Jac. Armachani Chronol. p. 29.

* Esdr. c. 1. 37. with 43.

practice of the *Jewish* Writers ; so doth it also represent to us the several circumstances, in which the *Jews* were from the very first founder of that nation, considered as a separate people or church. In the *first* we have an account of their beginning, their sojourning and increase, before any temple was built, and the kingdom possessed by the off-spring of *David*. This portion of time, *viz.* from the hundredth year of *Abraham* and birth of *Isaac*, to *David*'s death, contains 882 years. In the *second* we have an account of that people under the government of kings, and during the standing of *Solomon*'s temple : This was their more exalted state ; and from the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign to the death of *Jebojakim*, call'd *Jechonias* *Matth.* i. 11. are 415 years. The *third* gives an account of the declining state of the *Jews* to the birth of *CHRIST*, and contains 599 years. Thus much for the *first* exception.



C H A P. VIII.

A second exception against St. Matthew, for his affirming that Jechonias begat Salathiel. An answer unto it ; that the old Testament saith the very same. That Jer. 22. 30. is no sufficient objection against the Evangelist. A farther consideration of those words in Jeremiah chap. 22. 30. A third exception against the Evangelist, for his affirming that Salathiel begat Zorobabel, whereas he was the son of Pedaiah, 1 Chron. 3. 19. An answer thereunto. A fourth exception against St. Matthew, for his affirming that Zorobabel beget Abiud, who is not reckoned among his sons, 1 Chron. 3. 19. An answer to this exception.

Except. II. **T**HE next exception against *St. Matthew* is, for what he affirms, *ver. 12.* that *Jechonias* begat *Salathiel* ; which, as is pretended, is a contradiction to what is said, *Jer. 22. 30.* where he is pronounced *Childless*. To which I reply,

Answ. 1. **T**HAT the *Jew* ought not to object this against the *Evangelist*, because he says no more, than what we find written in the *old Testament*, where *Salathiel* is expressly called the son of this *Jechonias*, *1 Chron. 3. 17.* The *Evangelist* agrees with the *old Testament*, and this is sufficient to justify him ; nor am I obliged to give any farther answer to it : If there be any difficulty in this matter, it is because the *old Testament* doth not agree with it self. But tho I am not obliged to give the *Jew* any other answer ; yet because this seeming difference between the Book of *Chronicles* and *Jeremiah* may create some trouble to others, I shall consider it in this place.

2. I SHALL make it appear, that what is said in *Jeremiah*, is not inconsistent with what is said in the book of *Chronicles*, or what is affirmed by
our

our *Evangelist*. For taking it for granted, that in the prophet *Jeremiah* it is denounced against him, that he should be *childless*; yet it doth not thence follow, that he should not have a child; for this would be verified as much, if the children, which he *had*, died before him, as if he had never had any child at all: He that is *bereft* of his children, is as much *childless*, as he who *never begat any*. There will be no doubt of this, if we duly consider it, and compare it with *Lev. 20. 20*. But supposing still, that it was denounced against him, that he should never have a child (which is by no means to be granted) yet how often hath GOD reversed such sentences upon the repentance of him, who hath been threatned? And there is a tradition among the *Jewish* doctors (which *Kimchi* mentions in his commentary on this place) that *Jechoniah* repented in prison; and that thereupon the sentence, which was gone out against him, was reversed.

3. THAT it is not evident from the text of *Jeremiah*, that it was denounced against *Jechoniah*, that he should be *childless*. Indeed we render the *Hebrew* word so; and the *Chaldee* paraphrast speaks to the same sense; and so doth the *Vulgar*. But yet it doth not appear by any means, that the *Hebrew* word in that place is to be determined to that particular sense. For tho it cannot be denied, that the *Hebrew* word sometimes signifies *childless*; yet, it being observed, that it comes from a word which signifies to *strip* or *deprive*, it may very well (at least in a translated sense) signify any other misery or infelicity, as well as being *childless*; such as banishment from our country, and being deprived of our former prosperity. This was observed long ago by one of the ancient, and most learned fathers of the church; who tells us how differently this *Hebrew* word was translated by the ancient interpreters, in these words. *Pro sterili, in Hebræo, scriptum est ערירי, quod Aquila prima editio sterilem, secunda ἀναστέρων, i. e. non crescentem, Symmachus vacuum, LXXII & Theodotius abominabilem, & abdicatum interpretati sunt.* Certain it is, that *Jechoniah* was *abject*, and cast out of his kingdom and country at once; and our *LXXII* render the word by ἐκλήρευκτον, which is observed to signify such a person.

4. IT is so far from appearing from *Jeremiah*, that *Jechoniah* was to be *childless*, that the very contrary appears from him: And his words do sufficiently justify my interpretation, which I have given of that *Hebrew* word, which we render *childless*. The words of the prophet are these: *Thus saith the LORD, Write ye this man childless (or, miserable, and stripped) a man that shall not prosper in his days: For no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah.* By which words it is evident, that he was not to be *childless*; tho his children should not succeed him in his throne and dignity. For in these words (as *Theodore* well observes) the prophet declares the end of the kingdom of *Judah*.

Except. III. The next exception against *St. Matthew* is, for his affirming that *Salathiel* begat *Zorobabel*; which doth not agree with the account, which we have in the book of the *Chronicles*: For it appears from thence, that *Zerubbabel* was the son of *Pedajah*, and this *Pedajah* the son of *Salathiel*: So that *Zorobabel* could not be the son of *Salathiel*, but was the son of his son.

¹ V. R. D. Kimchi Rad. in voce ערירי.
Hominem, Irenæus renders it, l. 3. c. 30. advers. Hæres.
² 1 Chron. 3. 19.

³ Hieron. in Jer. 22. 30. Abdicatum
⁴ Jer. 22. 30.

I WILL admit for once, that so it is; and that by *Zerobabel* in St. *Matthew* is meant that famous person called sometime the governour, or captain of *Judah*, *Haggai* 1. 1. I will grant in this matter more than I am strictly bound to do; and yet defend our *Evangelist*, upon principles which the *Jews* ought not to reject. And to that end I do reply,

Answ. 1. THAT the affirming that *Salathiel* begat *Zerobabel* imports no more than this, *Zerobabel* was the son of *Salathiel*. Now this according to the usage of the *Jewish* nation might be truly said by St. *Matthew*, though it should appear, that *Zerobabel* was not the immediate son of *Salathiel*, but of his son *Pedajah*. 'Tis well known, that they are called the sons of *Israel*, who were his posterity, though at the distance of many generations. And the *Evangelist* according to that manner of speaking calls *JESUS CHRIST* the son of *David*, and the son of *Abraham*. But there is nothing more common among the *Hebrews* than to reckon the grandson the son of the grandfather; כְּבָנֵי הָרִיחַן כְּבָנִים, i. e. *The sons of sons are as sons*, or rather, *The children of children are as children*. It is easy to shew this by a great many instances. *Abraham* speaking of *Sarah*'s faith, *Indeed she is my sister, she is the daughter of my father*, &c. It is very evident, that *Sarah* was no otherwise the daughter of *Terah*, than as she was the daughter of his son *Haran*, who is said to be the father of *Milcha* and of *Iscah*, i. e. of *Sarah*, as is agreed both by *Jews* and *Christians* also. And *Zerobabel*⁴ must be allowed to be as much the son of *Salathiel*, as *Sarah* was the daughter of *Terah*, who was the father of her father. But so it was, *Haran* died before *Terah*, and the daughters which he left, were called the daughters of *Terah*, according to the known custom of those eastern countries; where the sons, and daughters were called the children of the grandfathers, even when the father was alive. Thus we read, that *Laban* expostulates with *Jacob*, saying, *Thou hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters*. He could have no sons to kiss but the sons of *Jacob*; which he esteemed his, as they were the sons of his children: And he⁵ tells *Jacob*, and 'twas the sense of the eastern countries, *That those children were his children*. Thus⁶ *Laban* is called the son of *Nabor*; whereas he was the son of *Bethuel*, who was the son of *Nabor*: And *Jehoram* is⁷ called the father of *Jehoash*, who was indeed the father of his father *Abaziah*: And⁸ *Maachab*, the daughter of *Abishalom* is said to be the mother of *Afa*, when she was so no otherwise, than as she was his father's mother.

2. THAT the *old Testament*, when it mentions¹⁰ *Zerobabel*, calls him the son of *Salathiel*, (without taking notice of *Pedajah*) and therefore the *Jews* have no cause to object against the *Evangelist*, who speaks after the same manner. Thus is he called *Zerubbabel* the son of *Salathiel* (so 'tis in the *Greek* for *Shealtiel*) or of *Shealtiel*: Thus he is called elsewhere also. We find that our *Evangelist* speaks of him as the *old Testament* doth; and is not to be blamed for leaving out *Pedajah*, when the writers of the *old Testament* leave him out. This is¹¹ observed by *David Kimchi*, who says that *Zerubbabel* was the son of *Pedajah*, tho called the son of *Shealtiel* (or *Salathiel*). *Salathiel* he conceives mentioned as a person of

³ Gen. 20. 12. with ch. 11. 28, 29.

⁴ V. St. Hieronym. contra Helvidi. p. 12.

⁵ Gen. 29. 5.

⁶ Ezr. 3. 2. ch. 5. 2.. Neh. 12. 1. Hagg. 1. 1. ch. 2. 2.

⁷ 2 Kin. 12. 18.

⁸ Joseph Ant. l. 1. c. 7. Juchasin. fol. 7.

⁹ Gen. 31. 28.

¹⁰ Ver. 43.

¹¹ 1 Kin. 15. 10. with ver. 2.

¹² Kimchi in Haggai 1. 1.

greater

greater honour; and *Pedajah* as an obscure person passed by. Be that as it will, it is enough, that our *Evangelist* speaks of him after the same manner.

3. As the *old Testament* doth it; so do the other *Jewish* writers likewise call him the son of *Salathiel* without the mention of *Pedajah*. Thus in the *Apocryphal* book of *Esdra*s, he is called *Zorobabel the son of Salathiel* several times. And thus is he called by *Josephus* the historian; ὁ Σαλαθιήλ παῖς Ζοροβὰβελ, i. e. *Zorobabel the son of Salathiel*. And in the *Seder Olam* we find *Zerubbabel*, expressly called the son of *Shealtiel* without any mention of *Pedajah*. And thus I have in this matter sufficiently defended our *Evangelist*, tho it should be supposed, that the *Zorobabel* here mentioned is the same mentioned, 1 *Chron.* 3. and that he is that person, who was the captain of the *Jews* upon their return from the captivity of *Babylon*; into which matter I may more strictly inquire afterwards.

Except. IV. THE next objection against *St. Matthew* is for his affirming, that *Zorobabel* begat *Abihud*: whereas the Sons of *Zerubbabel* are reckoned up 1 *Chron.* 3. 19. where there is no mention of *Abihud*. And yet 'tis not likely, that he should be omitted, if he had been one of his sons. I answer,

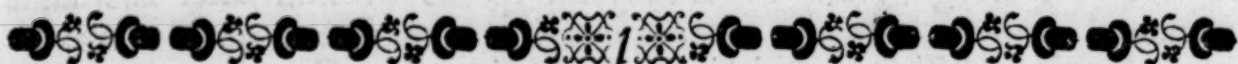
Ans. 1. THAT this objection doth suppose still, that *Zorobabel* in *St. Matthew* is meant of the same person, who is mentioned 1 *Chron.* 3. But this is not very evident; yet admitting it so to be, I answer,

2. THAT it is not unreasonable to suppose, That *Abihud* is mentioned in 1 *Chron.* 3. 19. under the name of *Mesbullam*. It is very well known, that many persons in the *old Testament* had several names: And as this was common with them at all times; so it was especially about the time of their captivity (see *Dan.* 1. 6, 7.) They had other names in *Babylon*, beside those, which were used in their own land. And long before this time of the captivity this custom of several names obtained. The same son of *David*, who in the book of *Samuel* is called *Chileab*, is in the book of *Chronicles* called *Daniel*.

¹ 1 *Esdra.* 5. 56. ch. 6. 2.

² *Joseph.* *Antiq.* l. 11. c. 4.

³ 2 *Sam.* 3. 3. with 1 *Chron.* 3. 1.



C H A P. IX.

A fifth exception against St. Matthew, for his leaving out three kings at once. That the Evangelist cannot be charged justly of falsifying upon this account, or doing any thing inconsistent with his design. That the writers of the old Testament do frequently omit names, and are not upon that account to be rejected. That it is not hard to assign several causes, why they are omitted, and why these rather than others. That St. Matthew cannot be blamed for affirming that Joram begat Ozias.

Except. V. **A** *NOTHER* great exception against the Evangelist St. Matthew is, for his affirming, that Joram begat Ozias : It is evident that he leaves out three at once, viz. Abaziah, Joash and Amaziah : And those three were not the worst of the kings of Judah neither, nor could he upon that pretence pass them over in silence. He might have passed by Abaz, Manasseh, and Ammon as the greatest sinners : And after all this, for him to reckon from David to the carrying away into Babylon but fourteen generations is very strange. For though he makes but fourteen, yet it amounts to no less than seventeen ; and according to his way of reckoning, he might have pitcht upon a less number, if he had thought fit. This is the most of this exception : for I have given it all the advantage, which I can. In answer whereunto, I offer the following particulars.

Ans. 1. It is to be considered, That St. Matthew doth not say, that there were but fourteen persons born from David (to whom they succeeded in the kingdom) to the carrying away to Babylon. He says no such thing : He is very far from it : And his words deserve a very particular consideration. For as there were really but fourteen generations from Abraham to David ; so he thought fit in the next interval to mention no more : But he no where affirms, that there were in all but fourteen degrees or descents from David to the carrying away into Babylon. So far is he from saying so, that he gives an account of this matter in such terms, that a diligent reader may from the Evangelist's own words defend him in this matter. When then he ¹summs up the generations of the first interval, he says, *πᾶσαι, &c. All the generations from Abraham to David, are fourteen generations :* There were no more in all the degrees or descents from Abraham to David : But then when he comes to the second interval, he doth not say *πᾶσαι* all, as he did before (tho if he had done so, the *all* must have referred only

¹ Matt. 1. 17.

to those, whom he had mentioned) but, from David, until the carrying away into Babylon, are fourteen generations. So that all that he doth is this, that when he hath reckoned up so many, as he judged sufficient for his purpose, he tells us, That the whole number of those, which he had mentioned, came to fourteen, and so they do. For from Solomon to Jehojakim, or the first Jechonias inclusively, as they are reckoned by him, are just so many. Nor are those words of his (*ver.* 17.) superfluous or needless; where he tells us, That the sum of the generations, which he hath before set down, are fourteen: The holy writers of the *old Testament* do frequently give in the particulars first, and then the total sum of the whole. The *Evangelist* doth so here; he divides his whole into three parts, and then tells you, how many generations he hath assigned or reckoned to each part. By this means we are assured, that if thro' the ignorance or carelessness of any transcriber, there should be found more or less than fourteen, under any of the several *classes* or *διαστήματα*, that there is some one generation or more wanting, or else supernumerary. It is true, that St. *Luke* did not take this course: he doth not give us the sum total of the generations from Joseph, unto the first man Adam. It seemed good to the divine wisdom, that we should have the names only in St. *Luke*, and not the number of the whole. In this we ought to acquiesce, as that which God thought fit and convenient. But still this we may say, That if St. *Luke* (as St. *Matthew* hath done) had set down the total sum at the close of all, the great dispute about the *ἑξήκοντα* Cainan (not to mention any thing of *Matthat* and *Levi*) would have been easily prevented, or soon put to an end.

2. THE passing by these three kings, *Abaziah*, *Joash* and *Amaziah*, is not inconsistent with the design of the *Evangelist*; nor doth it in the least hinder the gaining of his end, if the matter be considered with due application. The design of the *Evangelist* is plainly this, to shew that JESUS was of the house of David. To this purpose he reckons up Solomon, and those who succeeded him in his kingdom (as those from whom CHRIST was descended) for six kings together, in the same order in which they are found in the *old Testament*; and after the omission of three kings, he returns to the same course, reckoning the kings successively to the carrying away to Babylon. His passing from *Joram* to *Ozias* cannot be called a going out of the way at all: He keeps in the same line, and uses the very same method still, to prove JESUS of the house and family of David. And admitting *Ozias* to be of the family of David (as 'tis confessed by all that he was) he proves JESUS to be of the same family, as much by deducing him from *Ozias*, as if he had mentioned the three kings, whom he thought fit to omit. *Aram* was as truly descended from *Abraham*, as *Jacob* was (tho there be three generations between *Jacob* and *Aram*;) and he that proves, that *David* did descend from *Aram*, doth at the same time prove him to have descended both from *Jacob*, and from *Abraham* also. If the *Jews* could prove, that *Ozias* was not of the family of David, or that JESUS was not descended from *Ozias*, they would say something to the purpose: But this they do not attempt. They quarrel with the *Evangelist* for omitting three kings; but this is nothing to the main question. There was no need that he should mention them, for the purpose which he had in hand. Had he named some, not mentioned in the *old Testament*, the *Jews* might have excepted against him
very

very justly for obtruding persons of his own head, whom the sacred writers had not mentioned, when yet there were books in the *old Testament*, which were penned for our instruction in that matter. But I see no reason, why they should blame him for omitting three kings, when he neither undertook to give a perfect list of them, nor did he pretend at any time, that he had so done; nor was it in the least requisite to his purpose, that he should do it.

3. As it is not inconsistent with the design of the *Evangelist* as to the main; so it was very fit, in order to make his *second class* agree with his *first*, and with his *third*. For he having divided his whole time into *three* very remarkable parts, agreeably to the various circumstances of the *Hebrews* from *Abraham* to *CHRIST*, it needed not to seem strange, that he should take so many only of the kings of *Judah*, as would answer the number from *Abraham* to *David*, and that from *Jechonias* to *Joseph*. Nor can I see any cause, why the *Jews* should upon this account find fault. For as we are able to give a plausible account, why *St. Matthew* omitted three under his *second class*; so it is certain, that the writers of the *old Testament* do sometimes omit names, where we might as justly have expected them, as the reader of *St. Matthew* might have looked for those of *Abaziah*, *Joash* and *Amaziah*: and yet no Man ought upon that account to question the authority of those books. The writer¹ of the first book of *Chronicles*, when he begins with the *sons of Judah* (as he doth *Chap. 4. ver. 1.*) doth yet omit *Zerah*, one of his sons; and set down others who were not strictly his sons, tho they were indeed descended from him. *St. Matthew* omits three kings; but the² penman of the books of *Samuel*, when he recounts the *worthies* of *David*, omits *Joab*; when yet he mentions his brother *Abishai*. If three kings are omitted, so is *Cain* in the book of *Chronicles*; and³ so is *Simeon* (even then when the children of *Israel* were reckoned up, and blessed by *Moses*) even in that place, where one would not have doubted, but to have found his name among the rest of his brethren. The writer⁴ of the book of *Chronicles* reckons up all the sons of *Jacob* (*1 Chron. 2. 1, 2.*) and seems to design a particular account of the posterity of each of his sons: He doth actually give an account of the posterity of ten of them; but yet he omits in this account *Zebulun* and *Dan*. We find that⁵ *Benjamin* had ten sons, when the sons of *Israel* went down into *Egypt*; these are reckoned up by their names in the book of *Genesis*: And yet the writer of the first book of *Chronicles*, when he gives an account of the sons of *Benjamin* (which he doth in several places) doth not only give it different from that in *Genesis*, but one place differs from the other. For in one place he reckons no more than three, in the other five; and there are in both places names different, both from the account in the book of *Genesis*, and the several accounts which he gives himself: And yet no wise man doubts of the authority of that book upon this score. Again, the⁶ same author (as the author of the book of *Samuel* had done) doth mention and reckon up the chief and mighty men of *David*: And tho it be evident even from that book, that *Joab* was the *chief* among these; yet is he not so much as mentioned, even there where he gives in the number of the chief and mighty men belonging to *David*; when yet *Asahel*, the bro-

¹ 1 Chron. 2. 3. with ch. 4. 1.

² 2 Sam. 23. 18.

³ Deut. 33.

⁴ 1 Chr. 9. 1.

⁵ Gen. 46. 2. with 1 Chron. 7. & 6. & ch. 8. 2.

⁶ 1 Chron. 11. 6. with ver. 10, 11, 26, 39.

ther of *Joab*, and another who was his armour-bearer, are found in that list. The ¹ authors of the *Juchasin* (a book of great fame among the *Jews*) hath observed of *Ezra* שְׂרִיֻלָּנוּ דְּרֹרֹת מֵאַחֲשֹׁב לְאַחֲשֹׁב וְכִי הָיִים הַזֵּכִיר. *That he hath skipped over seven generations from one Abitub to another, and that he hath mentioned them in the book of Chronicles.* Thus much is very certain, that according to ² the account in the book of *Ezra*, there are reckoned from *Serajah* to *Aaron* sixteen generations inclusively; and no more: But in the Book of *Chronicles*, from *Aaron* to the same *Serajah* are reckoned two and twenty; and then there are just six omitted in the one place, which are mentioned in another. And I am apt to believe, that the author of the *Juchasin* set down but six himself, tho we find it *seven* in his printed copy. For the *Jewish* writers numbering by the letters of the *Alphabet*; and there being so much likeness between the letter ³ *ז* (which is put for seven) and ⁴ *ו* which stands for six, it is not to be wondred at, that the printer should put one for the other. If *Ezra* did cut short his genealogy, and omitted six at once for no apparent reason, but for brevity sake, why should any man quarrel with our *Evangelist* for omitting three?

4. AND tho it doth not become *Christians*, who are sufficiently assured of the divine authority of the holy writers of the gospels, to inquire nicely into the reasons, why the *Evangelist* did pass by *Abaziah*, *Joash* and *Amaziah*; yet it may, I think, be granted without any scruple, that they are not therefore passed by, because they were the greatest sinners that were to be found among all the kings of *Judah*, as is supposed in the exception last named. Yet indeed they were bad men: *Jehoram* himself trod in the steps of *Abah*; and as for *Abaziah*, who succeeded him, he was (says *Josephus*) χειρόν τῷ πατρί, i. e. *worse than his father*. He ⁵ reigned but one year, and died ⁶ a violent death, being slain by *Jehu*; as were also forty and two of his brethren: upon which accounts he was of very little value and consideration. *Jehoash*, ⁷ who succeeded him, did well during the time of *Jehojada*, who instructed him: But afterwards ⁸ he fell into idolatry; and is very infamous for killing *Zechariah* the son of *Jehojada*, who would have reduced him. He also died an untimely death, being slain by his own servants. As for ⁹ *Amaziah*, tho we read something of him that is good, yet it is certain he was a man of pride and vanity; and when he had overcome the *Edomites*, he worshipped their gods. He was taken by the king of *Israel*, who brake down the wall of *Jerusalem*, took hostages, and put him to an open shame. So that upon the whole matter, these kings were very evil men; and might very well be passed over in silence, as men who were of little note, if not very infamous, and unhappy; all of them coming to an untimely end.

5. NOR will it be very hard to offer a very probable reason to the *Jews*, who urge the omission of these three kings, with a design to overthrow the credit of the *Evangelist*, why they rather than any others are passed by in silence; tho I think, that they are very unreasonable in demanding it. To this purpose we are to remember, that ¹⁰ *Joram* (who in the *Evangelist* is said to beget *Ozias*) was not only a very bad man, but an *idolater*, and one that married into an idolatrous family. *He walked in the ways of the*

¹ Juchasin. fol. 10.

² Ezra c. 7. with 2 Chron. 6.

³ 2 Kin. 9. 27.

⁴ 2 Kin. 8. 26.

⁵ 2 Kin. 10. 14.

⁶ 2 Kin. 12. 2.

⁷ 2 Chron. 24. 18, 21, 22, 25.

⁸ 2 Chron. 25. 12. 2 Kin. 14. 3.

⁹ 2 Chron. 21. 6. with 2 Kin. 8. 18.

kings of Israel, like as did the house of Ahab: for he had the daughter of Ahab to wife, and he wrought that which was evil in the eyes of the LORD. This account we have of him both in the book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*; and the words, which follow in both places, are very remarkable; for they import, that GOD was provoked by this king to destroy his family, as he had done that of Jeroboam, and as he was about to destroy that of Ahab. The words in the book of *Chronicles* are these: *Howbeit the LORD would not destroy the house of David, because of the covenant that he had made with David; and as he promised to give a light to him, and to his sons for ever.* Yet so it was, that for the cruelty and idolatry of this king, he is smitten in his bowels with an incurable disease: And as for Abaziah, Joash and Amaziah, they were all cut off by an untimely and unnatural death: so remarkably did GOD punish the idolatry of this king; and the house of Ahab in his posterity. To what hath been related from the book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, I add^a a tradition among the Jews, reported by one of their celebrated authors, that upon the affinity contracted by a king of the house of David with the house of Omri, GOD did decree to destroy the house of David with that of Ahab. And tho GOD did not execute that decree vigorously, yet he imputes the destruction of Abaziah to it; and the two other kings came to violent deaths, who are omitted by St. Matthew here.

IF any man should enquire, why this sin was not also punished after the same manner in the succeeding kings, who descended from Joram and from Ahab's house as well as these; I answer, that GOD having threatned to punish the iniquity of idolatrous parents (for such are those to whom this is threatned, *Exod. 20.* as Maimon^b well observes) to the third and fourth generation, it is enough that these three succeeding kings are passed over in silence by the Evangelist.

IT is true, that he might have passed over Abaz, Manasseh, and Amon, if it had been thought fit so to do; It is enough, that he rather chose to pass over these. And yet we may very well suppose, that Abaz might be spared upon the account of the great virtue of his son Hezekiah, and Manasseh upon the account of his own repentance, and Amon upon the score of the eximious piety of his son Josiah. Whereas^c the kings omitted, besides the great faults of their own and of Joram's, were of the blood of Ahab an idolater, whose house was devoted to destruction: And tho they were not altogether destroyed; yet they all died violent Deaths, and are justly passed over in silence. I shall end this particular with the words of the *Glossa ordinaria* upon the first chapter of St. Matthew; where speaking of this omission, he gives this reason of it; viz. because Joram had married into the idolatrous family of Ahab: and then adds these words, *Ideo memoria ejus à sanctâ generatione tollitur, usque ad tertiam generationem: purgatâ vero labe gentilis familiæ, in quartâ origo Christi numeratur.*

6. THO I think, that what hath been already said, is an abundantly sufficient answer to the difficulty that I am removing; yet I think good to name another answer, which^d a very learned man hath given to the exception above-named: And it is this; that the true reason why the Evangelist omits the mention of these three kings is this, viz. because they were omit-

^a 2 Chron. 21. 7. with 2 Kin. 8. 19.

^b More Nevochim, p. 1. c. 36.

Matt. cap. 1.

^c Poffin. Diallafticon Interval. III. c. 29.

^d Seder Olam Rabb. c. 17.

^e 1 Kin. 21. 21, 22.

^f Gloss. ordinar. in

ted in the *Tabulae censuales*, which were kept in the temple, wherein the *stems* of families (especially of the *Davidical* and kingly line) were written down. This learned man endeavours to prove, that there were such tables kept in the *archives* of the temple; some of which were designed barely to give an historical account of the successions of one to another, in which no change could be admitted; and that there were others, which preserved the fame of the *ecclesiasticks* and *civil* magistrates, whose names were there registered; and that it was in use for the priests to erase out of these tables of this second sort the names of those, who had deserved ill; and that thence the custom did arise in the *Christian* church of blotting the names of evil clergy-men out of the *ecclesiastick* tables; and of deceased bishops, who were infamous, out of the sacred *diptychs*: And thus among the *Romans*, the tyrants and evil magistrates were erased out of their *fasti* and *publick monuments*. I thought fit to mention this account of this very learned man: I must needs say, that this alone would be a sufficient answer to the exception above, if it was sufficiently prov'd and confirmed. And tho it may be true, and is very probable, and cannot be disproved; yet because it is not sufficiently confirmed, I will by no means urge it; but shall rest satisfied with what hath been said before, in answer to the exception against our *Evangelist*.

IF any man should object, that it cannot be truly said that *Joram* begat *Ozias*, because *Ozias* was the son of *Amaziah*, who was the son of the grand-child of *Ozias*, he doth not duly consider the *Hebrews* way of speaking, and their maxims relating to this matter. The children of children are among that people reputed the children, not only of the immediate parents but of their ancestors. And more still, the ancestors may be said, and are said to beget those, who are removed some generations from them. Thus *Isaiah* tells *Hezekiah*, *Of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon*; Isa. 39. 7. This prediction (as *Procopius* on the place well observes) was fulfilled in the days of *Jechonias*; and tho these men, who thus served in the palace of the king of *Babylon*, were born long after the days of *Hezekiah*; yet notwithstanding they were at that great distance from him, he is said to beget them; and therefore *St. Matthew* ought not to be blamed, for saying that *Joram* begat *Ozias*.

CHAP. X.

An exception against St. Luke for his second Cainan, ch. 3. 36. It is granted, that Cainan is added. This proved at large from the testimony of Berosus, of Josephus and R. David Gantz, and the author of Seder Olam; as also from Theophilus Antiochenus, Eusebius and Hieronymus, &c. That St. Luke may be defended; tho we should grant, that he had inserted this Cainan. That this Cainan was not always in the LXXII. This is proved at large; and that this Cainan was not inserted by St. Luke. A testimony of Irenæus to this purpose; and the authority of a very ancient copy. The thing it self is of small moment. The seventh exception propounded.

Except. VI. **T**HE next exception is against St. Luke the evangelist; for inserting a second Cainan (*ch. 3. ver. 36.*) whereas there is no such person mentioned in the *Hebrew* text of the *old Testament*, in any place where the generations from *Adam* to *Abraham* are reckoned up: And however St. *Matthew* may be defended for leaving out three kings; yet he could not have been defended, if he had added any one, who is not mentioned in the *old Testament*, which gives an account of them all. And therefore St. *Luke* cannot be justified for adding this *Cainan*, if it be granted (as it cannot be denied) that the holy writers of the *old Testament* do, *de industria*, undertake to give us an account of all the names (as St. *Luke* pretends to do here) from *Adam* unto *Abraham*. And if it doth appear, that this *Evangelist* hath falsified in this matter, this will very much shake, or rather overthrow the credit of that writer. For whether he was mistaken, or did purposely design to impose upon his reader, it matters little to the present purpose: He ought not to be received as a writer divinely inspired.

FOR the giving a full and clear answer to this difficulty, I shall proceed in the following method.

1. I do readily grant, That the second *Cainan* mentioned *Luke 3. 36.* is a supernumerary name, which doth not belong strictly, and of right to that genealogy, into which he is inserted. In that matter I have no controversy with the *Jews*. But because some *Christians* (who do, for what reason I know not, prefer the *Septuagint* to the *Hebrew* text) may think, that I have granted too much, I shall spend some time in confirming the truth of it.

WE read¹ in the book of *Genesis*, That *Arphaxad* lived five and thirty years, and begat *Salah*: Where there is no mention of this second *Cainan*, who is in *St. Luke* supposed to be the son of *Arphaxad*, and the father of *Salah*. And as there is no mention of him in this place; so there is no room for him. For if *Cainan* should be taken in between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, we must suppose one of them to beget at eighteen, and the other at seventeen years of age; which is not to be supposed: Nor doth it agree in any measure with the other ages (mentioned in that chapter) at which the posterity of *Shem* and ancestors of *Abraham* are said to beget children. And as *Cainan* is not mentioned there in the *Hebrew* Text; so neither is he mentioned in the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, nor in the *Vulgar Latin*, nor in the *Samaritan*, *Arabick* and *Syriac* versions. To which I may add, That we have² the very same account of this matter, where we read that *Arphaxad* begat *Salah*, and *Salah* begat *Eber*. If we proceed to the book of *Chronicles*, we shall find that it agrees with this of *Genesis*. It is³ there expressly said, That *Arphaxad* begat *Shelah*; and in the same chapter we have an account of all the names from *Shem* to *Abraham*, agreeable to the account in *Genesis*, thus: *Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nabor, Terah, Abram, the same is Abraham*. Here was a fair occasion of inserting *Cainan*, if he had been omitted by *Moses*.

IT is very well known, That *Noah* was the tenth from *Adam*, our first parent: And *Abraham*, the father of the faithful and the friend of God, was the tenth from *Noah*, according to the *Hebrew* account. Perhaps it is not without some mystery, that these men are placed at these equal distances from each other: That *Noah* should arise in the tenth generation after *Adam*; and that *Abraham* should arise just so many generations after *Noah*. The first of these was the common parent of mankind: The second was the head of the new world; the third, the common parent of the faithful. But I will not look after mysteries now. It is acknowledged by all, that *Noah* was the tenth from *Adam*: and the ancients acknowledge *Abraham* to be the tenth from *Noah*: and consequently, they cannot acknowledge this second *Cainan*; who would render *Abraham* not the tenth, but the eleventh from *Noah*. Thus *Berosus*⁴ speaks of *Abraham*: Μετὰ τὴν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ, καὶ μέγας, καὶ τὰ ἐξάντια ἐμπειροτής. i. e. In the tenth generation after the flood, there was among the Chaldeans, a certain man who was righteous, and great and skilful in the heavens. To this I shall add the⁵ testimony of *Josephus*, who giving account of the sons of *Shem*, mentions *Arphaxad* as the ruler of the *Chaldees*: And adds, Ἀρφαξάδου δὲ γένεται πάρις, Σάλης, i. e. The son of *Arphaxad* was *Salah*. That author goes on, and reckons up the rest to *Abraham*, viz. *Eber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nabor, and Terah*, who (says he) is the father of *Abraham*, ὃς δέκατος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Νώε, i. e. Who is the tenth from *Noah*. This is also the affirmation of the later Jews. *R. David Gantz*, when⁶ he mentions the birth of *Abraham*, adds, That there were ten generations from *Noah* unto *Abraham*. And the⁷ author of the *Seder Olam Zutah* lets us know, that from the creation to *Noah* were ten generations; and that from the flood to *Abraham*, were likewise ten generations. And *Abraham* is⁸ likewise called δέκατος, in *Philo* the Jew. They do not, nor can they reckon more.

¹ Gen. 11. 12.² Euseb. Præpar. l. 9. c. 16.³ R. D. Gantz. Tzemah. David.⁴ Gen. 10. 24.⁵ Joseph. Antiqu. Jud. l. 1. c. 7.⁶ Seder Olam Zutah.⁷ 1 Chron. 1. 18, 24, 25, 26, 27.⁸ L. περί τῆς εἰς τὰ προπάαιδ. συνόδου.

It is also very certain, That this *Cainan* is not owned by the antient writers of the church. *Theophilus Antiochenus* undertakes to give an account of the posterity of *Shem* to *Abraham*, as he doth of the antediluvian patriarchs a little before; and when he comes to *Arphaxad*, he tells us expressly, That *Arphaxad* begat *Salah*, and that *Salah* begat *Eber*. Indeed the *Latin* translation puts in *Cainan*; but 'tis a lewd imposition upon the ignorant reader, there being nothing more plain than the author's text. *Eusebius* gives^a an account of the genealogy of *Abraham*: and he doth it *ex professo*, and not by the bye. He gives a particular account according to *Africanus*, another according to the *Septuagint*, a third according to the *Hebrew*, and a fourth according to the *Samaritan*; in every one of these he makes *Abraham* the tenth from *Noah*: and whatever other difference there be, he leaves *Cainan* out of them all, and places *Salah* in every one of them next to *Arphaxad*. And we find^b *St. Hierom* in his questions upon *Genesis* expressly affirms, That *Arphaxad* begat *Salah*: Nor doth he take any notice of the LXXII interpreters as saying otherwise; and yet he mentions them upon other occasions in that book of his several times: and is not wont to spare them, when they departed from the *Hebrew* text. For it is very well known, that he was^c a strenuous assertor of the authority of the *Hebrew* text; and^d did not own the LXXII any farther, than they agreed with it.

THIS is evidence enough against this second *Cainan*; who is supposed to be the son of *Arphaxad*, but in truth was not: For *Salah* was his son; and this *Cainan* never was at all. He is not owned by *Moses*: and the^e writer of the books of *Chronicles* owns him not: for besides that he expressly tells us, That *Arphaxad* begat *Shelah*, he doth in the same chapter set down the names from *Shem* to *Abraham*. And thus he begins; *Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah*: Upon which verse there is a *Masoretical* note in the margin, that sufficiently bears witness against *Cainan*, and 'tis this; that this is one of those verses, *ראית בכל מילה שין*, i. e. *That hath the latter Shin in each several word of the Verse*; and so every word indeed hath; but it would not be true, if *Cainan* had been there. But *Cainan* is not in the *Hebrew* text; tho *Salah* be, no less than in three or four places. He is not owned by the most of the *versions*; nor by the *Jewish* writers, nor the ancient *Fathers* of the church.

2. LET us suppose, that the second *Cainan*, which we now find in the copy of *St. Luke*, was set there by his own hand (which is by no means to be granted) yet will not this destroy the authority of that *Evangelist*. Those men, who are of this opinion among *Christians*, do not for that reason call in question the authority of our *Evangelist*; because it is certain, That this account, which he gives, is agreeable to the account which is given by the *Septuagint* in the book of *Genesis*; who have inserted *Cainan*, between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*. And as *Christians*, who are of this opinion, however they may too much magnify upon this account the version of the LXXII; yet they do not call in question the authority of the *Evangelist*: so the *Jews* our common enemies have not sufficient reason to reject the authority of our *Evangelist* upon this score. For the *Evangelist*

^a Theophilus Antiochen. ad Autolych. lib. 3.

Quæst. in Genesim.

^b Id. præfat. in Pentat. Mos.

^c 1 Chron. I. 17. with ver. 24.

^d Euseb. Chron. lib. I.

^e Hieronym.

^f Id. Epistol. ad Sun. & Fretel.

writing in *Greek*, and for the sake of the *Gentiles*, who generally understood that language, might (without any just imputation of unfaithfulness) make use of that version; which was common among them, as well as among the *Jewish Hellenists*. The putting down of *Cainan*, as he found it in a received translation, doth not speak the *Evangelist's* sense, but the sense of those *interpreters*, whom he truly cites, and lays before his reader, without his own observation or remarks upon them. Not to have done thus might have brought him into suspicion with some: but to do it (as he is supposed to do) ought not to be imputed to him as a crime, when he speaks the sense of others only, and proceeds upon principles generally own'd and received. We should not have been obliged (upon this supposition) to believe *Cainan* to be the son of *Arphaxad*, any more than we are obliged to believe that *Melchisedec* was really *without father and without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life*; because the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, according to the received and vulgar opinion, speaks of him after that manner. Admitting that St. *Luke* himself had put this second *Cainan* into his list, yet is there enough in the text of St. *Luke*, to secure the diligent and wary reader from concluding from his words, that this *Cainan* was really the son of *Arphaxad*. For propounding to himself to set down all our *Saviour's* ancestors, were they really so, or commonly so reputed, he begins thus, speaking of *JESUS*, *being* (as was supposed) the son of *Joseph*, of *Eli*, of *Matthat*, &c. And then *Cainan* might be very justly reckoned the son of *Arphaxad* (as was supposed) not that he was really so, but so reckoned by the *Hellenists*; because he was so said to be, in that vulgar translation which they received. (*)

BUT I would not be understood amiss. I am far from believing, that St. *Luke* did ever put this *Cainan* into his list. I only think that he might be defended in this matter, if he had done so; upon this supposition, that he had found him in the version of the *Septuagint*.

3. THAT tho this second *Cainan* be now mentioned in the version of the LXXII, and was of old in that version, which was very commonly received; yet we have just reason to believe, that it is a fault, and that it ought not to be there: And that however it might be in some common copies; yet it was not in the *Greek* text from the beginning. However some men magnify the translation of the LXXII, even to the disparagement of the *Hebrew* text, and have defended them, even in this matter

¹ Heb. 7. 3.

² Jac. Usserii Chronolog. p. 100.

³ Luke 3. 23.

(*) To this may be also added, That as St. *Luke* may be justly defended for putting this second *Cainan* into his list; so he might have been justly blamed, if he had left it out. St. *Luke* was the constant companion of St. *Paul*, in Asia the less, in Greece, and other places, where the *Greek* was their native language; and also in Italy, where all the learned understood it. The *Septuagint* Translation of the OLD TESTAMENT was very common in their hands, and they could have recourse to it at any time. These were the only Scriptures, which they were capable of searching to try all doctrines by. Now as St. *Matthew* wrote his gospel for the sake of the *Hebrews*; so St. *Luke* wrote his for the sake of these *Gentiles*; so that it could not be expected, but they would compare it with the *Septuagint*. But this second *Cainan* is to be found in the *Septuagint*, and therefore if St. *Luke* had left it out, their searching at that time instead of converting them to Christianity, must have prejudiced them against it. And tho it may be said, that he ought not to have said a thing, which is false, for the sake of doing any good. To this it may be answered, that he doth not. He doth not say, that *JESUS* was the real son of *Cainan*; but he qualifies it; *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, but being so, as it was suppos'd. And it was suppos'd to be so by all those to whom he wrote, since it was found so in the most authentick records, which they had of these matters. And this is a sufficient argument to convince me, that this second *Cainan* was in the *Septuagint* before St. *Luke's* Time, and that he himself inserted it into his Gospel, and that the difficulty to account for it was the reason which made so many copiers and expositors to leave it out.

of which I am now speaking ; yet I make no doubt, but it will appear, that they are very faulty, as in many other places, so in this also which lies before us. This will appear, I say, to any *indifferent* men : For where men are prejudiced, and resolved to maintain an *Hypothesis*, nothing will convince them.

IF there had been such a person as our second *Cainan*, who was the son of *Arphaxad*, why did not *Moses* mention him ? He knew that there was such an one, or he knew it not : If he did not know, I would fain learn, how the LXXII came to the knowledge of this secret ? But if he did, what reason can be assigned, that he should even in two places make *Salah* (and not *Cainan*) the son of *Arphaxad* ? Sure, none will be so impudent as to say, that *Moses* put in *Cainan*, and that since his time it is taken out. If any should, I would know of him, What shadow of reason he can produce for it ; Who should attempt this ? The *Jew* could have no interest to move him to do it ? And 'twas against the interest of the *Christians* to do it, as well as out of their reach or power. Besides, the account which *Moses* gives is very much confirm'd by the writer of the first book of *Chronicles*, in several places of the third chapter of that book.

THE truth of what I maintain here, is farther confirmed by the testimonies produced before. That of *Berosus* in *Eusebius* is of great antiquity ; and that of *Josephus* of great moment, in a question of this nature. But then that of *Theophilus Antiochenus* is not only upon the account of its antiquity very venerable, but still the more to be regarded, because that ancient author doth, in that place, treat of the genealogy from *Shem* to *Abraham*. To which hath been added before, the sense of *Africanus*, of the *Samaritan*, and of that copy of the LXXII interpreters, which *Eusebius* made use of, as also the express testimony of *St. Hierom*. To which I may add the sense of the whole nation of the *Jews* ; as well as the agreement of the learned, and ancient versions and paraphrases upon the book of *Genesis*. To which our countryman *Mr. Gregory* adds, That it is not in the *Russ* bible, translated from the *Septuagint* : Nor (saith he) *did ever any translation out of the Hebrew acknowledge it : Not the Targums whatsoever, not the vulgar Latin, not the Spanish or the vulgar Greek, both translated by the Jews themselves, and printed at Constantinople in Hebrew letters : Not the Persian paraphrase by Tawos ; the Arabick by Saadiah Gaon ; or that other by the Jews in Mauritania set forth by Erpenius.*

IT is granted, that *Cainan* is to this day in the Version of the LXXII : but 'tis there alone ; 'tis no where else. There it is found indeed ; but there it ought not to be : and there it was not always, as is evident from the testimonies mention'd above. I grant, that *Cainan* is found there ; and that it was so many hundred years ago : But when it was found there, it was however marked, as that which did not belong to the text. Of this we have a very pregnant testimony from *Procopius Gazæus*. He tells us what the *Hebrew* affirms, *viz.* That *Salah* was begotten by *Arphaxad* ; and that for what is added to the Text, it had a mark upon it, as not of right belonging to it. His words are these ; *Hebraica veritas habet, Sa-*

* Gregory's *Posthuma*, p. 84.

* *Procop. Gazæus*, in *Ostateuch.* in *Gen.* 11.

lam genitum esse ab Arphaxad: Quæ deinde in medio ponuntur, obelisco signata visuntur.

THE words as they lie in ¹ the LXXII interpreters are these: Καὶ ἔζη-
σεν Ἀρφαξάδ' ἑκατὸν τεράκοντα πέντε ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Καϊνᾶν. Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀρφαξάδ' μετὰ τὸ
γενῆσαι αὐτὸν ἄ Καϊνᾶν ἑτη τετρακόσια, καὶ ἐγέννησε υἱὸς καὶ θυγατέρας, καὶ ἀπέθανε. Καὶ ἔζησε Καϊνᾶν
ἑκατὸν καὶ τεράκοντα ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησε ἄ Σαλᾶ. Καὶ ἔζησε Καϊνᾶν μετὰ τὸ γενῆσαι αὐτὸν ἄ Σαλᾶ
ἑτη τετρακόσια τεράκοντα, i. e. *And Arphaxad lived 135 years, and begat Cainan;
and Arphaxad lived after he begat Cainan 400 years, and begat sons and
daughters; and he died. And Cainan lived 130 years, and begat Salah:
And Cainan lived after he begat Salah 330 years.* This is the account
of the LXXII according to the *Vatican exemplar*. I will not now con-
cern my self with the different account which we find here, as to the age
of *Arphaxad*, when he begat, from what is in the *Hebrew*: The LXXII
have 135, where the *Hebrew* text hath no more than 35. It is well
known, how much the LXXII differ from the *Hebrew* in that matter.
Theophilus Antiochenus (whom I quoted before) doth, as to the age of
Arphaxad, when he begat, follow the account of the LXXII. But yet,
as hath been noted above, he leaves out *Cainan*: which is a good argu-
ment that he was not found in that copy, which he made use of. Nay,
this very ² copy of the LXXII, which hath *Cainan* in *Genesis*, leaves him
out in the book of *Chronicles*; where he ought also to have been, as
much as in *Genesis*: for there we read Ἀρφαξάδ', Σαλᾶ, Ἐβὲς, &c.

Allowing to the LXXII interpreters as much authority as can reasonably
be granted, it will not hence follow, that the copy, which we now have,
agrees with that which those elders wrote in *Ptolomy's* time. For as ³ St.
Augustin hath well observ'd, it might easily be, that the first transcriber
of the copy, which was lodged in the library of *Ptolomy*, might easily
spread errors abroad through his own ignorance or inadvertence; and those
errors are not to be imputed to the LXXII, but to him that undertook to
transcribe. Hence ⁴ it came to pass, that there was a considerable variety in
the *Greek* copies, which were commonly called the LXXII, among the
ancients; they were not all of the same vogue and authority among
them. Besides this, there were several men, who undertook the *Greek*
translation of the *old Testament* after the LXXII; and tho *Origen* took
great pains to represent to the reader those various versions, together with
the LXXII and the *Hebrew* text; yet (that work being now lost) it will
be very hard at the distance of so many years, and after so many changes,
to judge what is the work, that was the genuine version of the LXXII; and
what was an addition to it or variation from it.

It is enough to my present purpose, that I have shewed, that this se-
cond *Cainan* doth not of right belong to the text. How it came to be
inserted, I am not obliged to determine. And yet supposing the transcriber
to have drawn, for the sake of his memory (or any other reason) a table
of those who descended from *Adam*, and of those who descended from
Noah in two several *Columns*, it will not be hard to say, how *Cainan*
might be inserted into the other side over against *Cainan* the son of *E-
nos*; the one being placed at the very same distance from *Noah*, which the
other stands in from *Adam*: Thus,

¹ Gen. 11. ver. 12, 13.

⁴ Hieronym. ad Sun. & Fretell.

² 1 Chron. 1. 4. cum LXXII.

³ De civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 13.

1. *Adam.*
2. *Seth.*
3. *Enos.*
4. *Cainan.*

1. *Noah.*
2. *Shem.*
3. *Arphaxad.*
4. *Cainan.*

In such a case it might very easily come to pass, that a careless transcriber might, by a mistake, fetch over *Cainan* into the other side.

4. That the *Evangelist* ought not to be charged with having inserted this second *Cainan*. For could it be proved, that he had inserted him; yet it appears, from what hath been said, That the *Greek* interpreters must in that be supposed to have done so before him; and then he could be supposed but to speak their sense, and not his own. But it is not evident, that St. *Luke* did put in this second *Cainan*; but rather very evident, that he did not. For as we have great reason to believe, that there never was such a person as this second *Cainan* in the world, so we have, besides that, very great presumptions, that this *Cainan* was not in the text of St. *Luke* from the beginning. Indeed if St. *Luke* had done, as St. *Matthew* did; i. e. if he had given us in the number of those generations, which he reckon'd up at the close of his list; this controversy would have been at an end. But tho St. *Luke* did not sum up the number of his generations; yet one of the most ancient fathers of the church hath done it; and after such a manner, as it is evident from the words of, that father, that there is a supernumerary name in the copies of St. *Luke*, which now obtain among us; his words are these: *Propter hoc Lucas genealogiam, quæ est à generatione domini nostri usque ad Adam, LXXII generationes habere ostendit, finem conjungens initio, & significans, quo ipse, qui omnes gentes exinde ab Adam dispersas, & universas linguas & generationem hominum cum ipso Adam in semetipso recapitulatus est: Unde & à Paulo typus futuri dictus est ipse Adam.* Here is an express testimony, and there can be no just exception against it, nor any reason to believe, that the number mentioned here of the LXXII is altered. For he tells us, That this genealogy of St. *Luke*, *usque ad Adam*, i. e. even to *Adam*, hath seventy two generations, according to the ² number of the nations and languages of the whole world (which are acknowledg'd to amount to that number) whom our *Saviour* was concerned for. Those words, *usque ad Adam*, seem to allow us the liberty of understanding this number of seventy two of all the intermedial generations, from the first to the last exclusively. And so many generations there are precisely, and no more (if we leave out this second *Cainan*) between *Joseph* and *Adam* exclusively; but if we admit him, there are seventy three. I may have a farther occasion to reflect upon this testimony afterwards: It is enough at present, that it is a good argument, that this second *Cainan* was not always in the text of St. *Luke*. And as it was not always in the text, so neither is it now in all ancient copies. The University of *Cambridge* hath a very ancient copy of the *Greek*, written above 1200 years ago, and a *Latin* version also of great antiquity; in both which this second *Cainan* is omitted.

THIS matter doth very little affect the main question between us and the *Jews*: Nor doth the supposing this *Cainan's* getting into the text by

¹ Irenæus, l. 3. c. 33.

² Augustin, de civitat, Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

the ignorance of a transcriber, overthrow the credit of the *Evangelist*. For besides that it is not in *all* copies; that it is in the *most* doth no more disparage the *Evangelist*, than the difference which is made by a *Keri* and a *Cethib* (of which there are great numbers in the *old Testament*) doth take from the reputation of the writers of those holy books.

Except. VII. THE next exception is against both the *Evangelists*, as speaking inconsistently with one another in relating the particulars of the genealogy of JOSEPH. Thus St. *Matthew* reckons from *Abraham* to JESUS but forty and two generations: St. *Luke* reckons from *Abraham* to JESUS no less than fifty six. Again, *Joseph* is both by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* (however they differ in deriving him from *Solomon* or *Nathan*) said to be descended from *Salathiel* the father of *Zorobabel*; and there is in each *Evangelist* an account of the distance of generations between *Salathiel* and *Joseph*; according to the computation of St. *Matthew*, these generations are but twelve; but in St. *Luke*, the generations from *Joseph* to the same *Salathiel* are no fewer than twenty one.



CHAP. XI.

An answer to the objection mentioned in the close of the foregoing chapter. That St. Matthew hath omitted some names in his second interval. The two Evangelists do not keep in the same line from David. That Salathiel in St. Luke is not the same person so called in St. Matthew.

THE exception above named consisting of several particulars, it will be needful, that I should in answer to it consider them apart: And to that end I offer the following particulars to be duly considered.

Ans. 1. WE are to consider, what hath been observed before, that St. *Matthew* doth only number up the total sum of each generation, which he thought fit to mention, under his several intervals, into which he had divided his whole time from *Abraham* to the birth of *Jesus*; but doth no where affirm, nor was it needful that he should, that there were no more persons born in each interval, than what he hath set down. It is very well known (and I have accounted for it before) that in his second interval he omits three kings at once. These three (which he thought not fit to name) added to his number make forty five: and then the difference between that number, and the number of the persons mentioned by St. *Luke*, is but eleven.

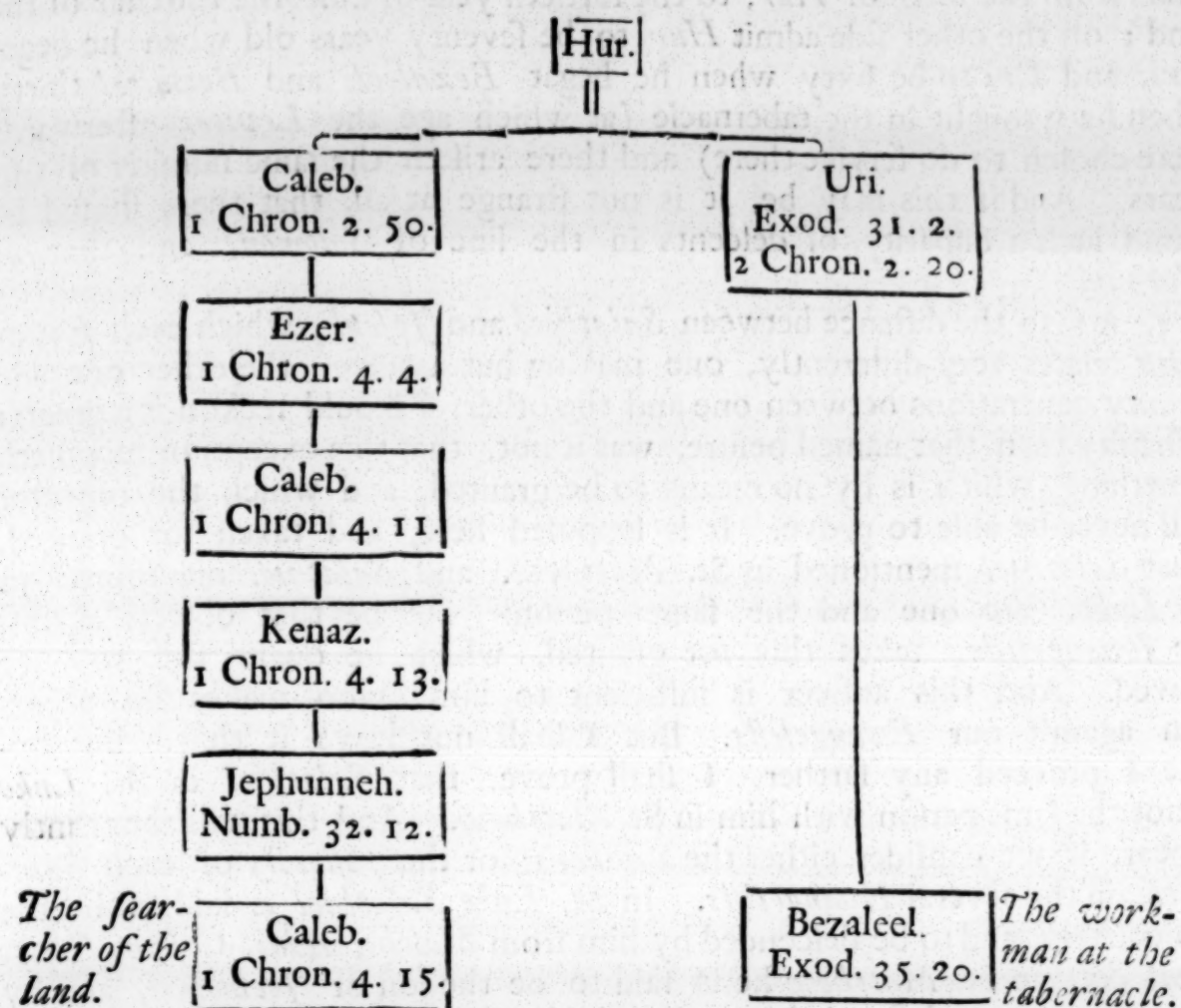
2. As the difference is rendred less, by what hath been said above; so all the difficulty will be removed, if it be considered, that St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* do not keep in the same line. One reckons from *Solomon* to CHRIST; and the other keeps in the family of *Nathan*, another of *David's* sons, and brother of *Solomon*. We will suppose now, that from *Solomon* to CHRIST were but just twenty and eight generations (tho if we reckon

the three omitted, there were no less than thirty and one) as St. *Matthew* mentions no more ; and that St. *Luke* reckons from *Nathan* to *CHRIST* no less than forty and two : the difference between one and the other would be at most but fourteen descents. Admitting all this, there would be no manner of difficulty in this matter at all ; so far would the *Evangelists* be from clashing with one another, or being justly liable to any exception. From the beginning of *Solomon's* reign to the birth of *Christ* is something more than a thousand years : In such a space of time it may be very fairly admitted, that in the family of *Solomon*, and that of his brother *Nathan*, there might easily be the difference of fourteen descents. From the birth of a grandfather to that of his grandson, there do happen in some families not above fifty or sixty years ; in others about twice that number of years intervene. This difference doth depend upon a great many contingencies, and accidents ; and they are very unthinking people, who do upon this account quarrel with our *Evangelists*. But the *Jews* of all men living have no cause to find fault with them : For besides that they may well grant a peculiar blessing upon the royal, or *Solomonical* family, even beyond that of the *Nathanical*, they cannot but know from their own books, that nothing hath been more common, than what hath been here supposed to be the case of the posterity of *Solomon* and *Nathan*.

It is very well known, that *Jacob* was above seventy years old before he was the father of any child : But then *Judah* was not only a grandfather when he was but forty three years of age, but might have been a great grandfather too, if we will but suppose *Shelah* fit to have married *Tamar*, at that time when she conceived by *Judah*. So great a difference ariseth from the early or later marriages. For the better illustrating this matter, I shall lay before the reader the descents of *Caleb* and *Bezaleel* of the family of *Judah*, who were both active men and cotemporaries in the wilderness : the one a searcher of the land, the other a famous workman in the tabernacle ; both descended from *Hezron* (*Gen.* 46. 12.) and his son *Caleb* (*1 Chron.* 2. 9, 18.) by *Hur* (*1 Chron.* 2. 19.) from whom their descent is thus represented by a diligent countryman * of our own.

* See my Dissertation concerning the Author of the Pentateuch.

* Speed's Cloud of Witnesses, p. 40.



IT would be too great a digression in this place to prove every branch of this descent from *Hur* to *Caleb* the searcher of the land: and I therefore refer my reader to the texts adjoyned, and to my author; for that I see not how that from *Hur* to *Bezaleel* can be doubted of.

I WILL therefore take this account of the descent of *Caleb* and *Bezaleel*, as it lies before us: And if I can remove the difficulty, which it is loaded with, I shall have gained the purpose, which I produce it for, in defending the *Evangelists* against the exception mentioned in the close of the foregoing chapter. The difficulty attending upon this descent is this, that whereas *Caleb* the searcher of the land, and *Bezaleel* the workman at the tabernacle were not only cotemporaries, but about the same age, being active men at the same time in the wilderness, they should be so differently removed from *Hur*, the common ancestor or proparent of them both. Between *Hur* and *Bezaleel* there is but one descent: But between *Hur* and *Caleb* the searcher of the land, there are no less than five. I shall shew how this may be: and if it may, there can be no weight at all in that exception last mentioned against our *Evangelist*. To this purpose, I admit *Hur* to be twenty years old when he begat *Caleb*, and *Caleb* twenty, when he begat *Ezer*, and *Ezer* twenty, when he begat *Caleb*, and *Caleb* twenty, when he begat *Kenaz*, and *Kenaz* twenty when he begat *Jephunneh*, and *Jephunneh* twenty, when he begat *Caleb* the searcher of the land; to which if we add forty years (for so old was *Caleb* when he searched the land) there arise 160

2 Joh. 14. 7.

R r 2

years

years from the birth of *Hur*, to the fortieth year of *Caleb* the searcher of the land; on the other side admit *Hur* to be seventy years old when he begat *Uri*, and *Uri* to be sixty when he begat *Bezalel*, and *Bezalel* thirty when he wrought in the tabernacle (at which age the *Levites* afterwards were chosen to do service there) and there ariseth the same number of 160 years. And if this may be, it is not strange at all, that there should be found such a disparity of descents in the line of *Solomon*, and that of *Nathan*.

3. As to the distance between *Salathiel* and *Joseph*, which each *Evangelist* relates very differently, one making but twelve, the other one and twenty generations between one and the other, I should reckon it a greater difficulty than that named before, was it not, that this exception supposeth something, which is by no means to be granted, and which the objector will never be able to prove. It is supposed here, and taken for granted, That *Salathiel* mentioned in St. *Matthew*, and *Salathiel* mentioned in St. *Luke*, are one and the same person. But he that objects against the *Evangelists*, takes this for granted, which he ought first to have proved. And this answer is sufficient to him, who makes this objection against our *Evangelists*. But I shall not leave it thus. But before I proceed any farther, I shall prove, that *Salathiel* in St. *Luke* is not the same person with him in St. *Matthew*. And this will abundantly appear, if we consider either the *ancestors*, or the *posterity* of each *Salathiel*, in the several *Evangelists*. In St. *Luke* *Salathiel* is said to be the son of *Neri*, and to be descended by him from *Melchi*, *Addi*, *Cosam*, *Elmodam*, &c. in St. *Matthew* he is said to be the son of *Jechonias*, and by him to have been descended from *Jehojakim*, *Josias*, *Amon*, *Manasses*, &c. As for his *posterity* in St. *Luke*, they are said to be *Zorobabel* (in which *Matthew* indeed agrees) *Rhesa*, *Joanna*, *Juda*, *Joseph*, &c. in St. *Matthew* they are said to be *Zorababel*, *Abiud*, *Eliakim*, *Azor*. That many had indeed two names among the antient *Hebrews* cannot be denied; but it cannot therefore be imagined, that these different names should be all the names of the same persons; nothing can be more gross than such a conceit. This may be added to what hath been said, That it is evident, that *Salathiel* in St. *Luke* is derived from *Nathan*; and that he of that name in St. *Matthew* is derived from *Solomon*: whence it follows, That it cannot be the same person; and that therefore it is very absurd to suppose, that the different names of the *ancestors* and *posterity* of *Salathiel* in each *Evangelist* are the names of the very same persons.

It is true, that *Salathiel* in each *Evangelist* is represented as the father of *Zorobabel*: And that hath been the occasion, upon which men have been mistaken in this matter. But there is not a sufficient cause from thence to conclude, That by *Salathiel* in each *Evangelist* is meant one and the same person. *Solomon* and *Nathan* were brethren, and their off-spring were kindred; and there was nothing more common than for such to give names, which had been used among their kindred. When St. *John* the baptist was circumcised, they who were present, would have him called *Zacharias*, after the name of his father. And³ when his mother would have him named *John*, They said unto her, There is none of thy kindred, that is called by this name. It is not strange that there should be a *Salathiel* in the line of *Solomon*, and another of that name in the line of his brother *Nathan*. It

³ Luke 1. 61.

was very usual to give the same names to the same families and kindred; and to repeat the names upon occasion. In the list of St. *Luke* there are no less than five (reckoning him, who is mentioned *ver. 29.* for one) who in the same line are called *Joseph*, Three who are called by the names of *Juda*. And there are two apiece called by the names of *Matthat*, *Mattathias* and *Melchi*. There are several called by the name of *Zechariah*, *Azariah*, &c. in the *old Testament*: And 'tis no wonder at all, that there should be a *Salathiel*, both in the line of *Solomon* and *Nathan* also. And that the latter *Salathiel* should call his son *Zorobabel*, in imitation of a kinsman of the house of *David*, who had done so before, hath nothing strange in it at all; and is so far from it, that there is nothing more commonly practised among mankind.



C H A P. XII.

Another Exception propounded; that the Evangelists are inconsistent one with the other, in deriving Joseph from Solomon and Nathan; and making him the son of Jacob and Heli. In what senses one may be the son of divers persons. It implies no contradiction, that Joseph should be said to be the son of Jacob and Heli. Of the testimony of Africanus out of Eusebius.

Except. VIII. **A** *NOTHER* exception against the *Evangelists* is this: That in the account, which they give of the genealogy of *Joseph*, they do not agree between themselves. For tho they both derive him from *David*; yet is their account inconsistent. One makes him the son of *Jacob*; the other of *Heli*: One derives him from *Solomon*; the other from *Nathan*, another of *David's* sons. Whereas it is impossible, that the same man should descend from two brothers, and sons of the same father. So that if *Joseph* did indeed descend from *Nathan*, he could not descend from *Solomon*: and if he did descend from *Solomon*, he could not descend from *Nathan*: And consequently if one *Evangelist* be in the right, the other must be in the wrong.

THIS objection, how specious soever it seems to be at the first proposing, is very trifling: And if we will take the pains to consider the following particulars, it will appear to have no weight in it.

Answ. 1. A MAN may be said to be the son of another man upon several respects: And consequently, it is not a contradiction or absurd to affirm, That *Joseph* was the son of *Jacob*, and that the same *Joseph* was the son of *Heli*. A man is said to be the son of another, either by *nature*, or by *law*. He is by *nature* a son of him, of whom he was begotten: But then he may be a *legal* son to another. And *this* a man may be several ways: Either by the *common law* of nations; or by the *particular law* and constitution of the *Jews*.

Jews. By the common law of nations this may happen two ways ; either by *adoption*, or by *marriage*. By *adoption* a stranger was assumed into the place and title of a son : By *marriage* the son of the wife becomes the son of the husband, to whom she is married : thus was *Joseph* called the father of *JESUS* : And he that married a daughter, becomes a son-in-law to the father of his wife. But there was a particular law among the *Jews* relating to this matter ; which deserves our serious consideration in this place.

2. THE law among the *Jews* concerning this matter we find thus expressed : *If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger : her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be, that the first-born, which she beareth, shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel.* This was made into a law by *Moses* ; but it was practised (as very many other of his constitutions and laws were) long before his time ; as is very evident from the story of *Er* and *Onan*, *Gen.* 38. By this law, the memory of the first-born of a family, who died childless, was preserved, and the inheritance kept in a right line, and there was great care taken for preserving the families, and the inheritances, which belonged to them. It was reputed a great infelicity, when the head of a family was taken away by an immature death ; or when the inheritance was alienated, which belonged to that family. This appears from the words of the daughters of *Zelophehad* ; and from the answer which *Naboth* made to *Abab*. The land of *Canaan* was divided among the tribes and families of *Israel* by lot ; and not left to their scramble, to be possessed by the first occupant : Besides, God gave the *Israelites* and their posterity only the tenancy and *usus fructus* of the land ; but reserved the propriety to himself. Hence there was a *lex agraria* made amongst the *Jews*, by which they were prohibited to alienate their lands for ever. The words of the law are these : *The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine ; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.* So that it was not in the power of any man to sell (as we say) out-right the land, which belonged to him and his family ; he being rather a tenant for life than a proprietor. And hence it was, That tho *Abab* offered unto *Naboth* for his vineyard a better vineyard in exchange, or the worth of it in money ; yet he refused his offer, saying, *The LORD forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee.* For the preserving the several families and the inheritances thereunto belonging in a right line was that law made, which I mentioned above from *Deut.* 25. According to that law a man might be the son of several fathers : e. g. *Reuben* and *Simeon* are two brethren : *Reuben* marries a wife, and dies without issue ; *Simeon* afterward marries the relict of his deceased brother *Reuben* ; he begets a son, and calls him *Joseph* : This *Joseph* is the son of *Reuben*, and of *Simeon* too. He is the legal son of *Reuben*, and as such he inherits *Reuben's* land ; but then tho *Joseph* be by law the son and heir of *Reuben* ; yet he is by Nature the son of *Simeon*, by whom he is begotten. The only reason, why I produce this law here, is to shew, that the *Jew* hath no reason to triumph or boast, as if our *Evangelists* were not worthy of be-

¹ Deut. 25. 5, 6.

⁴ Levit. 25. 23, 25.

² Numb. 27. 3. 4.

³ 1 Kin. 21. 3.

lief, because one calls *Joseph* the son of *Jacob*, and the other calls him the son of *Heli*: For granting this, yet here is no contradiction all this while barely upon that account. I may have occasion afterwards to resume the consideration of the law above-mentioned, as far as my present argument is concerned therein; in the mean while I produce it for no other reason, but for what I have assigned.

3. As by the particular law or constitution of the *Jews* a man may be said to be the son of several men, as hath been shewed above; so might this be affirmed by the *common law* of nations also, from which the *Jews* are not to be excepted in the question now debated. Thus for example, a man might be a son, by *adoption*, or by *marriage*. The son *begotten* by *Reuben* might be the *adopted* son of *Simeon*: And he that by *nature* is the son of one man, may by *marriage* become the son also of him, whose daughter he took in marriage. This latter there can be no question about; he that marries a daughter, becomes a son to the father of his wife.

As for the other way, of *adoption*, that was also in use among the *Jews*. He was owned among the *Hebrews* for a freeman, who was so declared by his *Hebrew* master; and for a *son* also, whom he owned so to be. He that was free among the *Hebrews*, was allowed to call an *Hebrew* man his father; and by that compellation to bespeak and court an adoption: Which was *then* completed and confirmed, when he, who was called *father*, owned him, who called him so, for his *son*. Indeed it was not allowed, that a *servant* should call an *Hebrew* his *father*: Where there wanted liberty, there adoption obtained not. He who was not *free*, could not be adopted: The same man could not be a *bondman* and a *son*. To which the *Apostle's* words seem to refer, *Gal.* 4. 6. But this exception makes it evident, that adoption was in other cases permitted to the *Jews*. And 'tis enough to my present purpose to shew, that a man might without any contradiction among the *Hebrews*, be said to be the son of several persons; and that therefore the *Evangelists* are not to be rejected, tho they should affirm *Joseph* to be the son of *Jacob* and of *Heli*.

4. THAT supposing (which is indeed in the objection taken for granted) that both *Evangelists* give us an account of the genealogy of *Joseph* (which is to be examined afterwards) yet it doth not thence follow, that they speak inconsistently with one another; because, as appears from what hath been said before, *Joseph* might very well be called the son both of *Jacob* and *Heli*; the son of one by *nature*, and a *legal* son to the other: And they, who grant, that the genealogy of *Joseph* is delivered both by *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*, do yet affirm, That one lays down his *natural* parents, and the other his *legal*. Nor doth there want a very good colour for this: There is a difference between the being called the *son* of such a man, and the being said to be *begotten* by him. We may easily discern the difference from what hath been said before. *St. Matthew* proceeds from father to son; and tells you in order, that such a man begat such a one. On the other hand, *St. Luke* goes upward from son to father; and doth not any where say, that such a son was *begotten* by such a father, or that he was the son of such a father by *nature*: but speaking of *JESUS*, he tells you, that he was (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) as was supposed, according to common estimation, or according to the νόμος (the *legal* constitution, called among the *Hebrew* writers, נִמְוֶה, which signifies a received and

^a V. Selden. de successionibus c. iv.

^a Luke 3. 23.

allowed *rite* or *manner*) the son of *Joseph*. And then why may not *Joseph*, who was by nature the son of *Jacob*, be said to be the legal son of *Heli*? It is very evident both from the beginning and the close of the genealogy of St. *Luke*, that *they* are said to be *sons*, who cannot be so in a *physical* sense, as *Isaac* was the son of *Abraham*, *Jacob* of *Isaac*: And tho *Joseph* be called the son of *Heli* in St. *Luke*; yet St. *Matthew* saith that *Jacob* begat *Joseph*; which plainly enough speaks him to be his *natural* father: and the reader will have cause to conclude no less, who shall with sufficient application consider the whole contexture of the genealogy in St. *Matthew*, and compare it diligently with that in St. *Luke*.

5. THAT this is no *new* or *private opinion* in this matter; but that which was affirmed by several great persons in the ancient church. They did affirm, that *Jacob* was the *natural*, and *Heli* the *legal* father of *Joseph*. This account *Africanus* a very learned and ancient *Christian*, and a writer also, gives in his letter to *Aristides*, mentioned by ³ *Eusebius*, and by him approved. The account which he gives (as far as I am concerned in it at present) is this. *That the genealogies among the Jews were of descents either natural, or legal. The natural are the genuine seed and offspring: The legal were those, who take place by virtue of a received law. Thus the natural child of the surviving brother was reputed the child of the deceased: For there not being among the Jews under the law any express and clear hope of a resurrection, God thought fit to allow them a symbol of it in that law; whereby the name of the deceased was to be preserved and kept alive. Those names which are inserted in these genealogies, are of two sorts: some the genuine children, who succeeded to their parents; some are such, who were legally esteemed and reputed the children of those, who did not beget them. So that the Evangelists are not inconsistent with each other, when they give in the number of those, who were naturally and legally the children of different parents, they being the sons of divers parents, either naturally or legally. This is the account, which Africanus gives, and which Eusebius approves of, and affirms to have been given by the Δεσπόσυνοι, or kindred of our Saviour. Indeed Africanus says more upon this argument; which may perhaps be considered in due place. I produce this part of it here for no other reason, but to shew, that this answer is not newly devised. And what hath been hitherto said, is sufficient to take off the force of the last mentioned exception against the *Evangelists*, for affirming *Joseph* to be the son of *Jacob* and of *Heli*; and for deriving him from *Solomon* and *Nathan* also, which is supposed in the objection.*

³ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 7.



C H A P. XIII.

It is pretended, that the genealogy of Joseph is nothing to the purpose. It was fit, that we should have the genealogy of Joseph, because he was the reputed father of JESUS, and because of the law, Deut. 25. 6. and because the Jews were not wont to reckon genealogies by women. Baronius considered, and refuted. It is shewn at large, that St. Matthew speaks to the purpose, when he promiseth the genealogy of JESUS, and gives that of Joseph. That Joseph and Mary were of the same family; and that the genealogy of one contains that of the other. Upon what grounds Christians believe this. Luke 1. 26. considered. This was the belief of the antient Christians; and not repugnant to the law or practice of the Hebrews. Of the law concerning heiresses, Numb. 36. That it is highly probable, that the virgin Mary was an heiress. That the antient Jews allowed her to be of the family of David.

HAVING taken off the main strength and force of the last *exception*, I proceed to *another*; which tho I mention it in the last place, yet hath much more of force in it, than any which hath been named before; and perhaps more than all together.

Except. IX. It is pretended, that what the *Evangelists* have done, is nothing to the purpose: Because they only give us an account of the genealogy and descent of *Joseph*; who was not the real, but only the *reputed* father of JESUS, as all *Christians* grant. If they would have gained their end, they should have given us an account of the genealogy of *Mary* the mother of JESUS; not of *Joseph*, who was not really his father. For if JESUS was not really the son of *Joseph*, the genealogy of *Joseph* cannot belong to JESUS: If it doth belong to him, it must do so, because he was *Joseph's* son, which all *Christians* do deny. That *Joseph* was the reputed father of JESUS, will not prove JESUS to be of the family of *David*, because *Joseph* was so. GOD did swear unto *David*, *Out of the fruit of thy body will I sit upon thy throne*: And this is owned by *Christians* to belong to the MESSIAS: For St. *Peter* refers to this oath, saying, That to *David* GOD had sworn with an oath, That out of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh, he would raise up CHRIST to sit upon his throne. Now tho St. *Matthew*, in the very beginning of his Gospel, pretends to give us the genealogy of

^a Psal. 132. 11. Acts 2. 30.

^b Matth. 1. 1. with ver. 16.

JESUS; yet it is most evident from his own words, (*ver.* 16.) that he brings it to *Joseph* only.

Answ. IN answer to this exception, I shall at present only defend St. *Matthew*; and shall afterward consider the account, which St. *Luke* gives, by it self. And in answer to what is excepted above, I offer the following particulars.

I. That it was fit, that St. *Matthew* should give us the genealogy of *Joseph*, when he undertook to give us that of JESUS. For,

(1.) *Joseph* was looked upon by the *Jews* as the father of JESUS; and it was therefore necessary, that *Joseph* should be acknowledged to be of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the family of *David*. The *Jews* would otherwise have had a fair pretence for rejecting JESUS, as falsely claiming the title of MESSIAS, when *Joseph* whom they concluded to be his father, and who had married his mother, was not of the family of *David*. This would have been so great a stumbling-block to the *Jews*, that GOD thought fit to remove it out of the way, lest they should, without any more to do or farther examination, have rejected JESUS upon this account. For if the presumption, that JESUS sprang from *Galilee*, because there he was conceived, and there he also lived, was an occasion why they did despise and reject him; they would not have failed to have rejected him, had *Joseph* been of any other tribe than that of *Judah*, or any other family than that of *David*, upon this account. Hence it was necessary, that when JESUS appeared, his reputed father should be one, that was acknowledged to be of family of *David*; of which family the MESSIAS was to be according to the predictions in the *old Testament*: For if any did appear, who was not of that family, he ought not to be received as the CHRIST. And tho it is certain, That JESUS was born of a virgin after a miraculous manner, and without the assistance of a man; yet because the *Jews* (for whom especially St. *Matthew* wrote his gospel, and in the *Hebrew Tongue* also, as the antients affirm) might cavil at that account of the birth of JESUS, and call it in question; it was fit that *Joseph*, to whom the Mother of JESUS was espoused, should be acknowledged to descend from the family of *David*.

(2.) Again, it was very needful, that we should have this account of the genealogy of *Joseph*, who was the reputed father of JESUS, because JESUS might, even upon the consideration of his being the reputed son of *Joseph*, and born of her, who was in the sense of the *Jewish* law his wife, be said to be of the family of *David*, from whom *Joseph* was descended. This is not the opinion of many learned men of later times only, but it was also very early in the church of CHRIST. And tho I will not lay the main stress of the cause upon it, nor urge it beyond what is fit; yet I do think it worth my improving; at least so far, as to make it an argument, that it was highly fit, that St. *Matthew* should give us the genealogy of *Joseph*, when he undertakes to give an account of that of JESUS. To this purpose I cannot omit the mention, of what the author of the *questions and answers*, which go under the name of *Justin Martyr*, says in this matter. His words are these; Τὸ δὲ τὸν Δεσπότην, &c. That is, *That the LORD CHRIST is called the son of Joseph, who had two fathers: one according to the divine law; that when we hear that CHRIST was the son of Joseph,*

* Just. Mart. Quæst. 133.

tho not begotten by him, we might not think strange of it: The other according to the nature: For as Joseph was called the son of Heli, tho not begotten of him, because agreeably to the law it pleased GOD to give Heli a son, which was born of the wife of Heli; so it seemed good to GOD to give Joseph a son by his wife, tho not begotten by him according to nature; saying, ' Joseph thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife. For what is born of any wife without adultery, is of necessity the child of the husband and wife at once. For the better comprehending the force of this argument, we must have recourse to that law mentioned before, from Deut. 25. where it was appointed, that if a brother died and had no child, his surviving brother should marry his relict; and it shall be that the first-born which she beareth, shall succeed in the name of his brother, which is dead; that his name be not put out of Israel. By which it appears, That³ the first-born in this case was according to that law to be esteemed, not the son of him who begat him, but the son and seed of the deceased brother. In like manner, says my author, JESUS is called the son of Joseph (and consequently of David) because he was born of the wife of Joseph, even whilst he was living, without the assistance of any other man. For if, according to the express words of the law, he was to be esteemed the son of the deceased brother, who after his death was born of his relict, altho in truth he was begotten by another; much more doth he deserve to be so called, who is born of a wife, her husband living, and making but one body with her; and who hath no other father upon earth. For (as the⁴ same author expresseth himself elsewhere) if what was born of the wife of Heli, be the son of Heli according to the law of GOD; much more was he who was born of the wife of Joseph, according to the good pleasure of GOD, the son of Joseph, tho not begotten by him. If he who was born after Heli's death is notwithstanding to be reckoned the son of Heli; why may not JESUS, who was born of the wife of Joseph, be reckoned of the same family with Joseph? The Jews have not a sufficient cause to reject this argument: And when this is urged (as it is frequently) by Christian writers, it is not very easy for the Jew to get loose from the force of it.

It is no difficult thing to urge this very hard upon the Jews; because their law admitted of something else, which takes off that absurdity, which the Jews might else have objected against the opinion of this ancient writer. For if they should now pretend, that 'tis unreasonable to affirm, that JESUS was of David's family, because Joseph, who was not his natural father, was descended from it; the Christian will be able to prove, that by their law the difficulty is removed. For if it was not unreasonable to admit him to be the son of Heli, who was neither begotten by him, nor yet born in his life-time, where's the absurdity of affirming JESUS to be of the house of David, because Joseph was so? A Jew could not reasonably object the prediction Psal. 132. 11. as not literally fulfilled this way: Because it may easily be made good, that there are many predictions relating to the MESSIAS and his time, which are not to be understood rigorously in the letter, but must be understood in a more spiritual sense: Whereas in truth here is no need of being beholden to the Jews, when we desire nothing from them, but to use that liberty of speaking, which their law allows, and requires also. Besides that it is very well known, that among the heathens it was always owned, That an adopted son was taken into the

² Mat. 1. 20.³ Deut. 25. 6.⁴ Respons. ad Quaest. 66.

family; and did partake of the nobility, and other *rights* and *properties* belonging thereunto. And therefore why should JESUS be excluded from the family and rights belonging to *Joseph*? Be it as it will, here is cause enough, why St. *Matthew* should give us the genealogy of *Joseph*.

(3.) ANOTHER reason, for which it was fit, that we should have the genealogy of *Joseph*, is this, because the *Jews* were not wont to draw genealogies by the mother's side. It is a rule among the *Hebrews*, that ¹ *the family of the mother is not called a family*, as the author of the *Juchasin* expresseth it. It would have been very odd, and very exceptionable by the *Jews* themselves, if St. *Matthew* had proceeded in this matter, against the constant rules and customs of the nation. This would have been without example, and against the rules and maxims of the nation. We are so far from any such example in the *old Testament*, that we have not so much as an account of the years of life of any *woman* there recorded, excepting *Sarah*. There is no mention in St. *Luke* of any woman, in his long list of degrees from *Joseph* to *Adam*. And tho there be some mention of women in the genealogy in St. *Matthew*; yet that is no objection, against what I now maintain to be the custom of the *Jewish* nation: I may afterwards shew the true reason, why there is any mention of them. The family was preserved and continued in the males of *Israel*. The daughters of *Zelophehad* were sensible, that their family was in danger of expiring, and that it was not in their power to preserve it. Their words are ² these: *Our father died in the wilderness, &c. and had no sons: Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son?* They were the males, who kept up the families, and preserved their memory: It was therefore necessary, that pedigrees should consist of them. This may suffice to prove, that it was fit, that St. *Matthew* should give us the genealogy of *Joseph*, when he undertakes to give us that of JESUS.

II. I SHALL now shew, that the *Jews* have not sufficient cause to affirm, that this genealogy of *Joseph* is nothing to the purpose. This in a great measure appears, from what hath been said above. But I shall not content my self with that, but proceed to shew, that St. *Matthew* may be abundantly defended against the *Jews*, when he gives us the genealogy of *Joseph*, where he undertook to give us that of JESUS. For I do readily grant, that St. *Matthew* undertakes to give the genealogy of JESUS, and that he doth give us the genealogy of *Joseph*: This is undeniable from his own words. And it is also as evident, that the *Evangelist* doth by the method which he uses, and from the genealogy which he gives of *Joseph*, conclude, that he hath given us that of JESUS. This is evident from ³ his own words: *And Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary; of whom was born JESUS, who is called CHRIST.* Hence it appears, That he infers the genealogy of JESUS from the premisses. And this he doth afterwards, where he places JESUS in the *third Tessara-decad*, as one whose genealogy had been deduced from *Abraham* and *David*, in these words; *And from the carrying away into Babylon unto CHRIST, are fourteen generations.* I am therefore to shew, how the *Evangelist* may be defended: Or which comes to the same thing, to shew, how St. *Matthew* might

¹ Juchasin, fol. 55. V. Chrysoft. in Matth. Hom. 2.

² Matt. i. 16, 17.

³ Numb. 27. 3, 4.

discharge his promise of giving the genealogy of JESUS, when he gives us that of *Joseph*.

BUT before I proceed, to what I mainly intend, I cannot forbear to take notice of a great error of some *Christian* writers, who have endeavoured to account for this matter: They have said, that which is not true generally speaking; or if it was true, it is not at all to the purpose, or any manner of proof of that, which it is produced for. That which they have said is this, That the *Jews* were obliged to marry within their own tribe: that therefore when *Joseph* appears to be of the tribe of *Judah*, it follows, that *Mary* his wife was so too; it not being so much as to be supposed, that so just a man would break the law of GOD in that case. Cardinal *Baronius* owns this foul error: His words are these, *Cum certum, exploratumque habeatur, nec feminae alterius tribus virum, nec viro alterius tribus feminam sibi matrimonio jungere licuisse; id jubente divina Scriptura atque dicente, Nubant quibus volunt, tantum ut suae tribus hominibus, &c.* It is very manifest, that what he affirms is false, and that the proof which he produceth, is nothing to the purpose; and more than that, if it was true, yet it is not of any moment in our present question against the *Jews*. And it very ill becomes *Christian* men to give the *Jews* an advantage against us, by going about to confute them with arguments, which are neither true, nor pertinent; but the mere figments of our own brain.

THAT it was forbidden the *Jews* to marry out of their own tribe, is most false: and that it is so (says *Possinus* the *Jesuit*) *Intelligunt, qui Scripturas vel semel legerint*; They understand it so to be, who have read the *Scripture* but once. For besides that there is no such law any where to be found in all the *old Testament*, we want not the greatest evidence on the other side. We find the other tribes of *Israel* concerned greatly for those, who were left of *Benjamin*, to provide them wives. They might not bestow their daughters upon them; not because it was not lawful for them antecedently so to do, but because they had bound themselves by an oath not to do it. They had sworn, and said, *Cursed be he, that giveth a wife to Benjamin*: Hence it is that they say, *We may not give them wives of our daughters; for the children of Israel have sworn, &c.* There was no need, they should swear they would not do it, if it had been antecedently forbidden by their law: Nor need they have assigned their oath as the reason, why they might not do it, had it been any where forbidden by *Moses*. Besides, How many examples have we in *holy writ* of those, who without any reprehension married out of their tribe? I shall not urge that of *Aaron*, who married the daughter of *Amminadab*, of the tribe of *Judah*; because it may be said, this was done before the law was given by *Moses*. It is very well known, that *Salmon* married *Rahab* a woman of *Canaan*: *David* married a daughter of *Saul* of the tribe of *Benjamin*: *Booz* married *Ruth* the *Moabites*. *Jehojada* the priest married out of his own tribe; for he married *Jehoshebeath* the daughter of king *Jehoram*, of the tribe of *Judah*. And the law of *Moses* was so far from forbidding a man to marry out of his tribe, that it allowed him to marry a captive. And when *Samson* desired a wife of the *Philistines*, all that his father and mother said was ¹⁰ this, *Is there never a woman of the*

¹ Baron. Appar. ad Annal. n. 31. Num. ult.

² Judg. 21. 13.

³ Ruth 4. 10.

⁴ Exod. 6. 23.

⁵ 2 Chron. 22. 11.

⁶ Matt. 1.

⁷ Deut. 21. 11.

⁸ P. Possin. Diallaet. cap. 59.

⁹ 1 Sam. 18. 27.

¹⁰ Judg 14. 3.

daughters

daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? They did not restrain him to a daughter of the tribe of *Dan*, but left him at liberty to choose out of all the people.

As to what *Baronius* alledgeth in defence of this opinion, 'tis nothing to his purpose. The daughters of *Zelophehad* received an inheritance in their tribe: There was care taken, that the inheritance might not be taken away (by their marriages into other tribes) from the tribe of their father. Hence a law was made for those virgins, who were heiresses (and called among the *Greeks* *ἑπίκλησι*) by which they were determined to marry into their own tribe, to preserve and keep the inheritance there. All that can be truly said is, That this is an excepted case: Others are left at liberty; such as these are restrained; and that too upon the account of the inheritance, that it might not pass into another tribe. So that upon the whole matter, it is so far from proving what it is produced for, that it rather makes against it. An excepted case (we say) confirms the rule in all things not excepted. If by a *special* law these virgins who inherited, and others that did so, were confined to marry within their own tribe; then sure others, who had not such inheritances, were left at liberty: And tho a man might not marry an heiress from another tribe; yet he was at liberty, as to any other that was not so.

AGAIN, Let us take it for granted for once, that what *Baronius* affirms to be *certain* and *approved*, is *true* (tho it appears upon examination to be false) yet still it is not *pertinent*; nor doth it serve the purpose, for which it is produced. What he would prove is too little. All that can be inferred from it, if it was true, is this, That *Mary* was of the tribe of *Judah*; and consequently our *JESUS* was so too. But still this doth not conclude *Mary* to be of the family of *David*; whereas *CHRIST* was to proceed from the fruit of his loins. There were many other families of *Judah* besides that of *David*. The *MESSIAS* was ^a promised from the beginning, as *the seed of the woman*: afterwards it was ^b predicted, that he should spring from the tribe of *Judah*: and in process of time, that he should arise out of the family ^c of *David*. If he who pretended to be the *MESSIAS* was not of the family of *David*, as well as of the tribe of *Judah*, he ought not to be received. Having premised this, I return to the defence of *St. Matthew*; who, tho he gives us the genealogy of *Joseph*, when he undertakes to give that of *JESUS*, is not upon that account to be rejected, as one who doth that, which is nothing to the purpose.

BECAUSE *Joseph* and *Mary* were of the same family: And then he that gives us the genealogy of *Joseph*, doth at the same time give us the genealogy of *Mary*, and consequently of *JESUS* the son of *Mary*.

SEVERAL of the ancients inquire, why *JESUS* was conceived of a virgin that was espoused, and not of a virgin perfectly at liberty? One reason which they give is this, That *by the family of Joseph, the family of Mary might be shewn*. A late ^d learned writer hath collected several places to this purpose. This will make it appear, that what I affirm is no novel opinion: And as the other reasons, which they give are of great weight, so if what follows be considered, this which they give is very well grounded.

^a Gen. 3. 15.
Ignatii ad Ephes.

^b Gen. 49. 10.

^c Psal. 132. 11.

^d Coteler. in Epistol.

I MAKE no doubt at all, but so it was, that *Joseph* and *Mary* were not only of the same tribe, but of the same family also; and that this was known and generally owned in the *Jewish* nation, when *St. Matthew* wrote. But if the *Jew* do press the *Christian* to prove this, I think it is very unreasonable to require such a proof at this distance of time and place, when the *Jew* hath nothing to offer against it. But I will shew, upon what ground we believe this; and make no doubt but to offer upon this occasion, what may satisfy any indifferent and impartial inquirer. The grounds of our belief of this are these that follow.

(1.) The *new Testament* gives us some ground to believe it. The angel *Gabriel* was sent to a virgin, espoused to a man whose name was *Joseph*, of the house of *David*; and the virgin's name was *Mary*, *Luke* 1. ver. 26. I can see no cause from the *Greek* text, why we should not connect those words, *Of the house of David*, to those, *to a virgin*: And then I would read them with a parenthesis thus. *To a virgin (espoused to a man whose name was Joseph) of the house of David*. Here is nothing forced, or strained in the least degree; but all bids fair for it. For certain it is, that the virgin is the subject of the text: 'Tis the message to her, that is there related: And she is there very particularly described, (1.) From the place of her habitation, ver. 26. *A city of Galilee, named Nazareth*. (2.) From her relation to *Joseph* (*espoused to a man whose name was Joseph*). (3.) From her family, *of the house of David*. (4.) From the name by which she was commonly called; *And the virgin's name was (or is) Mary*. The mention of *Joseph* in that place, is not upon his own account, but upon the account of the virgin *Mary*, to whom the angel is directed: And the virgin is so particularly described, that there can be no doubt remaining, which was she. That she was a *virgin* was not enough; because there were doubtless many virgins in *Nazareth*. That her name was *Mary*, was not sufficient; for there might be several of that name: But add to this, that she was of the house of *David*, and espoused to *Joseph*, and all doubt is removed out of the way. If this sense of the words be admitted (and it cannot with good reason be rejected) the difficulty is intirely taken away. For if *Joseph* and *Mary* be of the same family, then he that gives the genealogy of *Joseph*, gives that of *Mary* (and consequently of *JESUS*) at the same time. *Abraham* married *Sarah* his brother's daughter; he that gives an account of the ancestors of *Abraham*, must be allowed to give an account of the ancestors of *Sarah* at the same time. The case is the same here.

NOR is this interpretation of the words of *St. Luke*, chap. 1. ver. 26. a novel one: *St. Chrysostom*² gives the same. *Πως εἶναι, &c.* i. e. *How shall we know (says he) that the virgin sprang from David? Hear GOD speaking to Gabriel to go to a virgin, espoused to a man whose name is Joseph, of the house and family of David. What would you have more manifest than this, when thou hearest, that the virgin is of the house and family of David? Nicetas*³ speaks to the same purpose: *Ἡμεῖς εἶναι μὲν, &c.* i. e. *That thou mayest learn, that the virgin was from David, hear GOD speaking to Gabriel, commanding him to go to a virgin, espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house and family of David.*

² In *Matt. Hom.* 2.

³ *Nicet. in Matt. c. 1.*

TO *Luke* 1. 26. I might add *Luke* 2. 3, 4, 5. where we read that, upon the decree of *Augustus Caesar*, that all the world, or *Roman empire*, should be taxed, *All went to be taxed, every one to his own city*, ver. 3. And as *Joseph* upon that occasion left *Nazareth*, and went to the town of *David*, i. e. to *Bethlehem*, because he was of the house and lineage of *David*, ver. 4. on the same occasion, and (as is probably thought) for the same reason *Mary* went thither also, ver. 5. For if every one went to their own city, as is affirmed, ver. 3. why should we doubt but *Mary* did it likewise? This *H. Grotius* takes to be so evident, That upon ver. 5. he hath these words. *Apertè satis ostendit Lucas, etiam Mariam ex genere Davidis fuisse: Nam alioqui ipsa in familiæ suæ urbe profiteri debuerat.* i. e. *St. Luke* clearly shews, that *Mary* was of the family of *David*, otherwise she ought to have been taxed (or enrolled) in the city of her own family. To which I may well add the words of *Zacharias* the priest, who by the HOLY GHOST prophesied, saying, That *God raised up an horn of salvation for us, in the house of his servant David*, *Luke* 1. 69. If any man will with care read the whole hymn, he must confess, that those words must refer to the birth of *JESUS*, and to no other. *John* the Baptist was of the house of *Aaron*, not of *David*.

(2.) THIS also is the doctrine of the fathers of the church. They tell us, That *Joseph* and *Mary* were of the same house or family. This being a matter of fact, they are the best witnesses, who lived nearest that time. I do not produce these things as proofs against the *Jews*, any farther than to shew them the grounds, upon which *Christians* do thus believe; and that they are sufficient. This is no new doctrine.

(3.) THAT there is nothing in this belief, but what is very consistent with the *Jewish* law and practice. Even before the law, *Abraham*, to whom the promise of the MESSIAS was given, married into his own family; and care was taken, that *Isaac* and *Jacob* the heirs of the promise should do so likewise. That this was commonly done afterward, the *Jews* cannot deny. Nor do I know any better reason, why *Thamar*, *Rahab* and *Ruth* are mentioned in *St. Matthew's* record than this, that they were exceptions to the general practice: and perhaps this is the reason, why the mothers of the kings of *Judah* are so frequently mentioned in the book of *Kings*; and one reason, why the three kings are omitted; they being descended from *Joram*, who was married, not only to an idolatrous family, but also one that was alien. 'Tis certain as to fact, that the *Jews* were nicely careful to uphold their families, and marry into them: And none had more cause so to do than the family of *David*; not only because they were very illustrious and noble; but because the MESSIAS was to spring from thence, according to *God's* express promise to king *David*.

AGREEABLE to this practice and usage are the words of *Sarah* the daughter of *Raguel* to be understood. *Tobit* 3. 15. *I am the only daughter of my father; neither hath he any child to be his heir; neither any near kinsman (or brother) nor any son of his alive, to whom I may keep my self for a wife.* She was an heiress, and therefore thought her self obliged, not only to marry into her tribe, but into her family and near kindred. But so it was, she

* V. Chrysost. Homil. 2. in Matth. Hieron. in Matth. 1.

had neither uncle nor first cousin: At last she married to *Tobias*, to whom she *belonged by right of inheritance*, ver. 16. And *Manasses* the husband of *Judith* is said to have been of her *tribe and kindred*, *Judith* 8. 2.

LET us consider the law of *Moses* in the case of heiresses, for the better comprehending this whole matter, *Numb.* 36. And in order to it I shall consider the case of the daughters of *Zelophehad*. Their father died in the wilderness, and left no son behind him: Nor did he die in rebellion, as others did. His daughters apply themselves to *Moses*; and desire a possession among the brethren of their father; that their fathers name might not be done away. Their request was granted by the divine direction, and the law of inheritances was established, *Numb.* 27. Upon this a difficulty arose, which is laid before *Moses* by the chief fathers of the families of the children of *Gilead*; and it is this. They represent the mischief that would happen, if these heiresses should marry to husbands of another tribe; by this means the inheritance would irredeemably be lost from the tribe, to which it originally belonged, and would be added to another tribe. For a remedy whereof it is ordained, that those who were heiresses, should be obliged to be married *to the family of the tribe (or house) of their fathers*, *Numb.* 36. ver. 6. which is repeated again, ver. 8. So that by this law they were obliged to marry, not only into the tribe, but into the *kindred or family* of their father. The practice of the *Jews* is an evidence, that they thus understood this law. And the daughters of *Zelophehad* did upon this marry their uncles sons; and are said to have done *even as the LORD commanded Moses*, ver. 10. It follows, *Their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family* (the *V. Lat.* renders it *in tribu & familiâ*) *of their fathers*.

IF it be asked, What all this is to my present purpose? I answer, that I think it very much so. For the virgin *Mary* is said to have been *ἑπίκληθ'*, an heiress: And then what hath been said is greatly to my purpose. Beside the tradition for this opinion, I add, that it is highly probable from this, that we have no mention of any brother which she had (we deny not that she had sister or sisters) and if she had none, it is highly probable, that she was an heiress; and consequently under this law, as I have explained it; and if so, she was obliged to marry, not only one of her own *tribe*, but *family* also. Nor is the meanness of the blessed virgin's provision at *Bethlehem*, or of her sacrifice afterward, any objection against her being an heiress. *Ruth* gleaned in the field, and was very poor, and yet had an inheritance after all; as appears from the book of *Ruth*.

(4.) That *Mary* was of the same family with *Joseph* (*i. e.* of the family of *David*) ought not to be called in question by the *modern*, because it was *not disowned* by the *antient Jews*: By this the *modern Jews* ought to be concluded. Now that this was not disowned by the *antient Jews*, I shall make appear.

JESUS was commonly called the son of *David*, whilst he lived among the *Jews*; as I have elsewhere shewed. JESUS owned himself so to be; nor did the *Jews* ever accuse him on this account, tho they were

* The Virgin was given to *Joseph*, κλήρων ἐῖς τὸ ἀνάγκασαντων αὐτὴν ἥκειν; *i. e.* She being oblig'd to it on the account of the Inheritance, Epiphan. Hæref. lxxviii.

very prone to do it upon all other occasions. They did not deny him to be of *David's* family: He was not accused, or put to death for this reason.

NOR do we find, that his apostles afterwards were ever so much as accused, or called in question for affirming, that JESUS was the son of *David*. They were indeed commanded by the council not to preach in the name of JESUS; but never forbidden to affirm him to have been of the family of *David*. When St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* first wrote their genealogies, who was there among the *Jews*, who opened their mouths against them? Who attempted to convince them of a falsity? And yet that was the proper time of doing it. There were about the time in which these writers lived, censual or genealogical tables; for these were kept with great care, as the *Jews* do well know. It would have been a very easy matter to have confuted these men, had they prevaricated in this matter: And the detecting of their fraud would soon have put a stop to *Christianity*. 'Tis now too late to object against the *Evangelists*, and a very unreasonable thing to put us upon proofs of this kind; when all their censual tables have been destroyed many hundred of years since.

I ADD, what *Hegesippus** relates in *Eusebius* to my present purpose, viz. That *Domitian* had given out a command, to destroy all that could be found of the house or family of *David*: Upon which several persons were brought before him, that were descended from *Judas*, who was the brother of JESUS; and were accused ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας Δαβὶδ, as being of the family of *David*, which they frankly owned before the emperor. The same author tells us, That in the times of *Trajan*, the *Jews* accused *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, for that he was of the family of *David*, and a *Christian*. Now this* *Simeon* was a kinsman of our Saviour also (*Matt.* 13. 55.) And when the *Jews* accused them before the *Roman* emperors, they did at the same time testify, that JESUS was of the house or family of *David*.

TO what hath been said I cannot but add, what several of our learned writers have upon this occasion proved against the modern *Jews*. And it is, that the antient *Jews* did own, that JESUS was of the house and family of *David*. This they make good from the *Babylonian Talmud*, a book of great antiquity; and to which the *Jews* on other occasions pay the greatest deference and regard. The passage in the* *Talmud* is to this purpose: That JESUS was hanged on the evening of the *Passover*; that a crier went before him for forty days, to proclaim that if any one knew any cause, why he should not be put to death, he should declare it; that there was none to be found, that could speak on the behalf of JESUS; and that one, whose name was *Ula*, gives the reason of this proceeding to be, that JESUS was related to the kingdom; which he could not be unless he were *ex semine regio*, i. e. of the *Davidical* family; as *R. D. Gantz*† expresses himself in this matter, when he speaks of *R. Jehudah Hakkodesh*, the compiler of the *Misna*.

I TAKE this to be a very considerable testimony, as it now lies before us in the *Talmud*: But yet it is in the printed copies so delivered, that it gives too great a suspicion, that the *Jews* have, in the printed *Talmud*,

* Hist. l. 3. c. 15.

† c. 26.

* c. 10.

† V. Vorstium in

Zemach David. p. 259. Jac. Alting. Shiloh, p. 258.

* Sanhedrin. c. 6. fol. 43. Edit. Vener.

? P. 106. per Vorstium.

used some fraud and artifice in this matter on purpose to obscure the tradition. They who have more time and leisure, will bestow it well in a farther search. I have seen a copy of a MS. of *Sorbon*, written towards the end of the XIII century, communicated to me by my very worthy and learned friend Dr. *Peter Allix*, in which this matter is related with much greater perspicuity, than we find it in the printed copies of the *Talmud*. For there *Ula*, after the account before rehearsed, is brought in saying expressly, *Sed hoc factum est de Jesu Nazareno, quia consanguineus erat regno*. And the *Dominican*, who gives us that translation, tells us, That the same words are to be found in the book called *Mohed*, in the title *Sabbath*, which now (tho there be still mention of *JESUS*) is in the printed copies intirely left out. Instead of being allied to the kingdom, *R. Solomon* in the margin traduceth him for being a *Mamzer*, or one that is *base born*.

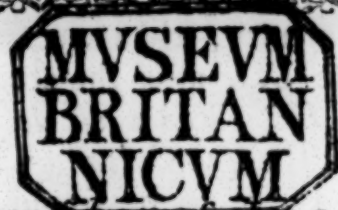
I VERY well know, that the *Jews* have been accused of erasing out of the late editions of the *Talmud*, what was found in the antient copies to our present purpose. I will not charge them with what I cannot prove; but wish that learned men, who have the opportunity of comparing the several copies, would make it their business to inquire into this matter with great application.

THIS is certain, and may easily be made good, that the modern *Jews* are much departed from the belief of their antient writers. They have studied shifts and evasions; and put *Christians* upon proofs, where their forefathers made no exceptions. We have evidence sufficient of this, besides what hath been mentioned upon this subject. A famous instance to this purpose we have from *Manasseh Ben Israel*, in * his attempts to pervert that place, *Gen. 49. 10.* to a sense that is no ways agreeable to the sense of *Christians*, and of the antient *Jews* themselves.

* Conciliat. in Gen.



C H A P. XIV.



Of the opinion, that St. Luke gives the genealogy of JESUS by his mother. A pretence against that account removed. The text of St. Luke, chap. 3. 23. considered. Some remarkable differences between the genealogies of the two Evangelists. That the aforesaid opinion is not inconsistent with the text or design of St. Luke. This is proved. An objection answered. The usefulness of this opinion if admitted. That we do not want sufficient proof, that JESUS was of the seed of David according to the flesh, besides what we have from the genealogies of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

IT is said in the last *Exception*, that if the *Evangelists* would have gained their end, they should have given us an account of the genealogy of *Mary* the mother of JESUS; not of *Joseph*, who was not really his father. I have, I hope, given satisfaction already in this matter, and defended *St. Matthew*: Nor do I think I need say any more upon this argument. But because I will omit nothing that is material, I shall in this place acquaint the objector, that there have been very learned men of opinion, that, as *St. Matthew* gives us the genealogy of *Joseph*, so *St. Luke* gives us that of *Mary*. I meddle not with determining that question; nor do I profess to be of that opinion: But yet I think, it is very fit to represent the grounds, on which learned men have taken up that belief. If these grounds be good, then, as I think, what hath been said already is a competent answer to the forenamed exception; so this added to it, will be a very abundant one.

HOWEVER, I shall here have a fair occasion of making some farther reflection upon the genealogy of *St. Luke*, than I have hitherto done; which the reader may also expect from me upon this occasion.

BEFORE I proceed to what I mainly intend, I shall remove a prejudice against this opinion, which is very obvious from what hath been said before.

IT hath been said, that the *Jews* are not wont to draw genealogies by the mother's side: That to do so is against the constant custom and practice and rules of the *Jews*. This hath been urged in the foregoing chapter, and made use of in defence of *St. Matthew*; for giving us the genealogy of *Joseph*, when he promiseth that of JESUS. That to urge this opinion therefore looks like shifiting and shuffling, as men use to do in a bad cause.

IN answer to this there are many things, which might be said: But I will do it in as few words, as I can. I do allow, that it is against the rule and custom of the *Jews* to draw genealogies by the mother. 'Tis certain also, that this doth justify St. *Matthew*, in giving us the genealogy of *Joseph*. St. *Matthew* was a *Jew*; he wrote for the benefit of the *Jews*; and kept to the received custom of the *Jews* in this matter of the genealogy. But what is this to St. *Luke*? He was no *Jew* by birth, and no ways obliged to this custom of theirs. He wrote for the *Gentiles*; and might in this matter be allowed his liberty. St. *Matthew* begins no higher than *Abraham* the father of the *Hebrews*. St. *Luke* carries his as high as *Adam* the father of *mankind*. St. *Matthew* comes downward from *Abraham* to *Joseph*; St. *Luke* on the other hand goes upward, from the time of *JESUS* to the first man. One comes down by the line of *Solomon*, the other goes up by that of *Nathan*. Both indeed kept in the family of *David*; but they use different lines and methods. And therefore it needs not to seem strange at all, that when St. *Matthew* gives the genealogy of *Joseph*, St. *Luke* should give that of *Mary*. Again, it is to be considered, that this is an extraordinary case. *JESUS* was born of a virgin, his genealogy is to be accounted for, and he was not to be allowed to be the *CHRIST*, unless he was of the family of *David*. So that this is a case peculiar and without any parallel, and may therefore well be exempt from the common rule and usage. *Joseph* was indeed the husband of *Mary*, and consequently so far the father of *JESUS*; but still he was not his *natural*, but his *reputed* father. He was indeed supposed to be his father, and this St. *Luke* mentions in the beginning of his genealogy, which might serve to justify the manner of his proceeding, allowing him to give the genealogy of *Mary*. Thus he begins, *And JESUS himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph*, Luke 3. 23. As for the pretence, that the urging this opinion looks like shuffling, and may insinuate a bad cause, it cannot be thought so by any indifferent person. The *Jews* indeed have used very ill methods, and given such an account of the original of *JESUS*, in that filthy book called the *Toldoth Jesu*, as is altogether groundless and fabulous; they have stuck at nothing to disparage *JESUS*, his miracles and his holy religion. They use unlawful weapons, and surely the *Christians* are at liberty to use such as are lawful. For the cause is good, and needs no artifice. And what hath been said above is sufficient at least, and is what the *Jew* will never be able to answer.

I ADD, that a very fair account may be given of the various methods of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*. St. *Matthew* wrote among the *Jews*, as well as for their use. He wrote first, and soon after many of those things happened, which he relates: These things were well known among those, who were his countrymen. *JESUS* was all along owned publicly, to be the son of *David* at that time, and in the place where he lived. The kindred or consanguinity between *Joseph* and *Mary* was as well known, as it was of old owned between *Abraham* and *Sarah*. To have given an account of the ancestors of *Mary* was needless, when her family was accounted for in the genealogy of *Joseph*; besides, it would have been among the *Jews*, not only a *needless* thing, but it would have been very uncouth, and disagreeable to their practice and their rule. But St. *Luke* was no *Jew*;

^a Hieron. Prooemium in S. Matt.

he went into foreign countries, where these matters were not known, and these customs did not obtain; and no wonder, that he should take another method for the satisfaction of *mankind*, from what *St. Matthew* took for the satisfaction of the *Jews*. He wrote after *St. Matthew*; and cannot therefore be supposed to be concerned to give us the genealogy of *Joseph*, which *St. Matthew* had given before.

THE main thing to be considered in this matter is this, whether the words of *St. Luke*, and his *design* be consistent with this opinion. For if this opinion be not consistent with the text and purpose of *St. Luke*, it ought to be rejected. I do not think it fit to do any violence to the text, to serve an *Hypothesis*. I shall make it appear, that the words of *St. Luke* are consistent with this opinion. And tho' those, who advance this opinion, may a little differ from each other; yet it is plain they mean the same thing.

FIRST then, the words as we translate them are these: *And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was (the son) of Heli.* Those words, *which was the son of Heli*, may very well be applied to *Jesus*, without the least violence to the text. And the *Parenthesis* might consistently enough with the text have been closed after the word *Joseph*. And they may be read thus, *Being (as was supposed the son of Joseph) the son of Heli*: and then the meaning is, that he really was (tho' reputed the son of *Joseph*) the son of *Heli*. This *Heli* was the father of *Mary*; and then we have the genealogy of *Jesus* by his mother. And well might he be called the son of *Heli* his mother's father; nothing being more common among the *Hebrews*, than to call the grandson by the name of son. And here especially it may be allowed, because *Jesus* was ἀπατὼς, i. e. without a father intervening: Tho' 'tis certain, that in those words the son of *Heli*, the word *son* is not in the text; all that is in the text is, τῷ Ἠλὶ, i. e. of *Heli*; which may be as truly said of the grandson of *Eli*, as of any child begotten by him. *Jacob* may as truly be said to be of *Abraham*, as *Isaac* might. And yet I do not blame our *English*, for putting in the word *son* through the whole line: and for what appears, the word *son* refers throughout to *Jesus*. He was in truth the son of *Heli*, and the son of *Matthat*, and the son of *Levi*, and so on to the end; and at the last, the Son of *God*, in the truest and highest sense. And so he was proclaimed to be, *ver. 22*. As for the parenthetical reading, which I mention above, I dare appeal to any man that will compare the *Syriac* version, whether that very ancient version will warrant it or not. I am sure, that nothing could have been more agreeable than such a *Parenthesis* to that version: And it is evident, that the same may be affirmed of the *Greek* text. Here is nothing in this account that is harsh or strained. That *Jesus* should be said to be of *Heli*, or the son of *Heli*, cannot be strange to him, who considers, That he is in *St. Matthew* called the Son of *David*, and the Son of *Abraham*. But tho' I see no manner of objection against this account; yet I am not so far tyed to it, but that I am at liberty,

SECONDLY, To admit that *Joseph* is here said to be the son of *Heli*, as he married *Mary* the daughter of *Heli*; and then he was the son-in-law of *Heli*, the father of *Mary*. This amounts to the very same thing: For then is *Jesus* allowed to be the grandson of *Heli*, which is all that is pleaded for. The *Jews* ought not to refuse this way of speaking, because it is agree-

* Luke 3. 23.

cable to their own way and manner of expression. He that married *Heli's* daughter may well be said to be his *Son*. I am sure nothing is more common than this way of speaking. A man calls him that marries his daughter, his son; and her who is married to his son, his daughter. And there is sufficient ground for it; because the husband and wife are one flesh. There is a remarkable passage to this purpose in the *Bereshith Rabbah*, on *Gen. 37. ver. 35*. We read of *Jacob*, *That all his sons, and all his daughters rose up to comfort him*. We read but of one daughter that he had, *viz. Dinah*: It is said in answer to it by that author *לחתור בנו ולכלתו בתו* i. e. *A man is at liberty to call his son-in-law his son, and his daughter-in-law his daughter*. *Joseph* then may be called the son of *Heli*. And then it will not be hard to understand, how the same *Joseph* might be called the son of *Jacob* and *Heli* also. *Jacob* begat him; and he married the daughter of *Heli*. And there is good ground in the text for this. It is to this purpose well observ'd by learned men, that *St. Matthew* useth the word *begat* throughout his line; *Jacob begat Joseph*: But *St. Luke* doth not; he only says, *τῆς ἡλικίας*, of *Heli*, &c. And tho we put in the word *son*, yet we see how *Joseph* might be said to be his son, *viz. by marrying his daughter*. I am clearly of opinion after all, that tho this second way of interpreting *St. Luke* be the most common, and be also defensible against the *Jews*; yet the first is rather to be adhered to.

It is in the next place to be shewn, That this account of the matter is no way inconsistent with *St. Luke's* design, but most agreeable thereunto. *St. Luke* was a *gentile*, and a companion of *St. Paul*, the great apostle of the *gentiles*. He knew, that others had written before him of those things, which he undertakes to relate: And 'tis not to be questioned, but that he had seen the gospel of *St. Matthew*, which was written several years before his. And it is very evident, that tho he hath many things, which are related by *St. Matthew*; yet he hath set down very much, which was omitted by him. He may be truly called the *Evangelist*, as *St. Paul* was the *apostle of the gentiles*, and *St. Matthew* the *evangelist of the Jews*. He reports many things relating to the conception and birth of *John the baptist* and *JESUS* (which *St. Matthew* passeth by as things known among the *Jews*) fit to be known in the *gentile* part of the world. When he comes to relate the genealogy of *JESUS*, he takes a very different method from *him*: And it is not likely, that he should do this to set forth the genealogy of *Joseph*, which had been done already; and that he should bring it up as far as *Adam*, when he had been deduced from *Abraham* before. 'Twas enough, that *St. Matthew* brought his stem from *Abraham*, and by *David*, downwards. I say, it was enough to the *Jews*, who expected a *MESSIAS* so descended, according to God's Promise. But the *MESSIAS* by *St. Luke* is considered as the *seed of the woman, who was to break the serpents head*; as he had been promised to *Adam* the father of mankind, long before the *Jewish* people had any being. And hence *St. Luke* gives an account of the genealogy of *JESUS* after his baptism, when this promised *seed of the woman* was just entering upon his publick ministry, and about to *break the serpent's head*: And his temptation in the wilderness, where he vanquished the devil, is related immediately hereupon. On the other hand, *St. Matthew* begins his genealogy, before he relates the birth of *JESUS*; and gives us the genealogy of *Joseph*, the reputed father of *JESUS*, and the husband of *Mary*.

I SAY the husband of Mary; and under that *Idea* he is considered by St. Matthew. 'Tis expressly said, That *Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary*. Those words, *The husband of Mary*, contain the true reason, why that genealogy was drawn up. The consanguinity between them (as a thing well known at that time) he mentions not: That he was *Mary's* husband, being the true reason for which he gave that account of his pedigree.

ON the other hand, let us see under what *Idea* he is considered by St. Luke, when he draws up the genealogy. And by him he is not mentioned as the husband of Mary, as he really was, and as he is considered by St. Matthew, but as the *supposed* father of Jesus only. He was not *really* the father of Jesus, as he really was the husband of Mary. And if so, who can imagine that St. Luke should in that place, not only give us the genealogy of Joseph, which St. Matthew had done before; but also carry it up as high as Adam, when St. Matthew had brought it no farther than from Abraham? and that he should proceed by the line of Nathan, when St. Matthew came down by that of Solomon? If it might be objected against St. Matthew, that he gave us the genealogy of Joseph, when he should have given us that of Jesus; how much more might this objection have been urged against St. Luke, who wrote after him, and gave us the genealogy of Joseph, when yet he owns him to be but the supposed father of Jesus? And that he should give such a genealogy, that is so far from making the matter plainer than St. Matthew left it, that it hath increased the difficulties.

AND thus have I represented this opinion as an answer *ex abundanti* to the Jews: I cannot see what reply they can make to it.

Object. IF it should be objected by any person, that *Heli* was not the father of Mary, but *Joakim*, according to the constant tradition of the church, I answer,

1. THAT I will admit the tradition, and pay all that deference to it, that can belong to it. But for all that, *Joakim* or *Jebojakim*, among the fathers that report this tradition, may well be the same person, who is in St. Luke called *Heli*. For *Eli* is probably but the contraction of *Eliakim*: And tho in sound there be a difference; yet in the sense and meaning there is none; and the same man is called sometimes *Joakim* or *Jebojakim*, and *Eliakim* also, 2 *Kin.* 23. 34. with 2 *Chron.* 36. 4. And there can be no stress laid on this objection, unless it could be proved from the text, That the virgin's father was called in *Scripture* by some other name.

2. THE Jews have no reason to press this objection, because *Galatinus* hath produced two testimonies from the Jewish writers themselves, which expressly affirm, that the father of Mary was called both *Eli* and *Jebojakim*. And certain it is, that we read in³ the *Jerusalem Talmud*, of one Mary the daughter of *Eli*: And such things are there said, as inclined a very learned man of our own to believe, that those words were spoken of the blessed virgin. For they are words that are to her disparagement: And such words they bestow upon her, in great plenty, and upon Jesus, in their *Toldoth* mentioned before. *

IT

* De Arcan. Cathol. verit. l. 7. c. 12.

³ Chagiga, p. 77. c. 4.

* It seems very strange to me, that so many learned men should in this case of the genealogies, make use of this distinction between a natural and a legal parent, without taking notice of an objection, which at first view must be evident to the Jews, and is to me unanswerable. The law among the Jews concerning this matter, (as our right reverend Prelate observes, page 142) we find thus expressed, *Deut.* 25. 5, 6.

If

I HAVE proved, that this account is very consistent with the words, and with the design of *St. Luke*; and I do solemnly declare, that I do not see what the *Jews* can object against it with any shadow of reason. I shall add, that as it cannot be disproved; so if it be admitted, it will give a very easy solution to a great many of those objections and difficultys, which are mentioned at the beginning of this discourse: *v. g.*

I. IT will be easily understood in what sense *Joseph* may be said to be the son of *Jacob*, and of *Heli*. He was begotten by *Jacob*; and was son to the other, no otherwise than as he married his daughter.

II. THE different names in each genealogy will give us no trouble, because they are different lines: They begin from several persons, and terminate accordingly in several persons; or at least, upon different *views*, or respects.

III. The unequal numbers in the names, and the unequal distances from each other, will easily be accounted for also. Whereas it is objected in *St. Matthew*, That from *Abraham* to *Jesus* are reckoned forty two generations; whereas in *St. Luke*, from *Jesus* to *Abraham* are reckoned fifty six; there will be no manner of difficulty in that matter; when it is considered, that they go by several lines, *viz.* of *Solomon* and *Nathan*. And whereas *St. Matthew* reckons from *Salathiel* to *Joseph* but twelve descents, and *St. Luke* one and twenty, this is easily understood, when it is remembered, that it is not the same *Salathiel*, which is mentioned by both, but of different lines. If what hath been said above be well weighed, and this account admitted, the difficulty is quite gone.

IV. THE great difficultys concerning *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*, as they are supposed the same in each line, are by this account intirely removed; because they are different persons. And that there should be in the line from

If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be that the first born, which she beareth, shall succeed in the name of his brother, which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel. Here a Jew will immediately object, that tho all this is true; yet it would make an alteration in one name of the genealogy alone, and not throughout the whole. For these men being brethren must be the sons of one father, and therefore if one man had both a natural and a legal father; yet he must still have the same grandfather. Thus, *Gen. 38.* If *Tamar* the wife of *Er* should have had a child by *Onan* or *Shelah*; the genealogical account must center as at first in *Judah*. And thus in the case before us, *Luke 3. 23, 24.* If *Matthat* had been the father of *Heli*, and *Heli* dying without issue, his brother *Jacob* had taken his wife and had begotten *Joseph*, so that he must have been the natural son of *Jacob*, and legal son of *Heli*; and then in such a case *Joseph* must be as *St. Luke* relates it the son of *Heli*, who was the son of *Matthat*, and grandson of *Levi*, and then he could not be as *St. Matthew* tells us, *Chap. 1. 15, 16.* the son of this *Joseph*, who was the son of *Matthan*, and grandson of *Eleazer*, and whose genealogies are reckoned distinct, until they meet in *David*. So that the true way of solving this difficulty seems to be this: *St. Matthew* wrote his gospel for the use of the *Jews*, they reckoned their genealogies by the male only, and not by the female; and perhaps had not so clear a notion that the *MESSIAS* was to be born of a virgin. And for their satisfaction, he gives the genealogy from *Abraham* to *Joseph*; and tells them how these begat one another, and how they descended in a direct line. *St. Luke* being the companion of *St. Paul*, wrote his gospel for the use of the *Gentiles*, and particularly the *Greeks*: They had the *Septuagint* bible in their hands, who translated the text in *Isaiah* exactly as *St. Matthew* had given it. *Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel.* When therefore they had so clear a notion that the *MESSIAS* was to be born of a virgin, what did it signify to them to give an account of the genealogy of a supposed, but not a real father? He therefore gives an account of *Jesus* by the mother's side. He was (as it was supposed) the son of *Joseph*; but he was really the son of *Heli*, without any such supposition, as *Heli* was the father of the virgin *Mary*, and as this learned prelate affirms. As for the virgin *Mary* being an heiress, as it is mention'd in this treatise, page 153. it cannot be of any advantage in this case, except we suppose too many things to be granted at once; *viz.* That the estate came by the mother, or otherwise it would have descended to the other family. Secondly, That this mother was nearly related to the family of *Joseph* before marriage. Thirdly, That there was but little or no prospect of such an inheritance when she married, otherwise care would have been taken to marry her into a nearer branch of the family. And lastly, That her mother had no male issue. But as nothing can be brought to prove any of these assertions, except what we see, page 153; so there is nothing to contradict them.

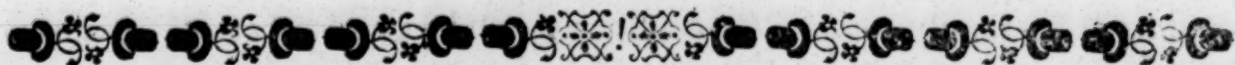
Solomon, and in that from *Nathan*, persons of the same Names, hath nothing strange in it; I may say that nothing is more common.

V. IN a word, whereas *Fauftus* the heretick pretended of old, that he knew not which of the *Evangelists* to believe in this matter; and the *Jews* would represent them as inconsistent; and our modern *Deists* lay hold of these difficultys to run down revealed religion; if this account be admitted, I do not see, what *occasion* they can have left to object against them, as I am very certain (whether admitted or not) they have no just *cause*. I will therefore spare my self the labour of many nice enquirys, till any of the enemys of our religion shall be so hardy, as to attempt to overthrow the account, which hath been given.

ONE thing I must add, That I own, that I am bound to believe *JESUS* to be of the House of *David*. I do believe this; and have reason to do it, if there were no genealogys, or if they did not prove it. For 'tis elsewhere revealed, not only that the *MESSIAS* was to be of that family (which our enemies deny not) but that *JESUS* really was so. *St. Paul* expressly says of *JESUS*, That he was *made of the seed of David according to the flesh*, *Rom. 1. 3.* And elsewhere, he affirms him to be of *the seed of David*; and *raised from the dead* (says he) *according to my gospel*, *2 Tim. 2. 8.* The antients are of opinion, that by his gospel he means *St. Luke*; and why his *being of the seed*, may not connect with the words *according to my gospel*, as well as the following words, I cannot understand; and if they do, *St. Paul* believed this doctrine delivered by *St. Luke*, whatever the *Jews* or our *Deists* do.

THE *Jews* would not be *Christians*, if the *Evangelists* had spoken never so clearly. Their design is to perplex *Christians*. *GOD* of his mercy forgive them, and take away the *veil*, that is upon them.

¹ V. Augustin. contra Faust. Manich. l. 3.



C H A P. XV.

Some questions answered, which were not considered before.

I. *Why St. Matthew begins his genealogy with calling JESUS the son of David and of Abraham?* II. *Wherefore David is named before Abraham?* III. *Why Jacob is said here not only to have begotten Judas, but his brethren also?* IV. *Why David only is called king?* V. *Why the women are mentioned in the genealogy of St. Matthew?* VI. *Why it is said, that Josias begat both Jechonias and his brethren?* *An answer to the questions, in the order in which they are proposed. The conclusion.*

BEFORE I conclude that, which I have to say as to this subject, I shall answer some questions and doubts, which may and have arisen upon the occasion of the genealogy of JESUS.

SOME of them I have accounted for in the body of this discourse, and will by no means, repeat what hath been said before; and they are such as these: How three kings come to be omitted by St. *Matthew*? How the *Tessara-decads* can be accounted for? How *Jechonias* can be said to have begotten *Salathiel*? And what can be said as to the *second Cainan* in St. *Luke*.

I WILL now proceed to some other Questions. And if I do not mention all that may be raised, it is not *therefore* that I shall omit any, because I think them of any great difficulty in my way, but because I really judge them to be not worth the consideration.

FIRST then, it may be inquired, why St. *Matthew* begins his genealogy of JESUS CHRIST, by calling him *the son of David, the son of Abraham*?

To which I answer, That * these men had received very solemn promises of the MESSIAS; and that he should spring from them. It was therefore very reasonable, that St. *Matthew*, to shew the divine veracity, should deduce JESUS from these persons. *The promises were made to Abraham and to his seed, Gal. 3. 16. and Gen. 12. 3.* The promise made to *Abraham* was transmitted to some one of his descendents. *Isaac* was a most eminent type of the MESSIAS, to whom this promise was afterward conveyed. And well might St. *Matthew* call JESUS the son of *Abraham* (this great father of the faithful) and JESUS be said to have taken on him *the seed of*

* V. Hieron. & Nicet. in Matt. 1.

Abraham, Heb. 2. 16. As for *David* the case is plain : He received the promise of the MESSIAS, who was according to GOD'S promise to proceed from his family. *Vide. Psalm 89. 29. and 132. ver. 11.* *David* was himself an eminent type of the MESSIAS ; and we find the MESSIAS called *David* in the *old Testament* ; and JESUS was commonly by the people called the *son of David*, as I have shewed elsewhere.

II. IT may be inquired, Why *David* is named here before *Abraham* ? For so we read, *The son of David, the son of Abraham.* I find St. Chrysostom raising this question :

TO which I answer with him that^a raised the question, that *David* was nearest the time of JESUS ; and being a great king as well as prophet, and an illustrious type of CHRIST, he is fitly enough named first ; especially since the *Jews* expected the MESSIAS of the lineage and family of *David*.

III. IT may be inquired, Why it should be said, That *Jacob* begat *Judas* and his brethren ? That he begat *Judas*, was fit to be said ; and was sufficient. *Isaac* had brethren, and *Jacob* had a brother ; but they are not mentioned here ; nor was it needful to do it. Those who follow had brethren also ; but they are not mentioned upon this occasion. 'Tis true, indeed, that ver. 11. *Josias* is said to have begot *Jechonias* and his brethren. That matter shall be afterwards considered by it self. As to this question I answer,

1. THAT we can with no reason say that *Ishmael* and *Esau*, &c. are omitted for their wickedness : for there are others mentioned afterwards, that were infamous for their vices.

2. SEVERAL of the antient^b fathers give us this reason, why these persons are omitted, viz. because they had nothing common with the *Israelites* ; nor had their posterity, the *Saracens* and *Ishmaelites*, &c. It is true, that they were *aliens from the common-wealth of Israel*, and *strangers from the covenants of promise*, Ephes. 2. 12. But yet I cannot think, but that this question will require a fuller answer ; and therefore I proceed.

3. FOR the clearing of this whole matter, it is to be remembred, that the MESSIAS was promised to *Abraham* and to his seed, as the greatest blessing. This promise was restrained to his seed by *Isaac*. This blessing was transmitted from *Isaac* to *Jacob* (*Esau* being passed by, as *Ishmael* had been before) till at last it was settled upon the posterity of *Jacob*, and rested in them. How this blessing was conveyed down from *Abraham*, till it was thus settled, I have in^c another place given a more particular account.

THUS it was, that the promised blessing, which was made to *Abraham*, and then made over to *Isaac*, and thence to *Jacob* and his seed, doth at length rest there. To them now pertained the *covenants* and *promises* ; whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, CHRIST came ; Rom. 9. 4, 5. The sons of *Jacob* had this great blessing settled upon them ; and therefore it was reasonable, that they should be mentioned by St. *Matthew*. It is true, That CHRIST was to arise out of the tribe of

^a Chrysost. in locum.

^b Chrysost. & Nicetas.

^c Part I. Ch. 2.

Judah; and therefore the brethren of *Judah* are not mentioned by name: But the covenant and blessing belonging to them all; and therefore the brethren are fitly mentioned. And whereas part of *Abraham's* seed was passed by, and part of *Isaac's*; this glory was reserved to *Jacob*, that all his sons inherited this promise, and were *God's* peculiar, and in covenant with him.

THE author of * the *Jewish* book called *Cofri*, undertakes to shew the excellency of the *Israelites*. Among other things, he shews, who were *God's* peculiar favourites from the creation. He tells us, That *Abraham* was the *peculium*; as also the disciple of *Heber*, and from him called an *Hebrew*; that *Isaac* was the *peculium* of *Abraham*, his other sons being dismissed; and that *Jacob* was the *peculium* of *Isaac*, *Esau* being rejected. But then he adds, That for the sons of *Jacob* כלם סניולה they were all a *peculium*, all fit for the divine dignation, and for the holy place set aside for the divine presence: And then first did the divine presence adhere to a society or congregation; which before that time pertained only to some few or single Persons.

TO the same purpose speaks * another *Jewish* writer on *Psal.* 81. ver. 1. on those words, *Make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob*. That author inquires what it should be, that should move *Balaam* to say, *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob*? *Numb.* 23. ver. 21. *Why* (says he) in *Jacob*; and not in *Abraham*, nor in *Isaac*? *He saw* (says he) in *Abraham* something reprobate or to be rejected, viz. *Ishmael* and the sons of *Keturah*. He saw from *Isaac*, that *Esau* and his dukes proceeded. But from *Jacob*, there was nothing but what was holy. And so *Asaph* mentions *Jacob* only: There being among the fathers something to be rejected; but there was no such thing in *Jacob*. All the sons of *Jacob* were in covenant, and had the promise; which *Ishmael* and *Esau* had not. And tho' *Judah* be named particularly (the MESSIAS being to come from that tribe, *Gen.* 49. 10.) yet the *Evangelist* (if what hath been said be duly considered) might very well make this honorary mention of his brethren.

I SHALL add, what the son of *Syrac* says to the same purpose. After he hath extolled *Abraham*, he tells us, That *God* did swear, that the nations should be blessed in his seed: That with *Isaac* he established the blessing and the covenant: It follows, That he made it rest upon the head of *Jacob*. He acknowledged him in his blessing, and gave him an heritage, and divided his portions; among the twelve tribes did he part them; *Ecclus.* c. 44. ver. 19, 20, &c.

4. To what hath been said I add, That it is to be remembered, that *St. Matthew* was an *Israelite*, and wrote his gospel for the *Jews*; as hath been observed before. The sons of *Jacob* were patriarchs, and were the heads of that people, from whence *CHRIST* was to proceed, and heirs of the promise. *St. Matthew* could not, without giving a needless offence, altogether pass them by.

FOR he passed by *Ishmael* and *Esau*, as those who were rejected: And naming *Judah* alone, might have given great offence to the *Jews*; as if he had intimated that he had been *Jacob's* only son: or that the other brethren had been passed by, as not having an equal share in the promise and blessing

* *Cofri*, par. I.

† *Midrash Tillim*.

with him: Whereas in truth they were joynt-heirs with him. And yet the MESSIAS being to spring from *Judah*, he doth with marvellous wisdom and temper mention *his* name, and make a general mention of his *brethren* at the same time. I am so far from thinking this to be any objection against *St. Matthew*, that I do admire his wisdom herein; and am fully perswaded, that he did what was highly fit and agreeable.

IT was fit, that they should be mentioned, the MESSIAS being to proceed from that people; on which account, according to the flesh, he was of their cognation or kindred. And so JESUS is said to be, *Rom. chap. 9. ver. 5.* And whereas *Judah* is mentioned, that ought not to diminish the privileges or rights of his brethren, who had, as the heads of their several tribes, equal power with him. And care was taken in the *old Testament* to let this be understood. *Jacob* did it, when he pronounced the blessing upon his sons. After he had named five of them, the sons of *Leah*, and said very great things of *Judah*, he mentions *Dan* who was born of his servant; and it might be supposed, that on that account he might not share alike in the power, which the others had. But to prevent such a supposition, *Jacob* says, *Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.* I will give another instance. We have mention of the offerings of the princes. *Numb. 7.* The prince of the tribe of *Judah* offered first. Lest this should beget envy in the other princes, or occasion any suspicion, that the rest were subject to *Judah's* tribe, *Nahshon* who was the prince of that tribe, is the only person, that is not called the prince, but only said to be the *son of Amminadab, of the tribe of Judah.* (*ver. 12.*) Whereas every other succeeding offerer is called prince of his tribe respectively.

IV. IT may be inquired, Why *David* only should be called king; as he is *ver. 6.* *Jesse begat David the king?* Those that succeeded him to the cad-tivity, were kings as well as he. I answer,

1. THAT *David* was the father and original of all those, who are mentioned afterwards; who indeed were kings descended from him. *St. Matthew* thought it sufficient to call him king. *Saul* was indeed king; but made so upon the culpable importunity of the people; and was of another line also. The kingdom was designed for the tribe of *Judah*; and the MESSIAS was to spring from that tribe, and this family of *David*.

2. ANOTHER reason I take to be this: *St. Matthew* designed to fit his *Tessara-decads*, with respect to the various state of the *Israelites*, from *Abraham* to JESUS, as hath been intimated before. The *first* is the age of the *patriarchs*, till the temple was built, and the kingdom settled in the family of *David*. This was the *lower*, but *growing* condition of the *Israelites*. The *second* was the *exalted* state under *kings*. The *third* was the *declining* state after the *captivity*. Then is *David* very fitly put the last of the first *Tessara-decad*; and he being the root and origin of the second state, which I call the *exalted* or *kingly* state, he is, to insinuate so much very fitly called *king David*.

V. IT may be inquired, Why *women* are mentioned in the genealogy of CHRIST by *St. Matthew*? For he mentions *Thamar, ver. 3. Ruth, ver. 5. the wife of Urias, ver. 6.* This he doth not at other times; nor do *women* make the *family*; nor were they wont to be considered in *genealogies* among the *Jews*.

I DO not think myself bound by my argument, which I am upon, to account for this matter; nor do I think it would be any prejudice to my cause, if I neither should, nor could give any account of this matter. The *Jews* would gain no advantage by this means. But yet I answer,

1. THAT it is not to be supposed, that these women are mentioned because they were sinners, to insinuate to us that CHRIST came to save such. It is well observed, that they who are of this opinion, are of another, that overthrows it; when they say, that the three kings omitted, were omitted for their sins. For how can this consist, that the *men* should for their *sins* be expunged out of this catalogue, and the *women* for their *sins* be put into it?

2. THAT which seems most probable, is this; *viz.* That the true reason, why these four women above mentioned are only named in the genealogy of St. *Matthew*, is this; because in them only that law was departed from, which was given generally to the heirs of the promised blessing, to take them wives of their nearest kindred.

THE promised blessing was made to *Abraham*; from whom this genealogy doth commence: But this blessing was not designed for all the seed of *Abraham*. It did not descend to *Ishmael* the son of the *Egyptian* woman; but to *Isaac*, the son of *Sarah*, who was *Abraham's* near kinswoman, *viz.* his brother's daughter. *Abraham* took great care, that *Isaac*, the heir of the blessing, should as *Abraham* had done, marry a near kinswoman; *Gen.* 24. There was not this regard had to *Ishmael*. *Isaac* had two sons, *Esau* and *Jacob*: The blessing was settled upon *Jacob*, and *Esau* was passed by. And when this appeared to *Isaac*, that his son *Jacob* was heir of the blessing, he took the same care of him, *viz.* that he should marry into his kindred. *Gen.* 28. 2. His mother *Rebekah*, after *Jacob* had obtained the blessing, was very desirous he should marry one of his kindred; and not as his brother *Esau* had done. She said to *Isaac*, *I am weary of my life, because of the daughters of Heth: If Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?* *Gen.* 27. 46. 'Tis thought, that *Esau* began quickly to be sensible of this; that he that had the blessing, was obliged to marry one of his kindred. He had attempted to get the blessing, but failed in that attempt: He pressed hard upon his father; but could not alter his father's mind: He is supposed to try, what marrying his kinswoman might do, towards the obtaining at least some part of the blessing. Thus we read, that *when Esau saw, that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padan-Aram to take him a wife from thence; and that as he blessed him, he gave him a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; and that Jacob obeyed his father, and his mother, and was gone to Padan-Aram: And Esau seeing that the daughters of Canaan (who were not of his kindred) pleased not Isaac his father, Then went Esau unto Ishmael (his father's brother) and took unto the wives which he had (his own first cousin) Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael, Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife, Gen.* 28. 6, 7, 8, 9. I do not find (in this first *Tessara-decad* at least) any other variations from this general rule.

VI. WHY it should be said (as it is *ver.* 11.) *And Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren?* Had it not been enough to have said, That *Josias begat*

Jechonias? What need was there of adding, *and his brethren*? I answer,

1. THAT granting (which hath been sufficiently proved before) that by *Jechonias* in this place is meant *Jehojakim*, there is reason enough, why his brethren should be mentioned, as they are; because they were all *kings* as well as he. And if it be urged, that his brother was the first king, whose name was *Jehoahaz*; and therefore it might more properly be said, That he begat *Jehoahaz*, and his brethren: The answer is easy; that tho he was the first *De facto*, he was not so *De jure*. This *Jechonias* was the *first born*, and had the first right; and therefore is mentioned here with great reason.

2. I conceive, that there is still a greater and more important account to be given for this way of speaking; and that is this, to let the reader know who is meant by *Jechonias* in this place; and that he might not be taken for *Jechonias* mentioned, *ver. 12.* Which mistake would have proved of very ill consequence in this matter. This mistake hath overtaken some men, and hath had ill effects. For by this means attempts have been made upon the *original text*; and great confusion hath arisen in adjusting the *Tessara-decads*; whereas if these words had been duly considered, this had been easily prevented. For when it is said that *Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren*, 'tis easy to know, whom *St. Matthew* means by *Jechonias* in this place, as well as why he mentions his *brethren*. For we do not find, that the *Jechonias* (*ver. 12.*) had any brethren; and if he had, we can assign no shadow of reason, why they should be mentioned. But by the words of *St. Matthew*, as they lie before us, we may certainly conclude, That by *Jechonias*, *ver. 11.* is meant *Jehoiakim*; as by *Jechonias*, *ver. 12.* is meant *Jehojachin*, as I have shewed before.

AND thus I have discoursed of this difficulty; and think, that I have made it appear, That the *Jews* have no cause to triumph and exult upon this occasion.



CHAP. XVI.

The Jews object, that Elias is not come : and that John the Baptist ought not to be taken for him ; because he disowns himself to be Elias, John 1. 21. An account of John the Baptist, and of his office ; and how he discharged it. This account defended against the Jews from their own writers. That John the Baptist was the Elias promised in Malachi. Malachi, chap. 4. 5, 6. considered. The words of John the Baptist, John 1. 21. considered. In what sense he said, that he was not Elias, and in what sense JESUS affirms him to be Elias, Matt. 11. 14. That the words of JESUS are not repugnant to those of John the Baptist. Of the opinion of the antient fathers of the church, that Elias is still to come. That this opinion hath not sufficient ground. How it came into the church. That 'tis no catholick doctrine. That granting it to be true, it will not serve the Jews turn.

AMONG other things which the *Jews* object against the *Christians*, who believe JESUS to be the CHRIST, this is one, that JESUS cannot be the CHRIST, because it was foretold, that *Elias* should come first ; which he did not before the coming of our JESUS. The prophecy, which foretels the coming of *Elias*, before the coming of CHRIST, is very exprefs. *Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord ; And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, &c.* Mal. 4. 5, 6. He is there exprefsly called *Elijah the prophet* ; and by the *Greek* interpreters *Elijah the Tishbite* ; that the reader might be certain, that the words are to be understood of that very person so called among the *Jews* ; and not of any other whosoever, however like him in temper and manner of life. It is true, That we say, that this promise was fulfilled in *John the Baptist* ; and are taught by JESUS so to do. *Matth. 11. 10.* But against this the *Jews* urge the exprefs words of the prophet *Malachi*, and the testimony of *John the Baptist* himself. The *Jews* sent priests and *Levites* to him, to enquire who he was, (*John 1. 19.*) upon which he confessed, that he was not the CHRIST, (*ver. 20.*) *And they asked him,*

* R. Isaac. Chizuk. Emuna, l. 1. c. 39.

What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No. (ver. 21.) Here *John the Baptist* declares, that he is not *Elias*, nor that *prophet*: and he doth it to the *priests* and *Levites*, who were sent on purpose by the *Jews* to examine him: And it is not to be thought, that he would have done thus, and thereby have hindred men from believing, that *JESUS* was the *CHRIST*, had he been the person predicted by the prophet *Malachi*. There was a constant belief among the *Jews*, that before the *MESSIAS*, *Elias must first come*. (Matth. 17. 10.) If *John the Baptist* was that *Elias*, it was fit, that he should own it, and thereby prepare men for the reception of the *MESSIAS*. To this may be added, That *JESUS* confesseth, *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things*. (ver. 11.) And many of the antient *Christians* were of a belief, that *Elias* was still to come.

FOR the more full and orderly consideration of this whole matter, I shall proceed in this method:

FIRST, I shall give a short account of *John the Baptist* and of his office; in which may be seen, what it is that *Christians* affirm of him.

SECONDLY, I shall consider, by what ways and means *John the Baptist* did discharge the office, which he owned and took upon him.

THIRDLY, I shall defend the account, which our religion gives of *John the Baptist* against the exception which the *Jews* may bring against it.

FOURTHLY, I shall make it appear, that the *Jews* have no cause to quarrel with *JESUS*, or his followers; who affirm him to be the *Elias* which was to come.

FIFTHLY, I shall take off the objection taken from the words of *John the Baptist* and of *JESUS*, which are mentioned before; and say something to that belief among the antients, that *Elias* is still to come.

I. I SHALL give a short account of *John the Baptist*, and of his office; in which will be seen, what it is that *Christians* affirm of him.

JESUS calls *John the Baptist*, *more than a prophet*, (Matth. 11. 9.) And presently afterward he adds, *Verily I say unto you, among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist*, (ver. 11.) His conception was foretold by an angel, he was born of a barren woman, and of parents who were advanced in years. His parents were both of the family of *Aaron*; of a pure conscience, and an intire fame; without fault, and without suspicion: He was the son of his parents old age (as *Isaac*, and several extraordinary persons were.) And the particulars that attended upon his conception, and his circumcision were very surprising and strange. The angel foretels great things of him, such as these: That many should rejoice at his birth; and that he should be great in the sight of the LORD: That he should be a perpetual *Nazarite*, as to wine and strong drink, and be filled with the HOLY GHOST from his mother's womb: That he should convert many to GOD, and reconcile them to one another, and prepare a people for the LORD. His father is struck dumb; his mother conceives, according to the angel's prediction: This wonderful story is a preface to the conception of *JESUS*, and the annunciation thereof. *John the Baptist* was afterward a burning and a shining light; a man of great simplicity and sanctity, of undaunted courage, and a most

¹ Luke 1. 5, 6, 7.

² Ver. 14, 15, 16, 17.

severe life : Of which I shall have occasion to say more afterward. It shall suffice at present to observe, that as he was a man of great justice and sanctity ; so he was eminent for his singular and undaunted courage, his strict temperance, his humility and veracity, his great devotion towards God and contempt of the world.

As to his office, we are taught what that was, both by the words of Jesus, and his own ; as well as by the angel, by *Zacharias*, and the *Evangelists*. Jesus tells us : expressly of *John the Baptist*, that this was he of whom it was written, *Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.* And presently after that he tells the multitudes of the *Jews*, to whom he speaks in that place, that he was the *Elias* ; and he doth it in such terms, as seem to imply, that they would not readily believe that he was so : And we know, that the *Jews* refuse to believe it to this day. The words of Jesus are these : *And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come.* And as for *John the Baptist himself*, he ³ frankly owns, when he is pressed to confess who he was, That he was the *voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make strait the way of the LORD.* And the angel ⁴ doth foretel of him, That he should turn many *Israelites* to the LORD their God, and go before him in the spirit and power of *Elias*. His father *Zacharias* (when filled with the HOLY GHOST) calls him the *prophet of the highest* ; and adds, That he should go before the face of the LORD, to prepare his ways. And to the same purpose the *Evangelists* ⁵ testify of him. From which account it appears, that he was a messenger sent before, to make way for the reception of CHRIST. Let us take it for granted, at present, that Jesus is the CHRIST ; and *John the Baptist* his harbinger to prepare his ways.

II. I SHALL consider, by what ways and means *John the Baptist* discharged the office, which he owned and took upon him : And that was, to make way for the reception of CHRIST, and the doctrine of the gospel.

To what I have to say upon this occasion, I shall premise this, That the very birth and conception of *John the Baptist* made way for the belief of the miraculous conception and birth of JESUS CHRIST, whose fore-runner he was. There were some things in the conception of *John the Baptist*, which tho they were short of what is said of Jesus ; yet they advanced towards it : They did not only bear some proportion to that of his master's ; but rendred it the more credible, and were apt to dispose men to the belief thereof. If Jesus was born of a *virgin*, *John the Baptist* was born of a *barren* and *antient* woman : And as Jesus was conceived of the HOLY GHOST so *John* was filled with the same HOLY GHOST, from his mother's womb ; and the conception and name of one and the other was predicted and directed by an angel. There was something in the conception of *John the Baptist*, which tended to prepare men for the belief of that of Jesus. And this is intimated by the angel, when he brought to *Mary* the tidings of the wonderful birth of Jesus. She began to inquire, How that which he foretold could come to pass ? To confirm her belief, he tells her, *And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age ; and this is the sixth month with her who is called barren.* (Luke 1. 36, 37.)

² Matth. 11. 10, with ver. 7, & ver. 14.

³ Matt. 3. 3. Mark 1. 2, 3. Joh. 1. 7.

⁴ Joh. 1. 23. ⁵ Luke 1. 16, 67, 74.

Where the angel confirms her by a late example, and that was this of *Elizabeth*: She was both *old* and *barren* too; and he distinctly mentions both these; and then he adds, as well he might, *For with GOD nothing shall be impossible. Præmittitur filius sterilis ante filium virginis. The son of a barren (and she an antient) woman is sent before the son of a virgin*; so that the very conception and birth of *John the Baptist*, which was so well known among the *Jews*, made way for the belief of what is related of that of *JESUS*.

HAVING premised this, I shall now shew, by what ways and means *John the Baptist* did discharge the office, which he own'd and took upon him. And,

(I.) HE did it by his *preaching*; and his preaching did very much conduce to prepare men for the reception of *JESUS CHRIST* and his doctrine.

FOR he ¹ preached *repentance* and amendment of life. There is an old tradition among the *Jewish* doctors, that repentance is necessary before the appearance of the *MESSIAS*. The *Jews* ² do own that their impenitence is the cause, why he doth not appear. *John the Baptist* preacheth repentance; and moves the *Jews* to it from this received principle among them, that it was a needful preparation for the kingdom of the *MESSIAS*. *Repent ye (says he) for the kingdom of heaven (i. e. of GOD, or the MESSIAS) is at hand.* And it is a great change of heart and life which he requires, by *fruits meet for repentance*.

HE ³ beats them off from their vain confidence, upon the score that they were descended from *Abraham*, the *father of the faithful*: *Think not to say within your selves, We have Abraham to our father: For I say unto you, that GOD is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.* The *Jews* ⁴ were prone, upon the account of their descent from *Abraham*, to pride themselves, tho they had not his faith, as appears elsewhere: And it was therefore necessary, that they should be beaten off from this vain confidence.

AGAIN, the more effectually to awaken them, he ⁵ lays before them the divine Judgments in case of their impenitence. *And now also the axe is laid to the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen down and cast into the fire.* They must repent or perill: And he ⁶ lets them know, that tho the *MESSIAS*, who was ready to appear, would offer mercy to the penitent; yet that he would severely punish the obstinate sinner: *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* He ⁷ puts the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees* in mind of the *wrath to come*. The destruction of that people drew nigh; and as a faithful prophet, he warns them of it.

IT will be very seasonable here to look into the ⁸ words of the *Prophet*, and to consider how exactly they were fulfilled in *John the Baptist*. *Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers; lest I come and smite the earth with a curse.* Here we have a promise

¹ Mat. 3. 2, 8.

² Cofri par. I Sect. 115.

³ Mat. 3. 9.

⁴ Joh. 8. 39, 40.

⁵ Mat. 3. 10. Luke 3. 9.

⁶ Mat. 3. 12.

⁷ Ver. 7.

⁸ Mal. 4. 5, 6.

of a certain person, whom GOD would send, called here *Elijah* the prophet; of which more afterward. I shall observe at present, for the more full explication of the prophet's words, and shewing, that they are fulfilled in *John the Baptist*, *First*, the time when this person was to come; and that was, *before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD*: *Secondly*, The design of his coming; and he shall turn the heart, &c. *Thirdly*, A great evil threatened, in case men were not wrought upon by him; *lest I come and smite the earth*, &c.

FIRST, the time when this person was to come: *Before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the LORD*. This *great and dreadful* (or, according to the Greek, illustrious) *day of the LORD*, must denote either the last judgment at the end of the world; or else it must refer to the first coming of CHRIST, including the destruction of the *Jewish* nation. The words themselves do not oblige us to understand this time of the day of judgment: There is nothing in them, but what is very accommodable to the destruction of the *Jewish* nation. And for the words that follow, *Lest I come and smite the earth with a curse*, they are so far from determining these words to the end of the world, or the day of judgment, that they assure us, that they cannot be so understood. For allowing them to refer to the same matter, as it is evident they do, they cannot be understood of the end of the world and day of judgment; as I shall prove, when I come to consider them. The destruction of the city of *Jerusalem*, and temple, and *Jewish* state is fitly enough expressed in such terms, as seem to imply the final conflagration, and end of the world, and the great day of judgment. Thus 'tis called the *end of all things*, 1 Pet. 4. 7. with *Luke* 21. 9. and the *last days*, *James* 5. 3. The destruction of a particular country or land is frequently described as the destruction of the universe. Of this we have many examples, [See *Isa.* 13. 10, 13. *Ch.* 34. 4. *Ezek.* 32. 7. *Jer.* 4. 23, 24. *Joel* 2. 10. *Amos* 9. 5. *Dan.* 8. 10. with 1 *Maccab.* 1. 28. *Isa.* 2. 19, 21.] And the destruction of the temple is thus set forth by our SAVIOUR. And indeed that destruction of the *Jews* by the *Romans* was great and terrible; and a fit type of the end of all things. *John the Baptist* did appear before this great day, and gave the *Jews* warning of that *wrath* which was to come; when the unfruitful tree was cut up, and the chaff burnt, and the land smitten with a curse.

SECONDLY, the design of his coming; *And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children*, &c. Let us hear, what the angel predicts of *John the Baptist*, for the better understanding these words. Many (says he) of the children of Israel shall be turned unto the LORD their GOD. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias; to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the LORD. These words of the angel are an excellent comment upon those in *Malachi*; *John the Baptist* was designed to turn the *Israelites* to GOD, and to bring them off from their rebellion to obedience. This is the meaning of the words in *Malachi*: They are indeed in our version somewhat obscure. But it is to be considered, that the ⁴ Hebrew particle, which we render *to*, is taken in several senses in the Hebrew bible: And tho I have

¹ Acts 2. 20.

² Mat. 24.

³ Luke 1. 16, 17.

⁴ by.

observed near twenty different senses of it ; yet there is one, which I have observed very frequent, and which the *Jewish* writers have upon occasion taken notice of, which is very agreeable to this place: And *David Kimchi* expressly affirms, that this is the sense⁹ of it in this place ; namely, that it signifies *with* : *He shall turn the heart of the fathers with the children*, i. e. He shall turn both young and old, a great number unto GOD. And thus *John the Baptist* did. Great multitudes followed him ; they confessed their sins, and were baptized by him. Thus this *Hebrew* participle signifies frequently. (See *Deut.* 22. 6. *1 Sam.* 14. 32, 33. 17. 20. *Job* 37. 22. *Jer.* 3. 18. *Gen.* 32. 11. *Ch.* 33. 13. *Exod.* 12. 9. *Levit.* 4. 11. *Job* 33. 23. *Psal.* 15. 3. *Exod.* 35. 22. with the *Targum* of *Jonathan*, *1 Kings* 15. 20. with *Kimchi* on the place.)

THIRDLY, There is a great evil threatned, in case men are not wrought upon by him : *Lest I come and smite the earth with a curse* : What we render *earth*, may as well be rendred *land* ; and these words being spokeu to the *Jews*, it is to be understood of the land of *Israel*. The smiting the land with a curse imports the destruction of this land of *Israel*, in case the inhabitants by their repentance upon the preaching of this person, whom GOD promiseth to send, did not prevent it. This sense agrees with the words of the text, with the *Targum*, and *Syriac* version of it. This *curse* denotes *destruction*. And these words do not refer to the conflagration, and universal destruction of the world, nor to the great day of judgment. Not to the *first*, because they only predict the destruction of the ' earth or land, *Whereas the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men*. And for the *second*, it is plain, that the words refer not unto it. For ' the day of judgment is determined and fixed ; 'tis *appointed*, and unavoidable: The repentance of a land cannot reverse that decree. On the other hand, here is something threatned in case they repent not, *Lest I come and smite*, &c. whereas the day of judgment is not to be prevented by any thing that we can do. Now this agrees with the account, which we have of *John the Baptist*, who both appeared before the destruction of the land of the *Jews*, preached repentance to them, minded them of the *wrath to come* ; and told them plainly of the utter destruction coming upon them, if they prevented it not by their repentance.

Thus did he dispose men for the reception of Christ : And repentance is the best preparative. They ' who find sin a burden, who have a sense of its ugly nature, that feel the load of guilt, that are sorrowful for their wickedness, these are disposed for CHRIST and his gospel. He came to seek and save such as these : Such he invites : He is ready to bind up these broken hearts, and to comfort these mourners, and to fill the souls which hunger and thirst after righteousness. They who are proud and justify themselves, that buoy themselves up with a vain conceit and confidence, are far from being prepared and disposed for this kingdom of GOD, or grace of the gospel.

⁹ על בנים כמו עם בנים R. D. Kimchi in Mal. c. 4.
² Acts 17. 31. Heb. 9. 27. Rom. 14. 12. 2 Cor. 5. 10.
 v. 28. Joh. 7. 37. Isa. 66. 1, 2, 3.

¹ 1 Pet 3. 7.
² Matt. 9. 13. c. 11.

(II.) *John the Baptist* made way for the reception of CHRIST and his doctrine by *Baptism*. And this he did,

1. As his³ baptism was an engagement to repentance for their past sins. *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance.* This baptism of his engaged them to this; and 'tis expressly said, That they⁴ were *baptiz'd of him in Jordan confessing their sins.* This confession of sins was a token and pledge of their forsaking of them by a true and sincere repentance. So that as he preached repentance (and by that prepared men for CHRIST, as hath been shewed before) so he administered the baptism of repentance, and by that rite obliged them to the performance of that duty, which he commended to them in his preaching.

2. As by baptism he brought them to CHRIST. For it introduced men to CHRIST, his great LORD and master, whose fore-runner he was. By baptizing men he brought them to the knowledge of the MESSIAS. St. Paul expressly⁵ affirms thus much; *John* (says he) *verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him, that should come after him, that is, on CHRIST JESUS.* And indeed he had great reason to conclude so; for we find *John the Baptist* declaring⁶ no less himself. *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the HOLY GHOST, and with fire.* This is mentioned by all the four *Evangelists*; which is an argument, that it ought to be very well considered by us. It is very plain from hence, that even by his baptism he led the people to the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, the true and great prophet; and who would approve himself so to be, by⁷ the miraculous effusion of the HOLY GHOST, on the day of *Pentecost*, which descended like fire upon the disciples of JESUS. To this *John the Baptist* refers, when he tells them, That he who cometh after him shall baptize them with the HOLY GHOST, and with fire. They could not possibly mistake the person: Especially when they should observe, that by the miraculous Effusion of the HOLY GHOST, he had given a most undeniable proof, that he was the CHRIST, the son of the living GOD. And yet he farther points them to CHRIST, as a just judge, who would destroy the impenitent nation of the *Jews*; which was accomplished in the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*. This *John the Baptist* doth⁸ in the following words; *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into his garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* *John the Baptist* did not by baptism profelyte men into his own name; he did but prepare disciples for CHRIST. When he did administer it to men, he⁹ directed them to him, who was mightier than himself, and whose harbinger he was. He declared plainly, that his LORD was drawing near; and disposed them, whom he did baptize, to receive him as *his LORD*, and their own. And there is a most remarkable place to this purpose in the gospel of St. *John*, where *John the Baptist* tells, what the purpose and design of his baptism was: When he saw Jesus, he¹⁰ tells the *Jews*, *This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me; for he was*

³ Matt. 3. 11. ⁴ Ver. 6.
 Luke 3. 16, 17. Joh. 1. 26, 27.
⁵ Luke 3. 15. with v. 16.

⁶ Acts 19. 4.
⁷ Acts 2, 3, 4. Acts 11. 15, 16.
⁸ Joh. 1. 30, 31.

⁹ Matt. 3. 11. Mark 1. 7, 8.
¹⁰ Matt. 3. 12.

before me: And I knew him not; but that he should be made known to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water. Here John the Baptist tells us the end of his baptism. He did not himself from his younger years know JESUS; and it was not without the special providence of GOD, who so ordered, That when JESUS came out of Egypt, he dwelt in Nazareth; but John the Baptist was from his younger years brought up in a wilderness, very remote from that place where JESUS dwelt; that so there might be no suspicion of any compact between John and JESUS. But yet, tho John did not in his younger years know the person of JESUS, he very well knew, that CHRIST would forthwith appear, and that it was his office to prepare men for his reception. And as he was known to him by person, after he had entred upon his publick ministry; so he declares that the end of his baptism was, to make him known unto the people of Israel.

3. As by his baptism men were obliged to a sincere obedience of the laws of CHRIST. 'Tis a thing very well known, that baptism was used by the Jews; and the Hebrew doctors do tell us, That profelytes were received, not only by circumcision and sacrifice, but by baptism also. There were two sorts of profelytes among the Jews, viz. profelytes of justice, and profelytes of the gate. The first were circumcised; and therefore obliged to all the precepts of Moses: The other were baptized, but not circumcised; and they were obliged only to those precepts, which mankind were obliged to, which are commonly called the precepts of the sons of Noah. It is on all hands agreed, That profelytes from the Gentiles were received among the Jews, not only by circumcision, but by baptism also; and the rite, by which they were received, laid an obligation upon them to the obedience of that religion, which they undertook. Thus he, who from among the Gentiles was by circumcision received into the church of the Jews, was forthwith under an obligation to obey all the laws of Moses. His being circumcised did lay this obligation upon him. *I testify again, to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law.* And upon this account it is, that circumcision was so severely forbidden to the Gentiles, who had received the Christian faith. *Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, CHRIST shall profit you nothing.* For by taking circumcision upon them, they were made Jews: By submitting to this sacrament and rite they were profelyted to the Jewish religion, and undertook to obey the law of Moses, and expected to be justified thereby. This course subverted Christianity, supplanted it intirely, and justled it out of the way. It made the gospel an useles thing; and rendred the undertaking of CHRIST void, and of no effect at all. *CHRIST is become of no effect unto you; whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.* As circumcision obliged men to obey the law of Moses, so doth the sacrament of baptism oblige to the obedience of the laws of CHRIST: It being an institution, that introduceth men into the church and family of CHRIST; and by which they are set aside, and consecrated to his service. And the baptism of John, leading men to him, obligeth them to obey him. And our Saviour himself, who appointed this rite, and sacrament to be administered in his church, gave us to understand, that this was

¹ Gal. 5. 3.

² Gal. 5. 2.

³ Gal. 5. 4.

⁴ Matt. 28. 19, 20.

the design and purpose of it. *Go ye therefore* * (says JESUS to his disciples) *and teach* (or rather *disciple* ; for the word, which most properly signifies teaching, follows) *all nations ; baptizing them in the name of the FATHER, and of the SON and of the HOLY GHOST.* And it follows (which teacheth us the obligation lying upon them who are baptized) *Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you.*

4. As by baptism men were received into the divine protection, and secured against an approaching destruction. They who were baptized were marked out and sealed, not for destruction but salvation. For as they, who among the *Jews* were profelyted from the *Gentiles*, were¹ said to put themselves under the wings of the GOD of *Israel* ; because by becoming of the number of that people, they justly expected the favour and protection, which he shewed unto them : So they who are baptized, and by that means received into the church of CHRIST, are put under the special care and providence of GOD. And we have sufficient evidence in the *new Testament*, that men had not only this apprehension of it, but that they had good reason so to think. They justly looked on it as a sign of salvation : when *John the Baptist* saw the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces* come to his baptism, he² said unto them, *Who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come ?* It seems that it was thought the way to escape a future judgment ; and so indeed it was : For when St. *Peter* exhorts men to repent and to be baptiz'd, he³ adds, as the effect of it, *Save your selves from this untoward generation.* The same *apostle* elsewhere, speaking⁴ of those who were, in the great flood with *Noah*, saved by water, he adds ; *The like figure whereunto, even baptism doth also now save us.* By baptism we are received into the ark of CHRIST's church, and saved from the common destruction of a wicked world. Thus did *John* by his baptism serve the end and purpose of our LORD's appearance ; who came to save, not to destroy.

ONLY it must be remembred, that as CHRIST never designed to save men *in* their sins, but to save them *from* them ; so this baptism of *John*, and that which followed, of CHRIST and his apostles, were never designed for a refuge and shelter to men in their impiety : It saved them not, unless they repented ; and their hearts were cleansed, as well as their bodies washed. And we shall find, that this may be collected from those places, that were nam'd above. The baptism of *John* was the baptism of repentance ; and he put the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces* upon fruits meet for it, when they came to his baptism. And St. *Peter* bids the *Jews* *repent* and be *baptized* : And tho' he elsewhere saith, that baptism now saves us ; yet he explains himself, when he tells us, what that baptism must be attended with ; and that it is not the bare washing the body, which he means, *not the putting away the filth of the flesh ; but the answer of a good conscience towards GOD.*

(III.) JOHN the Baptist prepared the way of the LORD, by removing those obstacles and impediments, which lay in his way. That was⁵ fulfilled which was written, *Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low ; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth.* And then it follows, *all flesh shall see the salvation of GOD.* There are some things, which do hinder men

² Matt. 28. 19, 20.

⁴ Matt. 3. 7.

³ Luk. 3. 5, 6.

⁵ Ruth 2. with ch. 1. 16, 17. and the Targum on that place.

¹ Acts 3. 40.

² 1 Pet. 3. 21.

from receiving any benefit from the gospel of CHRIST; which if they be not taken out of the way, will render it ineffectual. There are some sins and follies of men, which put a bar to their receiving benefits by CHRIST; and they are such as these: a pertinacious and obstinate persisting in a sinful course; a vain security and confidence, upon the score of some privileges that we lay claim to; a resting in some externals of religion; a putting off the evil day of wrath; the living in malice and unmercifulness among our selves; covetousness, injustice, and oppression. We find *John the Baptist* diligently removing all these impediments; and thereby making way for CHRIST, and his divine doctrine. And this he doth, by preaching repentance; by taking men off from trusting in this, That *Abraham* was their father; by shewing them, that they were not secure in flocking to his baptism, unless they brought forth fruits meet for repentance; he denounceth God's wrath, as ready to take hold of the obstinate sinner; *The axe is laid to the root of the trees, &c.* He tells¹ them the *chaff* should ere long be burnt *with fire unquenchable*. He commends to the people charity, and good-will and beneficence. *He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise.* And when the *Publicans*, who came to his baptism, enquire what he required of them, he² said to them, *Exact no more than that which is appointed you.* And to the soldiers he³ said, *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages.*

(IV.) *JOHN the Baptist* prepared the way of the LORD, by an holy and exemplary life and conversation. He⁴ was a burning and a shining light. He⁵ came in the way of righteousness. All men held him to be a prophet; and our SAVIOUR⁶ affirms him to be, *more than a prophet*; and⁷ that among them who had been born of women, there had not been a greater than *John the Baptist*. He was justly reputed a Man of great sanctity; and the people had a great veneration for him; and the very sects among them, who differed greatly among themselves, yet went to his baptism. He had been bred up in the wilderness, where he had little conversation, and had learnt no arts of insinuation, no *fineness* of behaviour. He had not studied the arts of persuasion and popular eloquence: He was taught of God, and not by the famous doctors of the law of that time. He was bred in the wilderness; but JESUS at *Nazareth*; at great distances from each other: insomuch that he did not so much as know JESUS, till he was about thirty years of age. He was a man of great abstinence and austerity of life. He drank no wine; the fumes of which put some men upon great extravagancys. He was a man of great truth and simplicity, of great modesty and humility, of great patience and contentedness, of a mighty zeal and courage, and a marvellous constancy: Well might the *Jews* expect a good Lord to come, when they saw so good a servant come before him. Nothing makes such way for the reception of the gospel, as a conspicuous example of vertue. This doth mightily dispose men to it. The holy life of *John the Baptist* made way for JESUS, and his heavenly doctrine. He was rendered by this means a witness beyond all exception. Our SAVIOUR confounded the *Jews*, when they demanded, By what authority he did what he did? He⁸ asked them a question, which put

¹ Luke 3. 11.² Matt. 21. 32.³ Matt. 21. 25.⁴ Ver. 13.⁵ Matt. 14. 5. 21. 26.⁶ Ver. 14.⁷ Joh. 5. 35.⁸ Matt. 11. 11. and ver. 9.

them to silence : 'Twas, Whether *John's* baptism was from *heaven* or from *men*? i. e. Whether *John* was a person sent by *GOD*, or not? They knew not what to say : If he was sent from *GOD*, their question was answered; for *John* had born witness of *him*; and a witness from heaven was beyond exception. They would not say this; and durst not deny it: For such was the sanctity and fame of *John the Baptist*, that he was by all the people held for a prophet, whom *GOD* had sent.

(V.) HE prepared the way of the *LORD* by pointing at him, and shewing who was he. And we find *John the Baptist* doing this several times : I shall mention the several places to this purpose. *First*, he doth it in these words, saying, *This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for he was before me, &c.* *Secondly*, When he received the message from *Jerusalem*, he doth not only deny himself to be the *CHRIST*; but owns, that he came to prepare his way : *He it is* (says he) *who coming after me, is preferred before me, &c.* *Thirdly*, *The next day John seeth JESUS coming unto him and saith, Behold the lamb of GOD, which taketh away the sin of the world. This is he, of whom I said, After me cometh a man, which is preferred before me, &c.* And *John* bare record, saying, *I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him. And I saw and bare record, that this is the Son of GOD.* *Fourthly*, *John the Baptist* doth it again, before two of his disciples; *Behold*, says he, *the lamb of GOD*: Upon which the two disciples followed *JESUS*.

JOHN the Baptist was a very excellent person, and very fit for the great office, for which he was designed. For besides the great sanctity of the man, there were many other things, which might dispose men to expect, that he should be a person very extraordinary. He was the son of a priest, and born of parents of great virtue and known piety. His birth was predicted by an angel; and an holy angel he must be, for he appeared in the holy place, and when *Zacharias* was ministring at the altar of incense. His birth was supernatural, of an old and barren woman. His father was struck dumb upon the prediction of his birth, and continued so till ⁶ his circumcision, and he spake and praised *GOD*; then was he filled with the *HOLY GHOST*, and prophesied. These things were very strange and surprizing, and raised great admiration among the people; who might justly expect some very considerable person after this. To this purpose we are told, *That fear came upon all that dwelt round about them: and all these sayings* (or things rather, as our marginal reading hath it) *were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judea. And all they that heard them, laid them up in their hearts; saying, What manner of child shall this be?* Much might be expected from such a beginning as this. He must be a good witness of *CHRIST*, who received from heaven such illustrious testimonies, that he himself was sent by *GOD*.

III. I SHALL now defend the account, which the gospels give of *John the Baptist*, against the exception, which the *Jews* may bring against it. Not that I think they have any thing to say that is material :

BUT yet they may pretend, that what hath been said above, is not convincing to them, who give no credit to our gospels; nor are they obliged to

¹ Joh. 1. 15.

² Ver. 35, 36, 37.

³ Ver. 19, 27.

⁴ Luk. 1. 64, 67.

⁵ Ver. 29, 30.

⁶ Luke 1. 65, 66.

⁷ Ver. 32, 34.

believe, that there was any such man, or that he was a righteous person from such a testimony as this.

FOR the better proceeding in this matter, and for the removing this pretence; I shall offer the following particulars to be seriously considered.

1. THAT supposing at present, JESUS to be the MESSIAS, and that he intended to erect a spiritual kingdom in the world, *John the Baptist*, according to the account given of him before, did very well perform the office of an harbinger or messenger, who made way for the reception of this MESSIAS, and the advancing this kingdom. If he had not done this, we should have had no cause to believe him to have been sent by GOD to discharge such an office. The repentance, which he preached, even by the *Jews* confession, was a good preparative to the reception of the MESSIAS, and then by baptism he engaged men to repentance, and brought them to the knowledge of the MESSIAS, and obliged them to obey his laws, and put them under the special protection of GOD; he removed the obstacles of piety; and commended it to them by the sanctity of his life. After all this, he pointed at him, and brought men to the knowledge of him. So that there is nothing wanting to such an end.

2. THOUGH I do not produce the gospels as a direct proof of the question against the *Jews*, who do not believe them; yet when the account, which they give of *John the Baptist*, is consistent and very agreeable to the end, for which they give this account, 'tis but reasonable, that the *Jews* should believe this testimony, or give good reason, why they do reject it. That they do *not* believe it, will not excuse them, if they have cause to *do* it. It stands them in hand greatly, as they value their immortal souls, to consider with due application the credibility thereof. They would think us unreasonable, if we should deny the writings of *Moses*: and yet let them give what proofs they can, that *Moses* is worthy of credit in what he reports, and by the same arguments (not to say greater) I will prove that the *Evangelists* are so likewise. But having spoken¹ in another place of the credibility of these writers, I shall not do it over again.

3. THAT the *Jewish* writers themselves give us an account of *John the Baptist*, which doth very much agree, with what the *Evangelists* report of him; and leaves the *Jew* without excuse, who without farther examination rejects the credit of these writers, who yet have all the marks of sincerity whatsoever. *Flavius Josephus*² mentions *John*; and tells us, that he was called the *Baptist*, and that he was slain by *Herod*. He tells us, that he was a good man, and one that taught the people the exercise of virtue, and the practice of justice one among another, and piety towards GOD; and that being thus disposed, they should be baptized. He adds, That the army of *Herod* was esteemed justly destroyed, because he slew *John the Baptist*. He tells us moreover, that *John the Baptist* taught the people, that baptism was then acceptable, when they not only parted with some of their sins; but when with the purity of their body they joyned a pure mind. He tells (as also the gospel doth) that he was mightily followed by the people. *Joseph Ben Gorion*³ mentions him also, and tells us expressly, That *Herod* took the wife of his brother *Philip* in his life-time; and that he killed

¹ Part. I. Chap. vi.
Hebr. l. 5. c. 46. Basil. 1541.

² Joseph. Ant. l. 18. c. 7.

³ Josephus

John for telling him, that it was not lawful for him so to do; and that it was *John* who celebrated baptism. *R. David Gantz* another *Jewish* writer, tells us, That *Herod* was a wicked man; that he flew many of their wise men; that he took his brother *Philip's* wife in his life-time; and that he killed *John*, for reproving him for it. It is not, I am persuaded, without the special providence of *GOD*, that these testimonies are found in the *Jewish* writers; which do not only speak the eximious vertue of this holy man, but serve also mightily to confirm the credit of the *Evangelists*, who say the same things of him; and consequently make for the strengthening of the faith of *Christians*, and stopping the mouths of the *Jews*.

IV. I SHALL make it appear, that the *Jews* have no reason to quarrel with *JESUS* or his followers, who affirm him to be the *Elias*, which was to come. And because the *Jews* object this frequently, I shall more particularly consider this whole matter.

WE are agreed, that *Elias* was promised; and the * promise is express, *Behold I send you Elijah the prophet* (it is not said the *Tishbite*, tho the *Seventy* put that into their text) *before the coming of the great and terrible day of the LORD*. Here is a promise of *Elijah*, a prophet (for so I would rather turn the words) but no mention of *Elijah* by the title of *Tishbite*; by which *Elijah* was commonly called, and not by that of prophet. Nay 'tis observed, that *Elijah* the *Tishbite* is no where else, either in the *old Testament* or *new*, called *Elijah* the prophet. For that place, 2 *Chron.* 21. 12. belongs not to him, he being then not in the land of the living. But the *Tishbite* he is frequently called, [1 *Kin.* 21. 17, 28. and chap. 17. ver. 1. 2 *Kin.* 1. 3, and ver. 8. and chap. 9. 36.] and never called a prophet during the whole time of his life: Nor yet in the *new Testament*, where he is often mentioned, is he called *Elias* the prophet. Here is a promise of *Elias* a prophet; but not of that very person who lived in the days of *Ahab*, and was whilst he lived commonly called the *Tishbite*; but never the prophet, though he was one.

FOR the removing all pretence from the *Jews* in this matter, I propound to the consideration of the reader the following particulars.

1. THAT there was a great likeness of *John the Baptist* to *Elias*; and consequently so much foundation for his being called by his name; he [†] coming in the spirit and power of *Elias*, as the angel expresth it. *Elias* was indeed a great prophet; and so was *John the Baptist*: all held him for a prophet; and our *LORD* [‡] says, that he was *more than a prophet*; that is, he was a most illustrious one, who was from the womb filled with the *HOLY GHOST*, and had received the spirit in a great measure. He was a fit anti-type of *Elias*: We find, when *Elias* was leaving this world, *Elisha*, who succeeded him, begged a double portion of his spirit (that is, not as much again as he had to give, and had received; but the portion of the first-born, who was wont to have two shares, to a younger's one) and that was a great request; he [§] tells him, *Thou hast asked an hard thing*. *Elias* was therefore more than an ordinary prophet. *Elias* was ^{||} also a man of great zeal and fervor; and so was *John the Baptist*. *Elias* was a man of an austere life, and a great faster; and so was *John the Baptist*.

* Zerah David.

† Mal. 4. 5.

‡ 1 *Kin.* 18. 36.

§ Luke 1. 17.

|| Matt. 21. 26. with ch. 11. 9.

¶ 2 *Kin.* 2. 9, 10.

|| 1 *Kin.* 19. 10. with Luke 1. 17.

If *Elias* had ' a girdle of leather about his loyns, so had *John the Baptist* also. One was an hairy man; the other had a garment of camels hair. If one was bold in rebuking vice in *Ahab*, the other did so by *Herod*; and if one was hated by *Jezebel*, the other was also by *Herodias*. In a word, they were both men of great sanctity and fervor; both *burning and shining lights*; great contemners of sensual pleasures; and both called men from their follies to repentance.

2. As there was a great resemblance between these two persons; so 'tis a thing very usual, even in the *Scripture*, as well as other authors, to call such by the same name. And therefore why should our SAVIOUR be blamed, for calling *John the Baptist* by the name of *Elias*, who came in his spirit and power? *The children of Israel shall return* (says the prophet) *and seek the LORD their GOD, and David their king: and shall fear the LORD, and his goodness, in the latter days.* 'Tis certain that *David* their king was dead, long before these words were spoken; and therefore these words cannot be understood of that person. *The Jewish Chaldee Paraphrast* tells us, who it is that the prophet means; he tells us expressly, That 'tis MESSIAS, the son of *David* their king. If the MESSIAS be called *David*, who was a type of him, why should it be strange, that *John the Baptist* should be called *Elias*, who came in his spirit and power? And this way of speaking hath nothing in it, that is harsh or unusual. Thus the poet calls *Turnus* another *Achilles*:

— *Alius Latio jam partus Achilles,*
Natus & ipse deâ—

And elsewhere he useth the same liberty of speaking:

Alter erit tum Tiphys, & altera, quæ vehat, Argo,
Delectos heroas: erunt etiam altera bella:
Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles.

3. THE rest of the words in the prophet *Malachi*, where *Elias* is promised, do very well agree with *John the Baptist*. As for example, those which speak of the *time of his coming*; viz. before the final destruction of the *Jewish* nation, when *Shiloh* was to come. And this is expressed in ' these words, *Before the coming of the great and dreadful* (or illustrious) *day of the LORD.* And those words, ' which speak of his office and business, do well agree to him also. *He shall turn the heart of the fathers, &c.* Where the *Septuagint* use the very same word, which the *Evangelist* makes use of, where *JESUS* speaks of *John the Baptist*, and affirms him to be the *Elias*, which was to restore all things. This agrees ' also with the words of the angel, and with the account which the *Jewish* writers give of *John*. And herein *John the Baptist* was the perfect anti-type of the *Tishbite*; as that word signifies and imports, from the *Hebrew* original of it, a restorer, or converter. And then, in the last place, those words, *Lest I come and smite the earth* (or land) *with a*

¹ 2 Kin. 1. 8. with Matt. 3. 4.

² Virgil. *Æneid.* 6.

³ Eclog. 4.

⁴ LXXII. ἀποκατάστασις. Matt. 17. 11.

⁵ Hos. 3. 5. with Ezek. 34. 23. XXXVII. 24.

⁶ ἱερσάν. LXXII. Mal. 4. 5.

⁷ Luke 1. 17.

curse,

curse, do very well agree with what *John the Baptist* himself said, to awaken the *Jews* to repentance, from the consideration of that wrath which was to come upon the *Jews* in case of their impenitence, of which I spake before.

4. IT is very certain, that some of the *Jews* are of opinion, that by *Elias* (mentioned *Malachi*, chap. 4. ver. 5.) is not meant the very person of *Elias*, but some other person, like him for knowledge and endowments; who is for that reason called by his name. *Maimonides*¹ speaks very doubtfully of this matter: He says, That from the letter of the prophets, in the beginning of the days of the MESSIAS, it appears, that there should be the war of Gog and Magog; and that before the battle of Gog, Magog shall stand up, as a prince in Israel, to prepare their hearts; as 'tis said, Behold, I will send you *Elijah* the prophet, &c. And soon after these words, he says, That some of their wise men do affirm, That before the coming of king MESSIAS *Elijah* shall come; But (says he) all these matters, and such like, no man knows how they will be, till they come to pass: For they are matters hidden among the prophets; and the wise men have no tradition about them, but what ariseth from the force of the text; and he adds, That in this matter they are divided. If these things be so, all the force of the *Jews* objection against our MESSIAS, from this that *Elias* in person is not come, falls to the ground. As the *Jews* say, That the soul of *Phineas* entered into *Elias*, because he was a man of great zeal like him; so may *John the Baptist* be very well called *Elias*, because he was like so great a prophet; especially, since some of the *Jews* do not understand the prophet *Malachi*, to speak of the very person of *Elias*; of which a² learned writer of our own will give the reader farther satisfaction.

AND thus having removed that pretence of the *Jews*, that our JESUS cannot be the CHRIST, because *Elias* did not come in person before his appearance, I shall proceed; and,

V. I SHALL take off the objections taken from the words of *John the Baptist*, and from the words of JESUS mentioned before; and then say something to that belief among the antients, that *Elias* is still to come.

FIRST, I will consider the words of *John the Baptist* himself; who must needs be able to give the truest account of himself. So it was, that when he appeared publicly, the *Jews* sent priests and levites from *Jerusalem*, to ask him, *Who art thou?* He³ appeared in a time, when there was a general expectation of the MESSIAS; as I have elsewhere observed. His fame grew great; and thereupon the *Jews* were desirous to know who he is, i. e. if he was the MESSIAS, or what his office and character was. To this demand *John the Baptist* answers, first negatively, by telling them that he is not the MESSIAS. This he frankly and sincerely doth; And he confessed and denied not; but confessed, I am not the CHRIST. But when they proceeded and asked him farther; *Art thou Elias?* he saith, I am not. But when they had urged him farther, to say positively who he was, that they might be able to give an account to them that sent them, he positively answers this; I am the voice of one crying in the wilder-

¹ Maimon. H. Melact. c. 12. V. M. B. Israel. de Resurrect. p. 313.
Not. in Port. Mos. p. 219. and his Comment on Malach. 4. 5.

² Dr. Pocock.

³ John 1. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

ness, &c. The *Jew* presseth his objection from these words of *John the Baptist*: *JESUS* affirmed that he was the *Elias*; *John the Baptist* denies and disowns it. He doth it, when he is demanded, who he was, by *Priests* and *Levites*. 'Tis not likely, that he would disown it, had he been the promised *Elias*; nor can *his* words, and those of *JESUS* (*Matt.* 17. 12, 13. with *Matt.* 11. 14.) who expressly affirms of *John the Baptist*, That he was the *Elias*, which was for to come, be both true. This is the most, that I can make of this objection. In answer whereunto, I shall desire the following particulars may be duly considered.

1. WHAT the *Jews* meant, when they asked *John the Baptist* if he was *Elias*? I dare refer this to the *Jews* themselves: They will easily grant, that their meaning was, whether he was the very person of *Elias*, called the *Tishbite*; for him the *Jews* expected, and do so to this day, before the coming of the *MESSIAS*. This they must grant, or give up their cause. They will have no pretence from the answer of *John the Baptist*, if this be not granted to be the meaning of their question. If this be their meaning, as it is undeniably, *John the Baptist* answered truly and sincerely, when he said he was not. And this answer was direct and clear to the question; and according to the sense in which it was meant, and propounded to him. But what advantage the *Jew* can make of it against *Christianity*, I do not see. For we are all agreed, That *John the Baptist* was not the very person of *Elias* the *Tishbite*, nor any other of the antient prophets raised from the dead. The *Jews* had an expectation of the *Tishbite*; and did suppose that some of the antient prophets would rise from the dead, about the time of the *MESSIAS*. (*Mat.* 16. 14. with *John* 1. 21. and *Luke* 9. 7, 8.) That which *John* says is, that he is not that *Elias*, whom they expected. If it be urged still, that this might occasion the unbelief of the *Jews*, and hinder them from receiving *Jesus* for the *MESSIAS*, I desire it may be considered.

2. WHAT *John the Baptist*, when he was pressed to declare who he was, did¹ after this, answer to the *Jews*. He said, *I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, make straight the way of the LORD, &c.* In which words he let them know, That tho he was not the very person of *Elias* the *Tishbite*; yet that he was that very messenger promised in the prophet *Malachi*, who came to prepare the way of the *LORD*: That this was his office, he tells them freely; which was² also the office of that *Elias* promised in the same prophet; so that tho he says, that he was not the very *Tishbite*, (who they thought was promised in *Malachi*) yet that he was that person who was there meant, and came to discharge the office assigned him in that prophet. For the messenger (*Mal.* 3. 1.) is the same with *Elijah the prophet* (*Mal.* 4. 5.) Let any man compare the places with one another, and he will find cause to believe this. *David Kimchi*³ interprets the *LORD* (*Mal.* 3. 1.) to be *MESSIAS*: And 'tis then plain, that the messenger must be meant of his fore-runner, or harbinger. And *Abravenel* himself⁴ grants, That by the messenger (*Ch.* 3. 1.) and *Elijah* (*Ch.* 4. 5.) may be meant one and the same person. And whereas tis pretended in the objection, That *John the Baptist*, by denying himself to

¹ *Joh.* 1. 23. with *Mal.* 3. 1. and *Matt.* 11. 10.

² *R. P. Kimchi* in *Mal.* 3. 1.

³ *Mal.* 4. 5, 6:

⁴ *Abravenel* in *Mal.* 3. 1.

be the *Elias*, hindred men from believing in JESUS; 'tis a mere pretence and cavil: For as he did not deny himself to be the same person meant in the prophet by *Elias*; so he owns his office expressly; and doth moreover preach JESUS CHRIST to the people, in the following words, *Joh. 1. 26, 29, 32, 34, 36.* Of which I have spoken before. So that he is so far from hindring their belief in JESUS, that he doth not neglect to promote it.

SECONDLY, I shall consider the words of JESUS mentioned before; and which are pretended to be inconsistent with those of *John the Baptist*. We find JESUS telling the multitude, That *John the Baptist* was not only the messenger mentioned in the prophet, (*Mal. 3. 1.*) but 'the *Elias* (*Mal. 4. 5.*) which was for to come. And in another place, when his disciples, upon his mention of his rising from the dead, asked him saying, *Why then say the scribes, that Elias must first come?* We find JESUS replying thus, *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.* He grants, that there was ground for the scribes affirming, that *Elias* must first come. But then he goes on, saying, *Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed: likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them. Then the disciples understood, that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.* From whence it appears, that JESUS affirms *John the Baptist* to be the *Elias*, which was to come; when yet *John* denies it, as hath been seen before.

IT will not be hard to remove this difficulty, and shew, that the words of JESUS, and *John the Baptist*, are very consistent one with the other.

1. If we consider, what hath been observed before, what it is that *John the Baptist* said; he says, that he is not *Elias*; and saith it to those men, who inquire if he was the person of *Elias*, or that very *Elias* the *Tishbite*. For that this was their meaning, is evident, as hath been shewed before. And *Nonnus* expresseth the meaning of the *Jews* question, *Art thou Elias?*

— Θεσβίτιδος ἀσὸς ἀσένης
Ἡλίας ἐφάνης;

But he doth afterwards own his office, and the end of his appearance. But this hath been considered before.

2. IF we consider, what JESUS also says: He doth not affirm *John the Baptist* to be the very person of *Elias*, or him that was called the *Tishbite*: By no means. He says indeed, that he is that person who was promised under the title of *Elias*; and this is all, that his words amount to. He calls him the *Elias*, which was for to come; that person promised in the prophet under the name of *Elias the prophet*. That this is his meaning, appears from what he says elsewhere, when he says, that *Elias* must first come, and restore all things: Where he manifestly refers to that place in *Malachi*, in which 'tis said, That he shall turn the hearts of the fathers &c. I have proved already, that there is no necessity to understand the words in *Malachi* of the person of *Elias*; 'tis enough that they denote one like him. And then the words of JESUS are not repugnant to those of the *Baptist*; tho one say he is not, and the other that he is *Elias*. Tho he was not the very person of *Elias*; yet he was the person designed by that name in the prophet.

¹ Matt. 11. 10, 14. with ch. 17. 10, 11, 12. 13.

3. AND that this is really the meaning of the words of JESUS, is farther evident from our SAVIOUR's words. He says, *And if ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come.* It may seem strange, that JESUS should say, *If ye will receive it, or If you will receive him.* What need of this, if our Saviour had affirmed him to be *Elias the Tishbite*? They expected *him*, and were ready enough to receive him. Besides had he spoken of the *Tishbite*, he would be what he was, whether they received and owned him, or not. But as these words insinuate, that the *Jews* would reject him, who came to prepare the way, as well as his LORD; so they sufficiently shew, that when^a he affirmed him to be *Elias*, he did not mean the very person, who bore that name in the days of *Ahab*. *John the Baptist* came to *turn the hearts of the fathers*, &c. i. e. to convert men to righteousness; and they that received him and owned him, helped to verify that prediction of him in the prophet: To them he was effectually that converter and restorer, which it was foretold he should be.

THIRDLY, I shall say something to^b that opinion amongst the antients, that *Elias* is still to come. That there is such an opinion among the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers of the church, no man can deny: And if there be, the *Jews* will not fail to serve themselves of it. And why may not *they* expect *Elias*, if the *Christians* did so in the primitive times? And if *John the Baptist* was indeed the *Elias* promised in *Malachi*, how comes it to pass that *Christians* themselves expect another?

IN answer to this objection, I shall offer the following particulars to be considered.

I. THAT this opinion of some of the ancients was a mistake, and had no sufficient ground: And it is no hard matter to assign the occasions of that mistake; and they seem to be the mis-apprehending the words of JESUS, and of the prophet. When the disciples had said, *Why then say the scribes, that Elias must first come?* JESUS answered and said unto them, *Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things.* These words seem to intimate, that when they were spoken, *Elias* was not come; and perhaps some might mistake, what JESUS meant^c by *restoring all things*, as that which could not be said of *John the Baptist*. But then the following words of JESUS put his meaning out of all doubt: *But I say unto you, that Elias is come already*, &c. which words the disciples understood of *John the Baptist*. And as for the words of the prophet *Malachi*, they were also mistaken. The LXXII had put the *Tishbite* into the text; which might be one ground for this opinion; but then there were two other occasions from the words themselves. *The great and dreadful day of the LORD*, they understood of the day of judgment; and the threat to *smite the earth with a curse*, was understood of the final destruction of the universe. But it hath been shewn already, that there is no reason to understand the words in that sense; and as for the LXXII, they have put in the word *Tishbite* of their own heads. From what hath been said before, we may be assured, That the *smiting the earth* doth not refer to the final destruction of all things; and then there will be no need to interpret the foregoing words of the day of judgment.

^a Matt. 17. 12.
Photius in Caten. in Matt. 1.

^b Augustin. in Johan. c. 1. Hieronymus in Matt. 17. Chrysoft. &
^c Matt. 17. 11, 12, 13.

2. THAT this is not the opinion of all *Christians*; and therefore ought not to be objected against *Christianity*: For 'tis none of the doctrines of our religion, tho it be the opinion of some doctors. It is indeed the opinion of the church of *Rome* to this day: But this doth not prove it to be a *Catholick* doctrine, or the universal belief of *Christians*.

3. BUT if this opinion of the antients, and of the present church of *Rome* was true, and was also universally received by all *Christians*; yet would it be nothing to the purpose of the *Jews*. For the antients held thus, That *Elias* would appear before the *second* coming of CHRIST, as *John the Baptist* was the fore-runner of his *first* appearance. So that they believed a double *Elias*; that St. *John the Baptist* was the *first*; and that the *other* was yet to come at the end of the world: Whereas the *Jews* object, That JESUS is not the CHRIST, because *Elias* in person is not yet come.

F I N I S.



A
DEMONSTRATION
OF THE
MESSIAS.

In which the Truth of the
CHRISTIAN RELIGION

Is defended, especially against
The JEWS.

PART III.

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD, *RICHARD*,
Lord Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

AUGUSTIN.

Quid illis miserius, quibus ipse Salvator salutis non erit ?



T H E
P R E F A C E.



*S*O M E things there are, which I think myself obliged to acquaint the reader with in this place, to prevent a misunderstanding, and to justify my way of proceeding in this third part against the Jews. Had it not been for that, I should willingly have spared myself the trouble of a P R E F A C E.

And first, I am bound to account for a great omission, which I may be plausibly enough charged with. The intelligent reader will say, that, when I undertook to prove, that the MESSIAS is already come, and thought fit to insist upon Genesis xlix. 10. and upon Haggai, ch. ij. 8. I ought to have considered Daniel's weeks, and that the work is imperfect without a discourse upon that subject. I do grant, that all this is true: But I have this to say for myself, that I was prevented in that matter by a far better hand, and the reader will be so far from a just cause of complaint for my omitting it, that he is like to be a great gainer on that account. A very reverend and learned prelate of this church, who did many years ago take that argument upon himself, hath printed several sheets already, and given me leave to assure the reader, that he will finish it.

Again, The reader may, perhaps, censure me for the third chapter of this third part of my book. He may truly say, It does not come into its proper place. For I having undertaken in my second part to answer the Jews objections against the new Testament, the places, which are here considered, ought to have come then in their due place. And he that affirms this is certainly in the right.

But then I have this to offer for my excuse, that some time it was, after the second part was printed off, and indeed, after part of the third was sent up to be printed, that I met with those objections, which I have in that chapter endeavoured to answer. Thus it was, A very learned friend, that knew what I was about, sent me down a MS. called Porta Veri-

tatis. The Jew, who was the author of it, calls himself by the name of Jacob Aben-Amram, and wrote this book in the year (according to our account) 1634. This MS. was found in the library of the very learned Dr. Cudworth. I believe it to be one of those, which he purchased of Manasseh Ben-Israel, at a very great rate, of which I have sometime heard him make mention. Be that as it will; I take it to be the greatest effort against Christianity, that hath ever been made, or is ever like to be made against it. In perusing this MS. I met with very many objections in it against several places in the new Testament. Many of them I had considered in the second part. But there were some that were new to me: And not knowing into what hand this MS. might sometime or other fall, I resolved to consider them; and then was obliged to print them in that place, in which they are found, when I could not put them into that place, to which they did of right belong. In the following parts of my discourse, I did very carefully consider what that subtle Jew had to offer, against what I had to say on the behalf of Christianity, and have not failed to represent the full force of his reasonings, and to reply upon him in its proper place. This put me to some new trouble, and also put some stop to the press: But I rather chose this fatigue, and to run the hazard of being censured as immethodical, than to let that pass unanswered, which was laid in my way.

Again, The reader, perhaps, might justly have expected, that when I treat so largely of Gen. xlix. 10. I should have thoroughly considered what is advanced on that place by a very learned person of Amsterdam, in his commentary on Genesis, printed there A. D. 1693. And I do own, that I ought to have done so, and did design it. But herein I was prevented by a learned man^a, that hath done it to my hand, and excused me from that labour. And I hope the learned author of that commentary will consider that matter again: If he do it with due application, I cannot but hope, that he will answer himself, and give the church better satisfaction in this matter, than he hath hitherto done.

Some, perhaps, may complain, that I have produced large quotations in Greek, out of Philo and Theodoret, which swells the book, and increaseth the charge; whereas it might have sufficed to have referred to the authors. I cannot take it ill, if the reader should make this exception, because I was sometime of the same opinion myself; and have, at other times, industriously spared the reader that trouble: And I had drawn up what I had to say, with references to Philo. But upon second thoughts and better advice I altered my mind. It is a weighty argument, which I

^a S. Edzardus, de Shiloh. Lond. 1698.

The P R E F A C E.

v

was upon, when I had occasion to produce those testimonies, and in which the Jews and Socinians (a subtle sort of people) are much concerned: And I leave the reader to judge, upon his second thoughts, whether, or not, it were not most adviseable to do as I did. Every reader hath not these books. I have quoted them, and translated them truly; and if the printer (after the utmost care) mistake in some few letters of the Greek, that, I hope, the reader will not impute to me.

I am farther to acquaint the reader, that, after I had sent my papers to the press, I received from a friend, from Oxford, a book lately printed, that is intituled *Bilibra Veritatis*. It is written by some Socinian, with very great heat and rancour, with virulent reflections upon, and contumelious reproaches of his adversary. 'Tis full of that stuff, to an high degree of rudeness and inhumanity. He does insolently and haughtily despise the antient fathers; and spares not other learned men, as they come in his way. His design is to prove, that the Chaldee Paraphrasts, when they mention the *WORD*, are not to be understood of a *P E R- S O N*, or substantial Word; and that they are misapplied to that purpose by our writers. Had it come to my hands in due time, I should have considered it in the following papers in its due place: But now a few strictures will be as much, as a *P R E F A C E* will allow me.

This I cannot but say of the book, that if all the contumelious and reproachful language, and the impertinencies were taken out of it, the remaining part would be of very little bulk: The former I do not think worthy of any further notice; the latter I may have occasion to reflect upon.

He calls our belief of an *ETERNAL WORD*^b a figment, at the very beginning of his book; and elsewhere affirms, that the Chaldees do never denote a reasonable person by the *WORD* of the *LORD*; and elsewhere says, that if these Targumists had denoted the *MESSIAS* by this expression; yet he should not think himself bound to believe them. And what he says in this last place, the reader may take his word for; because he believes not St. John, who expressly affirms it.

It is very boldly said by him, that it cannot be proved that the Targumists, by the *WORD* of the *LORD*^c, do at any time denote, personam ratiocinantem & per se subsistentem. This author, in another place, contradicts himself. For, upon those words, Gen. xxxv. 9. God appeared unto Jacob, which the Targumist renders by the *WORD* of *GOD*, this author adds, Undè colligitur, verbum Domini ibi non differre ab ipso Domino. And yet this is that, which he utterly de-

^b Bilibra, pag. 4. p. 137. p. 9.

^c Pag. 137. cum p. 25, & p. 149.

nies in another place, with a mighty confidence^d. Again, he expounds the WORD of the LORD, in the Targumist, to denote an Angel, in several other places, e. g. Exod. xij. 23. The LORD will pass: The Targumist hath it, the WORD of the LORD, as this author cites him; Hoc est, Angelus Domini, says this author. So that he plainly refutes himself, and affirms in one place, what he contradicts in another.

It would be a very hard task to reconcile this author to himself. I will give another instance; ^e speaking of the Jerusalem Targum, which Vechner produceth against him, he blames him for it, and adds, Cum omnino incertum sit, num hæc paraphrasis unquam Johanni evangelistæ conspecta sit, &c. Here he says, It is uncertain whether St. John ever saw that paraphrase, or not. There is a wide difference between this, and what he says afterward in these words, De Hierosolymitano nulla dubitandi ratio est, cum evangelistæ nostro nunquam fuisse conspectum. So that in one place he affirms it to be uncertain, whether St. John ever saw that paraphrase, or not; and soon after, that it is undoubtedly certain, that he never saw it. For my part, I cannot reconcile him to himself. And tho' 'tis all one to me, whether he ever saw it, or not; yet I cannot understand, how the same man can affirm that a matter is uncertain, and yet undoubtedly certain also.

But this author is resolved however, that the Targumists shall not speak on our behalf: And though some personal acts are imputed to the WORD by them, yet he is willing to try his wits in this cause, rather than allow that word to denote a PERSON. We read, indeed, The Lord hath sworn, that the Lord will have war, &c. Exod. xvij. 16. He owns that the word Lord is Verbum suum, i. e. his Word, in the Targumist: He adds his gloss, let the reader judge of it, Decreto Dei, tanquam personæ, tribuit juramentum. ^f Again (Exod. xx. 7.) The name of the Lord is, by the Targumist, expressed by the name of the Word of the Lord. Here my author says, that by the name of GOD is to be understood, as God revealed himself in his word, vel ipsa lex Dei, i. e. Or the very law of God, by which they were wont to swear. And refers us to Gen. xxi 23^g. On which place, my author (to give him his due) by WORD, which is used by the Chaldee, disowns that he means the written word; and yet, in another place, where he resumes that text, he urgeth his adversary with the custom of the Jews, of swearing by the law of Moses, which is the written word: The reader will judge with what sincerity he does it.

^d Pag. 51, cum p. 42, & p. 46.

^e Pag. 16, cum pag. 20.

^f Pag. 45, & 46.

^g Pag. 38.

He might have spared much of his pains in several places. I shall take notice of some particulars under this head.

1. *He endeavours to prove^h, that St. John did not borrow his Λόγος from the Chaldee Paraphraſts. I will readily grant this. It is enough for us, that St. John ſpeaks agreeably to the manner of ſpeaking uſed by the Ancient Hebrews; and that Philo, as well as the Targumiſts, ſpeaks in the ſame ſtyle.*

2. *He might have ſpared the painsⁱ, which he takes in inquiring into the Age of the Targumiſts; we are very little concerned in a nice inquiry into that matter. Our cauſe does not depend upon it. That they are very ancient (I ſpeak of Onkelos and Jonathan on the prophets) cannot reaſonably be denied; and, 'tis well known, they are much eſteemed by the Jews. The author of Bilibra affirms, that his adverſaries pretended, that St. John borrowed his Λόγος from them. This is ſome excuſe for him, if this be admitted to be true. But then, I believe, nothing can excuſe his way of proceeding in this inquiry.^k He would have us believe, that the Targumiſts are later than the Talmud, becauſe the former borrow from the latter: This he affirms, but could never be able to prove. It is ſo far from being true, that it is apparently falſe. The author of the Miſna mentions the Targum^l as uſed in the ſynagogue. But the author of Bilibra takes notice of ſeveral things in the Targumiſts, which are likewiſe in the Talmud. But this is far from being any kind of proof: For the Talmudiſts might borrow them from the Targumiſts, and not the Targumiſts from them. At this rate he might prove the new Teſtament more antient than the old, becauſe in the new Teſtament many things are ſaid, which are found in the old. If he had ſpoken to the purpoſe, he ſhould have produced ſome places in the Targums alledged out of the Talmud: But in the method which he takes, he does but impoſe upon the reader, and expoſe himſelf. St. Paul mentions Jannes and Jambres: Can we thence conclude, that he received thoſe names from Jonathan the Targumiſt, who hath them? If he did, then is that Targumiſt much older than the Talmud. But there is no need to affirm this. It is enough, that St. Paul and that Targumiſt had thoſe names from the tradition of the Jewiſh ſynagogue. This bears hard upon my author. If his way of reaſoning be allowed, he will be found to prove too much: For by this method I may prove the Targumiſt to be as old as St. Paul; when he would prove him, by the ſame reaſoning, later than the Talmud.*

3. *This author takes a great deal of pains to prove, that the Jews, (and it appears that he means the later Jews) do not believe our doctrine of the Trinity, but are ſworn enemies to it. I know no way of excuſing this impertinent digreſſion of his. He might have ſpared all*

^h Pag. 17.

ⁱ Pag. 17, 18, &c.

^k Pag. 24.

^l Megillah C. 4. M. 10.

this trouble, if he had pleased, which yet he spends several pages about. He quotes ^m Maimon, Abravenel, Lipman, and Jos. Albo ; and, doubtless, he might easily have quoted many more. But all this is to no manner of purpose. Besides that his quotations do not prove, that these Jews were sworn enemies to our Trinity. But I will allow them so to be : I cannot still divine, to what purpose he takes this pains.

I take no pleasure in following this author, much less in exposing him. Yet because, perhaps, some may be so weak as to cry him up (I hope there are but few such) I will not think much to follow him farther yet. He tells usⁿ, that, for the ease of his reader, he will lay before him the various significations of Memra Jehovæ among the Targumists ; and, to that purpose, he promiseth to lay before the reader all the places where that phrase occurs in the Targum of Jonathan, Quia ejus præcipuè habetur ratio ; utpote autoritate atque antiquitate Onkeloso & Hierosolymitano potioris, i. e. Because the Targum of Jonathan is of greatest regard, as being of greater authority and antiquity than that of Onkelos and the Jerusalem. Surely, this author must have a very mean opinion of his reader, whatever he had of himself, when he affirmed this. I shall examine the truth of what he affirms, when he says, that Jonathan's Targum on the Pentateuch is of the greatest authority and antiquity. Those men, that understand these matters, would not have said it, but rather have suspected, that this author had never read the Targums himself, after all the pother and noise he makes about them. I will examine this matter, and doubt not, but to make it appear, that what he affirms is notoriously false.

I will not trouble the reader, nor urge him with authorities from the greatest men in this kind of learning, that the church hath had. The testimony of learned men will signify little with our author, and therefore I will forbear.

Nor will I trouble myself, as to the Jerusalem Targum upon the Pentateuch. I must needs say, that I have no great opinion of the antiquity of it ; and yet, for what I know, it may in that matter vye with that, which goes under the name of Jonathan. I shall shew, that it ought not to have the same authority, nor is of the same antiquity, with Onkelos ; and, I may add, with that of the true Jonathan on the prophets. And,

I This appears from the style. That of Onkelos is biblical, and terse. It come near to that part of Daniel, which is written in the Chaldee language ; and that of Jonathan on the prophets is like it. But that of Jonathan on the Pentateuch is written in a coarse and dreggy, novel and vulgar, very flat and low style. Any man of tolerable judg-

ⁿ From pag. 102, to pag. 107.

ⁿ Pag. 195.

ment will be soon convinced of the truth of this, if he will be at the pains to read them over, and compare them. I was abundantly convinced of this many years ago, when I read them; and I am sure, I could not at that time lie under any prejudice as to this matter.

2. If we consider him as a paraphrast, we shall be farther convinced. Onkelos, upon the main, is a strict version; and the true Jonathan on the prophets, keeps generally very close to the Hebrew text. He seldom adds much; and where he does add, generally speaking, it is for the illustration of the text. I might give large proofs of this, were it needful. But for Jonathan on the Pentateuch, it is quite otherwise. I will pass by all the fabulous relations, which I find a late writer hath collected, about the moon's diminution, and the monstrous Leviathan, &c. I shall refer the reader to some few other additions, out of a vast number, which I could produce. The curious reader may consult him on Gen. Chap. i. 14, 26. Ch. ii. 21. Ch. vi. 2. Ch. xiv. 18. Ch. xvi. 1. Ch. xviii. 2. Ch. xix. 24. Ch. xxv. 25. Ch. xxx. 32. Ch. xxxiii. 4. Ch. xlix. 3, 27. Exod. Ch. ii. 12. Ch. xv. 25. Ch. xxiv. 1, 5. Levit. Ch. xiv. 7. Ch. xxiv. 12. Ch. xxvi. 44. Numb. Ch. ii. 3, 10, 18, 25. Ch. xvi. 2, 4. Deut. xxxii. 1, 4. There the reader will be satisfied, if he compares this with the true Jonathan on the prophets, that this is not the manner of the man. To this I might add the great variations from the Hebrew text, to be found in the Pseudo-Jonathan. Thus Gen. ii. 7. Instead of Living Soul, he hath a Talking Spirit. Ch. ix. 27. Tents is by him rendred School. Ch. xiv. 8. Belah, he renders by a city that devoureth its inhabitants. Ch. xv. 11. Fowls, he expounds by idolatrous people. Ch. xvii. 3. Fell, he says, that Abraham could not stand, because he was not circumcised. Ch. xviii. 8. Did eat, he renders by, they seemed to him to eat. Ch. xxxix. 6. Bread, he renders by Wife. Exod. vi. 15. Shaul, he expounds by Zimri. Lev. xix. 35. Measure, he expounds by dimension of summer and winter. Numb. xxii. 5. Balaam, he expounds by Laban the Syrian. Deut. xvi. 16. Empty, he expounds by, Void of all the precepts. More still, he sometimes contradicts the text. As on Gen. ii. 8. he alters the Hebrew number. Exod. xxvi. 7. This is very unlike to the true Jonathan: And therefore this author ought not to have an authority equal to Onkelos and the true Jonathan. And that he is not of that antiquity, which is pretended, appears,

3. From the book itself, which is the clearest proof in this case. And this will easily appear to any man, that will read him over with due care, and compare him with the other Targumists. I have spoken of his style already; I shall now proceed to other matters. I wou'd not dispute with this author about the antiquity of the true Jonathan, who wrote on the prophets. I take the case to be this. Our author had met with some books,

who told him, that Jonathan was the oldest paraphrast, they meaning the true Jonathan, who wrote upon the prophets; (who hath, indeed, great marks of antiquity.) The Socinian snatcheth at this, and applies it to this false Jonathan, because he found a Targum, that went under his name: Whereas it does not appear, that the true Jonathan ever wrote upon the Pentateuch; and if he did, it does evidently appear, that he could not write that on the Pentateuch, which goes under his name. And to the end this may still more clearly appear, I shall make some observations from the book itself.

We shall find in this Jonathan some words and expressions, which forbid us to allow him to be of equal antiquity or authority with the true Jonathan. I do not say, that the true Jonathan hath no exotick words in him: I know, that he hath some few, which are foreign, or at at least reputed so by learned men. But this Pseudo-Jonathan hath words and expressions, that could not be used by the true Jonathan. e. g. Gen. xxxii. 6. We read, that Esau came to meet Jacob with four hundred men. What men they were, the text does not say: But Jonathan calls them פולמרכין Polemarchin, or fighting men. I find no fault with his paraphrase: The word Polemarchin is of neither Hebrew nor Chaldaick, but of a Greek extraction and composition. The novel writers of the Jews are full of such kind of words; and the reason why they are so is obvious and plain: But the true Jonathan cannot be supposed to use such a word as this for fighting men, or men of war. And to this purpose it is to be considered, that the true Jonathan, especially in his Targum upon the first prophets, hath frequent occasion of expressing, after his way, what he finds in the Hebrew text, that imports fighting men, or men of war. And we find he does it in Chaldee words of the same import, as the reader may see that will consult him on Josh. v. 4. Ch. vi. 2. ch. viii. 8. 1 Kings ix. 22. ch. xii. 21. These places he renders by Chaldee words, and that with some variety; but no where useth Polemarchin. This is a clear evidence, that this is not the same author, who wrote upon the Pentateuch. We find, he, who wrote on the Pentateuch, useth this exotick word in another place also; Gen. xxxiii. 1. though there was nothing in the Hebrew text, that gave him occasion to use it: But the other Jonathan useth not this word, when he hath a fair occasion given him so to do.

Again, Exod. xxxviii. 8. What we turn Looking-glasses, he renders by an exotick word of a Latin original. Again, Deut. i. 12. To what we render your Cumbrance, he adds Epicureism; a word which the true Jonathan cannot be supposed to use. But I have still farther proofs, that this Jonathan cannot pretend to the antiquity allowed to the true Jonathan, and to Onkelos. e. g. Exod. xxvi. 9. where there is
mention

mention of five curtains, and of six. This Jonathan adds, that the five were with respect to the five books of the law, the six with respect to the six Seders of the Misna. It seems this Jonathan wrote, after the Misna was compiled, which was about 200 years after CHRIST; and therefore he could not be the author of any Targum taken notice of by the Misna, of which I made mention before; and consequently, could not be of such a principal authority and antiquity, as the author of Bilibra would have his reader believe. But I shall prove him still of a later time than that: For on Numb. xxiv. 19. he mentions Constantinople: Every man knows, that this he could not have done, had he not lived, after that Constantine had built this city, and given it that name. I do not deny, but that this paraphrase is, however, of good use. I will say so of Joseph Ben Gorion: But then I do not think him fit to be compared, for authority or antiquity, with the noble author Flavius Josephus.

A greater confidence I never met with in any author. He denies, that any Jew whatsoever affirms the Word of GOD signifies an eternal and co-essential WORD°. I hope he (or his editor) will answer a late book against the Unitarians. They may find something offered in the following papers out of Philo, &c. to the same purpose: It will be time to answer intirely the author of Bilibra, when that is done.

I might here lay before my reader all the places, that occur in the true Jonathan; where the Memra, or Word of the LORD, is mentioned: But that would be too much in a preface. I shall mention a very few, out of a great number, where that expression does necessarily denote a divine person, or GOD himself. The reader may examine the following places. 1 Kings viii. 57. Chap. ix. 7. ch. xii. 24. ch. xiv. 11. 2 Kings x. 17. ch. xviii. 5, 7. ch. xx. 6. Isa. ch. i. 14. ch. x. 20. ch. xii. 2. Jer. i. 19. ch. xxviii. 23. To the Word are attributed the great things predicted of the MESSIAS, Isa. ix. 7. JEHOVAH himself is expounded by the LORD's CHRIST. Isa. xxviii. 5. This WORD of the LORD is called the redeemer. Jer. xlii. 5. and his redemption is called everlasting. Isa. xlv. 17. And the creation of the world is imputed to him. Jer. xxvii. 5.

I might lay before the reader the absurd interpretations, this author is forced to give of several places, that he may be able to maintain his hypothesis^p. Where repentance or grief is by the Chaldee attributed to the WORD of GOD, he interprets it of GOD's word or decree, by which he appointed the creation of man. The covenant made between man and the WORD of GOD (Gen. xvii. 2.) he thus interprets; by oath and promise on GOD's part, and the condition on a man's; and these he makes the two parties. Where the WORD of GOD is said to be a witness, he is forced (against his own principle) to expound the WORD by GOD himself, or an angel^r; and where the WORD of GOD is said to have given

° Pag. 153.

^p Pag. 32.

^r Pag. 33.

^r Pag. 40.

children Gen. xlviii. 9. he refers the reader to Gen. xxxvii 9. (I know not to what purpose,) or else he says, It is so said, because the WORD of the LORD was the cause of this ¹ blessing. Thus I have given the reader a little taste of the abilities of this author, and as much as a PREFACE can well bear.

I must own, that I have from my youth had a mighty veneration for the Chaldee paraphrasts, and think them, next to the sacred Text, one of the choicest treasures, that the learned Christians do enjoy. They are of marvellous use to us in our disputes against the Jews, not to say Socinians also. It is no hard matter to shew the various and vast usefulness and advantages, which we may receive by them. But this would require a treatise by itself. I have always thought, that we were obliged to bless GOD for such a treasure. But far be it from me, to think them all of equal value and antiquity. I grant, that the Pseudo-Jonathan is of much less authority and antiquity than some of them. The man, that advanceth him, must mightily depreciate the other. How far this may serve the Socinian's cause, I know not; I am sure, 'tis great disservice to Christianity: And therefore I hope, that the reader will bear with the foregoing digression.

For the tenth chapter, in this following part, which treats of the false Christs, the reader might have expected a fuller account: And he should have had it. But so it was, that it would have required some books, which I had not by me. And though I endeavoured to procure them from beyond the seas (as my friends know) or procure the loan of them here, yet I was not successful in it. This I mention for this reason only, that the reader may be informed, for what reason he hath not a fuller account of that matter.

I have, in the following discourse with the Jews, given their arguments their full force, and used them with that humanity, that I ought to do. I heartily pray to GOD for their conversion, and would be glad to do any thing, that might contribute to it. And if it should at any time happen, that what I have offered should gain any of them to the Christian faith, it would be to me a greater joy than to have gained all the wealth of the Indies.

This I must needs say, that the more I consider the grounds of the Christian religion, the more I like them. It stands upon a sure bottom, and does not fear the most subtle arguments, that can be brought against it. It will never fall that way. I heartily wish, that our lives were answerable to our principles. I think, nothing threatens us so much, as the general decay of piety, and rampancy of vice and immorality, and our own voluntary forsaking that faith, which was once delivered to the saints. I have nothing further to detain the reader with, but to desire his prayers to almighty GOD, that he would succeed this honest endeavour, that it may gain the end, for which it is intended.



A
DEMONSTRATION
OF THE
MESSIAS.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

The CONTENTS.

The plea of the Jews for the perpetuity of the law of Moses. The state of this question between Christians and Jews. Several arguments to prove, that the law of Moses is not of perpetual obligation. An explication of Haggai ii. 6. A particular consideration of the Jews pretences. That the constitutions of Moses are said to be ordinances for ever. Deut. iv. 2. consider'd. Of the Psalmist's magnifying the law of Moses. A discourse upon Malachy iv. 4. Deut. xxxiii. 4. consider'd. A particular consideration of our SAVIOUR'S words, Matth. v. 17, 18. In what sense JESUS says, he did not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil. Luk. xvi. 29. consider'd. A discourse on Rom. iii. 31.



ANOTHER great pretence of the Jews, and prejudice against Christianity, ariseth from an opinion, which they hold pertinaciously, that the law of Moses is of perpetual obligation : Nor can it be denied, but that this pretence is specious, and the Jews have something to urge in this matter. I will be so far from concealing any thing which they have to say, that I will produce what I have met with in their books to this purpose, and shew it to the best advantage of their cause.

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It is on all hands agreed, that ^a this law came from GOD ; and as it was with great solemnity delivered at mount *Sinai*, so it was confirmed by miracles ; and being of unquestionable truth, it is but reasonable to believe, that it is of perpetual obligation, and like the author of it, perfect and unchangeable. And to this purpose the *Jews* may, and they do urge many things to prove their law to be of perpetual obligation. *E. G.* That those laws, when they were first given, were not given for that present season and occasion only, but delivered as statutes and ordinances *for ever* ; that, as an argument of the perfection of that law, it was provided that nothing should be *added to it*, or *taken from it* ; that the devout *psalmist* says of it such great things, as speak it to be unchangeable ; that as the *Jews* prospered when they did obey it, so all the miseries, which overtook them, came upon them for their disobedience to that law ; that upon the ceasing of the spirit of prophecy in *Israel*, and in the very close of the canon of *Scripture*, they are put in mind to adhere to the law of *Moses* ; *Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb, for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments.* (Mal. iv. 4.) By which words the *Jews* were obliged not only to obey the *moral*, but the *positive* precepts, called the *statutes* and ^b *judgments* ; this whole law was given for all *Israel*, and not only to them, who were present at the solemn delivery of it in the wilderness, but for their seed and posterity for ever ; hence it is, that the law is called *the inheritance* of the congregation of *Jacob*. (*Deut.* xxxiii. 4.) To what hath been said, the *Jews* urge ^c, that *JESUS* himself affirmed, that he did *not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil* : And *that till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.* (*Mat.* v. 17. 18.) That these words of *JESUS* were agreeable with his practice ; when he cured the *leper*, he sent him to the *priest* to make his ^d oblation ; and when he did eat the pass-over he observed the legal custom ; he bid his followers pray, that their flight might not be on the *sabbath*, so great was his veneration for that institution : The apostles in the first council forbid blood, &c. And the miserable man in the *parable*, when he pleaded for his brethren, was told, that they had ^e *Moses* and the *prophets* ; and *St. Paul*, says he, is so far from *making void the law by faith*, that he says, *Yea, we establish the law*, (*Rom.* iii. 31.) And elsewhere affirms, that the *law is good* : In a word, the law was given for the posterity of *Israel* (*Deut.* xxix. 14.) And we find *GOD* declaring himself to this purpose by his *prophet*, saying, *This is my covenant with them, saith the LORD, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth thy seeds seed, saith the LORD, from henceforth and for ever.* (*Isa.* lix. 21.)

FOR my better proceeding in this weighty argument, I shall make use of the following method.

First, I SHALL state the question between the *Christians* and *Jews*, concerning the perpetuity of the law of *Moses*.

^a J. Albo *Ikkarim Par.* 1. c. 17. *Fortalitium fidei lib.* 3. c. 17.

^c MS. Lusitan, n. 156. &c.

^d MS. L. n. 157, 158.

^b R. Isaac Chizuk *Emuna*, l. 1. c. MS. L. n. 161, & 162.

Secondly,

Secondly, I SHALL prove against the *Jews*, that the *law of Moses* is not of perpetual obligation.

Thirdly, I SHALL answer the pretences of the *Jews* produced above.

I. I SHALL state the question between the *Christians* and *Jews*, concerning the perpetuity of the law of *Moses*.

THE laws given by *Moses* were of several kinds. Some were *moral*, which do oblige for ever. Of this there is no dispute between *Christians* and *Jews*. Some of these laws of *Moses* were *positive* institutions; and these were of two sorts: Some were *ritual* and *ceremonial*, or the laws of the *Jews* considered as a *church*; such were the laws about sacrifices, purifications, &c. Others were *political* or *civil*, as the *Jews* were considered as a *commonwealth*, civil society or polity; such were the laws about servitude, damages, punishments, &c. The question between the *Christians* and *Jews* is concerning these *positive* institutions.

II. THAT these laws are not of perpetual obligation, I shall prove from the following arguments against the *Jews*.

I. BECAUSE these laws are not good in themselves: They are not antecedently so; our obligation to such laws ariseth only from positive institution. They are at best but *ritual*, or *types* of some better thing; or else *constitutions* that are barely *civil* and *political*, and consequently alterable upon occasion. *I gave them also statutes, that were not good; and judgments, whereby they should not live.* (Ezek. xx. 25.) These things did not perfect humane nature, nor form in mankind a divine temper and likeness. Men might be very good without these laws, and very bad when they obeyed them.

THE world was two thousand years old, before the law was given by *Moses*, and in that space of time there were great examples of piety and virtue; there were those then who pleased GOD, and yet were not circumcised. Thus *Justin Martyr*[†], discoursing of the *Jewish* circumcision, says very well, that we need it not. *Εἰ γὰρ, &c.* For (says he) if that were necessary, as ye suppose, GOD would not have created Adam having on his fore-skin, nor have regarded the oblation of uncircumcised Abel, nor had Enoch pleased him, and been translated. Uncircumcised Lot was saved from Sodom by the ministry of angels. Noah with his sons went uncircumcised into the ark: Melchizedek the priest of the most high GOD, to whom Abraham paid tythe, and from whom he received a blessing, was uncircumcised: And yet GOD promises a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek.

It is a foolish opinion, to think these forms of worship unalterable, or that GOD designed them for ever: For he declares frequently, that sacrifices and other rites were not in themselves pleasing to him; that he preferred mercy before sacrifice, and a penitent and broken heart, before any other oblation.

2. THESE laws were never intended for all the world; they were given to one people, and many of them annexed and restrained to one certain land, and some of them to a certain place of that land, and a cer-

[†] J. Martyr Dialog. cum Tryphon,

tain tabernacle or *temple* situated in that place. Some precepts, which we find in the books of *Moses*, were so *temporary*, that they obliged them to whom they were given for that time only, and not for the time to come. These the *Jews* call מצוות שעה, i. e. *occasional precepts*: Such in *Egypt* were several rites relating to the first *passover*, viz. Eating it with staves in their hands, &c. which did not oblige in after times. Such in the *wilderness* were several precepts; e. g. The setting by a pot of *Manna*, the not molesting *Moab* and *Ammon*, that of making the ^b *brazen serpent*, the bringing the *blood* of every slain beast to the door of the *tabernacle*: Such, at the first *entrance* into the *land*, were the precepts of the *blessings* and *curses* in *Gerizim*, &c. Other of these precepts of *Moses* were to endure to after ages; these precepts the *Jews* call precepts לרבות for *generations*, or for after times. Of this matter I shall have occasion to speak more afterwards. In the mean time it is to be observed, That 'tis added to these precepts, that they must be observed in *their generations*, and in *their land*; which two limitations are very restrictive, and do abundantly declare, that these are precepts which do not concern mankind, and consequently are not of perpetual obligation.

3. GOD^b doth in the old Testament declare often, that he would call the *Gentiles* in the days of *MESSIAS*, and that they should then be received into his grace and favour: This is an argument beyond exception against the perpetuity of the law of *Moses*, and that those laws were intended for no longer than the time, when this great event should come to pass; and then these *Topical* or *Local* statutes must give way to those laws, by which GOD would govern the world. These laws of *Moses* are like the *Municipal* laws of a certain city, which are of force, till the prince and law-maker shall think fit to govern all his subjects in all parts of his dominion by one and the same law. Can any man think, that the *Gentiles* should be governed by these laws of *Moses*, which were peculiar to the *Jews*? Would they be obliged three times a year from the remotest parts of the world to go up to *Jerusalem*? Must they be governed by the political laws, which the *Jews* were governed by? Must they keep the *passover* in remembrance of any deliverance from *Egypt*, who never were delivered thence? Shall they keep the other festivals, who were never concerned in those precepts, or in the grounds of them?

4. THE practice as well as the doctrine of several of the *Jews* assure us, that their law was not indispensable, and consequently not of perpetual obligation. They admitted of proselytes of old, who were so far from undertaking to obey all the laws of *Moses*, that they only took upon them the observation of the precepts of the *sons of Noah*. Nor do we find, that *Moses* perswades *Jethro* to submit to his laws. *Jonah* preacheth repentance to the *Ninevites*, but not the necessity of circumcision or of sacrifices: Nor do we find any other prophets urging these things upon any of the *Gentiles*. The law of *Moses* did indeed oblige the *Jews*; but yet in some cases these laws were dispensable, and good men did dispense with them: Not to say how many things there were, which did *pellere sabbatum*, i. e. excuse them from resting on the sabbath-day, we find holy men sometimes going cross to some of the pre-

^a V. Maim. *Sepher Mizvoth*.

^b Gen. xlix. 10. Psal. ii. 8. Isa. ii. 2. xi. 10. xiv. 1. xlix. 6. lx. 3. 5. Hof. ii. 23. Zech. viii. 22. ix. 9, 10. Mal. i. 11.

cepts of *Moses*, and are no where blamed for it. We know, that the *shew-bread* was to be eaten by the priest only ; and yet *David* did eat it without any reproof. By the law of *Moses*, those who were hanged might not remain on the tree all night : And yet *Saul's* sons in *David's* time hanged on the tree several days and nights together. They were according to the law to ⁱ offer their sacrifices at *Jerusalem* : And yet *Elijah* offered elsewhere ; and in the days of *Hezekiah* they did eat the passover ^k otherwise than it was written.

THE *Hebrew* doctors ^l teach, that when they warred against the Gentiles, in case of scarcity or famine, they might eat carcases, or what was torn, or swine's flesh. And that it was lawful to transgress the law it self, *לעובר על מצות*, in case of present necessity. They taught, that the *Sanhedrim*, or any prophet, who was owned for a true one, had authority to dispense with all the precepts and rites of the law (excepting always the case of idolatry) for a certain time. This is a clear argument, that these laws had no antecedent goodness, and were not therefore of eternal and perpetual obligation.

IT is farther observable from the *Jewish* writers, that they taught, that their law was not to endure for ever. Thus from the *Falkut* † we are told, That GOD would give a new law by the hand of the MESSIAS. Again, that in the time to come, or, in the days of the MESSIAS, all oblations should cease, excepting the sacrifice of praise. And by another we are told, that all their festivals should cease, excepting their *Purim* and day of expiation. And there is a saying amongst them, that in the days of the MESSIAS GOD will permit the eating of swine's flesh.

5. GOD hath given us notice, that he would put an end to the institutions of *Moses*, in the days of the MESSIAS. Thus we read in the prophet *Haggai* ^m. Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land, &c. These words import a great mutation of things, and manifestly refer to the days of the MESSIAS, as I have elsewhere made to appear. The destruction of a kingdom or polity is among the *Hebrews* expressed after this manner : The shaking of the heaven and earth signifies the destruction of the *Jewish* polity, and consequently of those ritual and political laws, which must of necessity fall with it. *Maimonides* hath observed truly, that the destruction of a nation, in the scripture dialect, is parabolically describ'd by the trembling of the heavens, and commotion of the earth (of which many † instances and proofs may be found referred to in the margin) and he tells us, that when the *Arabians* would describe a man that had met with some singular misfortune, they would say ⁿ, *Cælum ipsius super terram ejus cecidit*, that is, His heaven is tumbled down upon his earth. He adds, that it is usual to speak of a kingdom, as if it was the whole world,

IT is no wonder then, that the destruction of the *Jewish* polity should be described, as it is ^o in words that seem to import the destruction of the whole world. When the law of *Moses* was given, the earth shook, and so did the heavens with thunder ; nor is it strange, that

ⁱ 2 Sam. xxi. 10. ^k 2 Chron. xxx. 18. ^l R. Bechai in legem Col. 211. fol. 1. v. Lipman. Nizachon p. 211. Respons. Judaic. ad 23. quest. Quest. 18. Edit. 1644. † v. Vorstium in Abravanel de cap. fides e. 13. ^m Hagg. ii. 6. † Isa. xiii. 10, 13. Isa. xxxiv. 4. Ezek. xxxii. 7. Jer. iv. 23. Joel ii. 10. Amos ix. 5. Dan. viii. 10. Isa. ii. 19, 21. 1 Maccab. i. 28. ⁿ More Nevochim p. 2. c. 29. ^o Matth. xxiv. 7, 29, 37. Mark xiii. 8, 23, 24, 25. Luke xxi. 11, 25, 26.

the *removing* of this law should be described in the same terms, by which the *setting it up* at first is described. In the days of our JESUS something happened, which complies with the very letter of this prediction. The heaven was *moved*, when the voice came thence, and the *earth did quake*, and *the rocks rent*; and a very great earthquake ^p happened some time before the birth of JESUS, in the days of *Herod the great*, a very fit *prelude* to the great mutation of things predicted in this prophet.

Upon the whole matter then, the *Jew* hath no cause to complain, that the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* should apply this passage to this matter: For there is nothing strained in it, and nothing but what is perfectly agreeable to the way of speaking used by the most ancient *Hebrew* writers. His words are these, *Whose voice then shook the earth: But now he hath promised saying, Yet once more I shake, not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, Yet once more, signifyeth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.* (Heb. xii. 26, 27.)

“ q. d. as the law of *Moses* was given with great solemnity, and particularly with the shaking of mount *Sinai*; so GOD hath promised, that there should come a time, that shall be attended with another great change of things, expressed by *shaking once more the earth and the heaven*; by which no less is meant than this, that those laws of *Moses*, which were of positive institution, and therefore mutable, should be taken away, that the doctrine of the MESSIAS, which is to endure for ever, might be brought into the world, and remain with us.

I ADD what we find expressly to the same purpose in the prophet *Jeremiah*, in the following words. *Behold the days come, saith the LORD, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah. Not according to the covenant, that I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, &c. But this shall be the covenant, that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the LORD; I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and I will be their GOD, and they shall be my people.* (Jer. xxxi. 31.) GOD will make a *new covenant*; he doth not say, that he will *renew the old*. He will write his *law* in their *hearts*; What Law? Not the institutions of *Moses*; *not according to the covenant, that I made with their fathers, &c.*

6. GOD hath by his providence declared, that the institutions of *Moses* were never designed to oblige for ever^q. For since these precepts were annexed to a certain land, and place in that land, as the *ritual* precepts were; and others, that were *political*, concerned the *Jews* only, and so long only, as they continued a distinct polity: Those precepts are now expired, because the *Jews* are dispossessed of that land, and have not been a distinct polity for about sixteen hundred years. GOD hath by his providence render'd those laws unpracticable. All the laws about sacrifices fell with the temple; and many fell with the city of *Jerusalem*; and when the *Jews* ceased to be a polity, their political laws were render'd null.

^p v. R. D. Gantz. *Zemach David*. p. 84.

^q V. Chrysostom To. 6. p. 318. Edit. Savil.

WITHOUT doubt these laws were given for wise reasons; they distinguished the *Jews* from the idolatrous nations, and were designed to preserve them from their idolatrous practices; they were trials of their obedience, and many of them types of some better things to come; but 'tis in the mean time very evident, that they were not given to all mankind, nor designed to oblige for ever.

III. I SHALL answer the pretences of the *Jews* produced above.

(I.) 'TIS pretended, that when these laws were given, they were not given for that *season* only, and occasion, but were delivered as *statutes and ordinances for ever*. Thus the feast of unleavened bread is said to be an *ordinance for ever*. (Exod. xii. 17.) And the sabbath is called a *perpetual covenant*, (Exod. xxxi. 16.) To which I answer,

1. THAT it is certain, and confessed among the *Jews*, that the word *Olam*, which we render by *ever*, does not signify always *eternity*, but a limited and determinate time. *Joseph Albo*^r confesseth thus much, and produceth several instances for proof of it. What is said to be for ever, is to abide to some stated and fixed time. 'Tis said of the servant, that he shall serve his master *for ever*. (Exod. xxi. 6.) i. e. *To the jubilee*, says the *Targumist*^t; the year of jubilee was the utmost extent of that service. *Hannah* says of *Samuel*, That he should appear before the LORD, and there abide *for ever*, (1 Sam. i. 22.) which yet can be meant of no longer time than that of his life, or that part of his life, in which he was fit to minister legally. Whence it appears, that the *eternal* obligation of these laws cannot be proved from this expression.

2. IT is to be remember'd, that amongst the precepts given to *Moses*, as hath been noted before, some were only *occasional* and *pro hac vice*; others were to be *continued* in after ages. These latter, with contra-distinction to the former, may be said to be statutes and ordinances for ever. I will give an instance in this place, that is very pertinent to my present purpose. The *passover* was ordained in *Egypt*, and the first *passover* was kept there: This feast was to be kept in the land of *Canaan*, and so it was. The *Jewish* doctors do carefully distinguish between the *passover* of *Egypt*, and the *passover* of after ages; and tell us of some rites peculiar to the *passover* of *Egypt*, which were not used in the *passover* of after ages. *Abravanel*^u reckons them up, and they are these, (1) The taking up the lamb four days before. (2) The sprinkling of the blood upon the posts of the house. (3) Eating the *passover* with loins girt, shoes on their feet, and staves in their hand. These rites were peculiar to the first *passover*, and not used in after times. But unleavened bread was to continue, and to be a constant attendant upon the *passover* for all succeeding generations; and upon that consideration, no wonder, that it is called an *ordinance for ever*, because it was to continue as long as the *passover*.

3. WHEN these precepts were given, which are said to be *for ever*, we find something in the very text, which determines the utmost extent of this expression, and which assures us, that as these things were to continue to *succeeding generations*, and were not barely for the *present occasion*;

^r *Ikkarim*, part. 3. c. 16.

^t *Targum Jon. in Exod. xxi. 6.*

^u פסח מצרים פסח רורות

^u *Abravanel in legem*, fol. 150. col. 2.

so they were to continue no longer than the *Jewish* state or polity should continue. And it will be worth our while to observe, with what exactness this matter is delivered in the law of *Moses*. For these laws, which are said to be *for ever*, are said to be so in *their generations*, or *future ages*, as hath been explained, and in *their dwellings*: Which two expressions restrain that indefinite phrase of *for ever*, and confine it to the *Jewish country*, and *polity*. The law, which forbade the eating of fat and blood is called a perpetual statute; but then it follows *for your generations, throughout all your dwellings*, (Lev. iii. 17.) The eating of fat, which was forbid, was the fat of those beasts, which were admitted as sacrifices; (Levit. vii. 23, 25.) and when the sacrifices ceased, which were annexed to a certain place, this law ceased likewise. The law of afflicting their souls on the day of expiation is said to be a *statute for ever*, (Levit. xvi. 31.) But then this is confined by those expressions, in which it is said to be a statute *to them* throughout *their generations*, and in *all their dwellings*, (Levit. xxiii. 31.) The same restrictions we find annexed to the laws of the *sheaf of first-fruits*, (Levit. xxiii. 14.) Of the *two wave-loaves*, (Lev. xxiii. 17, 21.) The law of *burning the lamps*, (Lev. xxiv. 3.) Of *blowing the trumpets*, (Numb. 10. 8.) Of the *meat and drink-offering*, (Numb. xv. 15.) The service of the *Levites*, (Numb. xviii. 23.) Of the *priesthood of Aaron*, (Exod. xl. 15.) Of the priests abstaining from *wine and strong drink*, when they were in their ministration, (Levit. x. 9.) Of the offering of the blood at the door of the tabernacle, (Levit. xvii. 7.) These laws, however they are said to be statutes or ordinances for ever; yet are explained as they are confined to their generations, as they are all. GOD says of *Zion*, *This my rest for ever*, (Psal. cxxxii. 14) *Here will I dwell*. But as GOD hath for the sins of the *Jews* forsaken that place; so all those sacrifices and services annexed unto it did thereupon cease of themselves.

II. 'TIS pleaded, that, as an argument, that this law was to oblige for ever, it was provided, that nothing should be added to it, or taken from it. *Ye shall not add unto the words, which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it*, (Deut. iv. 2.) And hence it may be pretended, that this law being perfect is unalterable also. To which I answer;

1. THAT this law was given to the *Jews* only; GOD did not by that lay a restraint upon himself. They were not to add or diminish, according to their own pleasure, but GOD might do it, as seemed good to his wisdom; as food and nourishment is altered according to the capacity of those who receive it. * This *Joseph Albo* himself says in his argument, and upon occasion of this plea.

2. THAT as GOD in those words doth not restrain himself; so 'tis certain, that he hath declared that he would make ^y a new covenant; that he would once more shake ^z the heaven and the earth; that he would raise up another ^a prophet like unto *Moses*, and put his words in his mouth; and set up a kingdom ^b that shall never be destroyed; and bring in everlasting ^c righteousness; and make them an everlasting ^d covenant; and also that he would create new heavens ^e and a new earth, and that the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.

* Jos. Albo *Ikkarim*, p. 3. c. 14.
15, 18

^b Dan. ii. 44.

^c Dan. ix. 24.

^y Jer. xxxi. 31.

^d Isa. lv. 3.

^z Hag. ii. 6.

^e Isa. lxv. 17.

* Deut. xviii.

III. 'TIS pretended, that the devout *psalmist* says such great things of the law of GOD, as speak it to be unchangeable. He doth every where, upon all occasions, magnifie it : It would be endless to bring in the many things, which he says upon this argument. To which I answer ;

1. That, as to the *moral* precepts, we have no dispute with the *Jews*, but readily grant them to be unalterable : Certain it is that the *psalmist* doth not, when he magnifies the law, exclude these precepts.

2. THAT as to many of the *positive* institutions, which are called *statutes*, and *judgments*, or *testimonies*, these were such as did insinuate and commend some *moral* virtue ; such as were designed to keep the *Israelites* from idolatry ; and such as were shadows of some better thing to come. Upon which considerations it is no wonder, that the divine *psalmist* should, upon all occasions, speak great things of this law, which was given by *Moses*. The *political* laws were founded upon equity, suited to that people, that time and place ; and for the *rituals*, they had a spiritual meaning, and were many of them very instructive in moral or spiritual matters. Thus circumcision was a sign of GOD's covenant, a mark of their being dedicated to the true GOD, and that they were his property and peculiar ; and this cutting off their foreskin minded them of paring away their superfluity of naughtiness, or the evil ^f *superfluities of their mind*, as *Philo* the *Jew* expresth it. Their sacrifices were offered to GOD alone, and were accepted only, as they were signs of inward reverence toward GOD, of contrition for their sins, of gratitude, of faith, and hope in GOD, or as they had reference to something better. GOD expected that he, who laid his hands upon the head of the sacrifice, might from a good conscience be able to say, (as the same *Philo* expresth it) ^g *These hands have received no bribes, nor have they been polluted with innocent blood. They have not maimed any man, nor been used injuriously in wounding or oppression ; They have not ministred to lewd or vile actions, but have been employed in good or profitable things.* Their great and solemn feasts were commemorations of the divine bounty. Their laws about the fringes of their garments, and writing the law in their houses, were designed against idolatry. Their laws about cities of refuge, concerning dominion, purchasing, property, trespasses, were such as commanded justice and equity.

THERE ⁱ were also many of their positive laws, which recommended to the *Israelites* humanity, and mercy towards the destitute and miserable. Such were the law, by which they were in their wars obliged to offer peace, and to make no havock or waste of fruit-bearing-trees during a siege. Such were the laws about ^k the *forgotten sheaf*, and the *corner of the field*, and the *third years tithing*, and the ^l increase of the *sabbatical year*. All cruelty was forbidden ; to this purpose *blood* ^m was forbidden, and the killing a ⁿ *cow* or *ewe*, and their young in one day, the taking a *nest of* ^o *birds* and *dam* together, ^p the taking the *millstone* to pledge (with which they grinded bread, the support of life) and the ^q *muzzling* the ox, that trod out the corn. *Josephus* ^r observes, that the law, that obliged them to appear at *Jerusalem* three times a year, tended to maintain friendship and goodwill. And ^l that the law of the peace-offering, when it was for thanksgiving,

^f Ταῖς περιτὰς φύσεις τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν, *Philo. de victim. offerent.* ^g *Philo. Ibid.* ^h Deut. xx. 10, 19. ⁱ 'Οὐ δὲ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τὰ μὴ πολέμια. *Philo de charitate.* Deut. xv. 7. xxiv. 19. ^j Lev. xix. 9. ^k Deut. xiv. 28. ^l Lev. xxv. 4, 5, 6, 7. ^m Lev. xxii. 28. ⁿ Deut. xxii. 6, 7. ^o Deut. xxiv. 6. ^p Deut. xxv. 4. ^q *Joseph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 8. Ubi supra.* ^r Levit. vii. 15, 16.

by which the offerer was obliged to eat his portion of the offering, on the same day in which it was offered ; and in case it were for a vow or voluntary offering, it was to be eaten on the morrow at farthest, ^f did maintain and promote charity and hospitality. I need not add, that many other laws insinuated purity temperance and chastity, &c. Upon these considerations the *psalmist* might well magnifie the law of GOD, which yet doth by no means infer, that all the *political* and *ritual* precepts of that law were to oblige for ever.

3. To this purpose it is farther to be considered, that though the *psalmist* magnifies the law in general ; yet we do not find, that he lays any great stress upon particular rites and institutions absolutely and separately. As for *sacrifices*, he is so far from magnifying them upon their own account, that he speaks in diminution of them, and magnifies the *sacrifice* of *praise*, and of a *broken heart*. ^c As for outward *circumcision*, he doth not extoll it, as the *Jews* do in their publick offices ; nor doth he cry up the *washings* and *purifications* ^u that were bodily ; but a *clean heart* indeed he prays earnestly for ; and 'tis plain, that he contends for the inward *circumcision* of the mind. In a word, the *psalmist* magnifies the law, and had good reason so to do : but then he considers it, as fraught with moral precepts and spiritual instructions : And however it is certain that he took it for divine ; it doth not from hence follow, that it was altogether unchangeable.

IV. IF it be said in behalf of this law, that the *Jews* prospered, when they obeyed it, and that all their miseries were owing to their disobedience ; I answer

1. THAT this is only an argument, that this law came from GOD, who did foretell the miseries, which would befall the *Jews* for their disobedience. Of this we have no controversy with the *Jews* at all.

2 BUT there is no reason to conclude from hence, that this law was to continue for ever. The *Jews* were obliged to obey it, whiles it did oblige them ; it follows not from this, that it was to continue.

V. IT may be pleaded, that upon the ceasing of the spirit of prophecy in *Israel*, and in the very close of the canon of the old Testament, the *Jews* are put in mind to adhere to the law of *Moses*. *Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded to him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments* ; (Malach. iv. 4.) By which it appears, that the *Jews* were obliged, not only to the *moral* precepts, but to the *positive institutions*, called by the prophet the *statutes* and *judgments*. To which I answer

1. THAT there was great reason for those words of the prophet, *Remember ye the law of Moses*, &c. This, though it do not infer the perpetuity of that law ; was yet at that time a very seasonable admonition, whether we look back upon the time *past*, or forward upon the time *to come*.

As for the time *past*, it is to be considered, that the *Jews* were but newly returned from the captivity of *Babylon*, into their own *land*. They were sent to *Babylon* for the breach of this law ; whiles they were there, it was in a great measure unpracticable, because many of its precepts were an-

^f Theodoret. in Levit. qu. 6.

^c Psalm li. 14, 15, 17.

^u Psalm li. 10.

nexed to their own *land*; when they returned, they were ignorant of their law, and some of them seem not so much as to understand the language, in which 'twas written, (*Nehemiah* viii. 8.) Besides, they continued in the breach of it, even after their return; By *usury* and oppression; (*Neh.* v. 10.) By profaning the *sabbath*; (*Neh.* xiii. 15.) By *strange* and forbidden *marriages*; (*Neh.* xiii. 23. with *Ezr.* ix. 2.) So that they still *forsook the commandment*; (*Ezr.* ix. 10.) Besides all this, this prophet *Malachy* complains of their *ingratitude*, (*Chap.* i. 2.) Of their *profaneness*, (*Ver.* 12.) Of their *idolatry*, (*Ch.* ii. 11.) Of their *treachery* and *unbelief*, (*Ch.* ii. 14, 17.) Of their *rebellion*, *sacrilege*, and *insolence*, (*Ch.* ii. 7, 8, 13.) Upon the whole matter then, nothing could be more reasonable than this admonition, *Remember ye the law of Moses, &c.*

AND as for the time *to come*, 'tis certain (and the *Jews* confess it) that from the time of *Malachy* prophecy ceased in the land of *Israel*. These prophets had continued from the times of *Moses*, and the *Jewish* writings tell us, who they were who prophesied in the several ages successively. They ^x were of great use to the *Jews*, and warned them upon all occasions, both of their *duty* and their *danger*. Henceforth, when prophecy should cease, nothing could be more reasonable, than to mind them, to attend to the written word of GOD; *Remember the law of Moses, &c.*

2. WHAT follows in the prophet *Malachy* doth help to clear this difficulty, and convince us not only, that this law is not of perpetual obligation, but how long it was to endure at farthest. *Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful* (or illustrious) *day of the LORD*, (*Malach.* iv. 5.) That this promise of *Elijah* was fulfilled in *John the Baptist*, I have elsewhere proved; and shewed consequently upon that, that, by the great and illustrious day of the LORD, is meant the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, and the dissolution of the *Jewish* polity. Upon the whole matter then, we see the extent of the obligation of the *Mosaical* institutions, to the coming of this *Elijah* (*The law and the prophets were until John*, *Luke* xvi. 16.) or at the utmost to the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the temple, the dissipation of the *Jewish* polity, and the dispersion of that people. Then, at farthest, the political and ritual laws, given to the *Jews* and annexed to that land, would cease of themselves.

THE sense of the fourth and fifth verses of this fourth chapter of *Malachy* may be taken in this following paraphrase; q. d. *Since for your disobedience to the law of Moses ye have been captives in Babylon, and have not since your return been reduced to due obedience thereunto, which bodes you some future calamity; And seeing that you are not like to enjoy prophets to remind you of your duty, as ye enjoyed them in former ages; see that ye keep strictly to the laws and institutions of Moses: And be assured of this, that I will in due time send you one in the spirit of Elijah, to supply the defect of prophecy among you: And this person shall appear some time before the destruction of your polity, and dispersion of your nation, when a final end will be put to the positive institutions of Moses, which in the mean time you are inviolably to observe and adhere to.*

^x 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16.

VI. 'TIS a weak pretence to this purpose, that this law is called *an inheritance* ; (Deut. xxxiii. 4.) which supposeth, that it was to descend and continue.

THE answer is easie from the very words, where this law is called so : For 'tis called the *inheritance of the congregation of Jacob*. 'Twas to continue ; I grant it : But no longer than the *Jewish* polity continued. It was a law ; but no longer than they, to whom 'twas given, were a *people*. They are now no commonwealth or kingdom : No wonder then, that their *political* laws should cease, when their *polity* is destroyed ; and that their *rituals* should receive an end, when there is no room left for the practice of them.

VII. BUT 'tis urged by the *Jews* with much fairer shew in behalf of their law, that our JESUS said, That *he did not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil* : And, that *till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled*, (Matt. v. 17, 18.) To this I answer

I. THAT when JESUS says, he did not come to destroy the law and prophets, but to fulfil, he speaks of the *moral* precepts of it ; which he was so far from removing, that he required of his followers a greater degree of sanctity than the bare letter imported, and than the greatest contenders for it had arrived unto. He required an inward and spiritual obedience to these precepts. Let any man but read that chapter, where these words are found, and he will find great cause to believe, that JESUS speaks there of the *moral* law. For besides that he puts his followers all along that chapter upon the practice of these precepts, he quotes several precepts of the *decatalogue*, and requires an inward and spiritual obedience to them. And there being no doubt of the perpetuity of this law, I need not give any other answer to this objection. For our LORD fulfilled this law, when by his doctrine he gained the great end of it, *viz.* the highest pitch of sanctity, the greatest love of GOD and of our neighbour, which is the drift and sum of the *law* and the *prophets*. But that there may be no room left for cavil, I shall shew, how our LORD might be said also to fulfil the *ritual* and *political* law, and how his words may be understood without any need of inferring the perpetuity of these laws. Wherefore

2 FOR the *ritual* or *ceremonial* laws, our SAVIOUR was so far from destroying them, that he fulfilled them. That is, he obeyed them himself, and brought men by his holy doctrines to all that purity and sanctity, which the laws concerning sacrifices and purifications did insinuate and typifie : Besides, these laws that were *typical* were fulfilled in *him* the *antitype* ; and thus he fulfilled the *prophets* also, as the prophecies before were in the event fulfilled in *him*. There was not the minutest prophecy that concerned either the birth, or kindred, or life, or sufferings of the MESSIAS ; but what was fulfilled in our JESUS. 'Tis true, JESUS used no violence to pull down the ritual law of *Moses* ; he did not come to *destroy*. But he was the *substance* of the legal shadows ; he made good in the event of things the prophetic predictions, he gained all the spiritual ends of those carnal precepts ; and so might well be said not to destroy, but to fulfil. But all this doth not speak the perpetuity of those laws :

laws : For they fell of themselves, when the temple fell ; and when the *Gentiles* were received into the church of GOD, those determining and discriminating laws, like a partition-wall, fell without any violent hand to tumble them down.

3. As for the *political* laws, JESUS did not come to destroy, but to fulfil them. These laws were designed for that people, and during the continuance of that polity ; the end of these laws was the common good and safety of the community. Our LORD transgressed none of these laws : He on the other hand taught a doctrine so good and profitable to kingdoms and polities, that the practice of those precepts will gain the end of the best political laws. His laws tend to the security of governments, the peace of the people, and the flourishing condition of all polities and publick societies.

THE great end of all these laws was to make men better, and to make them happy. Our LORD by his laws hath laid a foundation for gaining this great end : and he that doth so, may be truly said not to *destroy* but to *fulfil*. There are in these positive precepts of *Moses* two things to be considered, *viz.* First, the *rites* and *ceremonies* therein prescribed ; with respect to these barely considered this law of *Moses* is said to be a ^a *carnal commandment* : But then the *scope* and *end* of this law is also to be considered, and with respect to this end this law is called *spiritual*, because that was the ultimate end and purpose of it. Now certain it is, that as JESUS yielded obedience to the *rites* and *ceremonies* of *Moses*, and did no violence to that law, as it was a carnal commandment, and so might truly be said *not to destroy* ; so, as he gained the great *end* of that law, and brought men over to the *spiritual* and inward meaning of it, he might truly be said to *fulfil* it. The law then, receiving this accomplishment in our LORD JESUS, 'tis no wonder, that our SAVIOUR should say, that, *till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled*. The meaning of which words is this, that heaven and earth should as soon pass away, as the least part of the law or prophets should fail to receive its due accomplishment.

AND now 'tis no wonder at all, that JESUS should obey the law of *Moses* ; that he should shew that *respect*, which he did to those positive institutions ; that he should give a deference to the *Aaronical* priests, observe the rites of the passover, and regard the sabbath ; or that the apostles should have a great regard to the *Jews* in their council at *Jerusalem*. All these things do not prove the perpetuity of the laws of *Moses* ; they only confirm what our SAVIOUR says, that he did not come to *destroy*, but to *fulfil*. These laws expired of themselves, when the *Jews* ceased to be a polity, and the church of GOD.

VIII. As for what is pretended from the *parable*, in behalf of this law of *Moses*, *viz.* that the rich-man's brethren are referred unto it, as a means by which they might be preserved from future misery ; I answer,

1. THAT they are not referred barely to the *ritual*, and *political*, and *positive constitutions*, but to *Moses* and the *prophets* : Now *Moses* and

^a Heb. vii. 16. with Rom. vii. 14.

the *prophets* were fraught with many excellent precepts of *morality*, serving greatly the use of life.

3. THAT *Moses* and the *prophets* were the rule, by which the *Jews* were to govern themselves during the oeconomy of *Moses*: But because they were, whilst those laws stood in force, to govern themselves by them, it doth not thence follow, that all those laws shall oblige for ever.

IX. THE pretence from the words of St. *Paul* is of greater moment; he saith, that he is so far from making void the law by faith, that he adds these words, *Yea, we establish the law*, (Rom. iii. 31.) Now if the doctrine of justification by faith, without the works of the law, doth not make it void; nay, if it be so far from making it void, that it doth rather establish it, the law is in force still, and of perpetual obligation. To which I answer,

1. THAT the doctrine of justification by faith doth not make void the law, as by the law is meant the *moral* law, or that part of the law of *Moses*, which obligeth men to piety towards GOD, to justice and charity, to humility and temperance, &c. Because a lively and justifying faith requires all that piety and goodness, which that law required. Nay, we are so far from being discharged from our obedience to those *moral* precepts, that we are obliged to obey them from higher considerations, than were expressly made known to the *Jews* (such as the threats of hell, and promise of eternal life) and in a more refined and spiritual sense than the letter of the law, and interpretation of the carnal *Jews* amounted to. It is not enough that we do not swear falsely; We are not allowed to swear by any creature; or in our ordinary conversation to swear at all, even when we do it to confirm a truth. So far are we by the doctrine of faith from being allowed to shed our brother's blood, that we may not be angry with him without a cause, call him an empty fellow, or represent him as a wicked man or fool, without the greatest danger to our selves. And so far are we, by this doctrine of justification by faith alone, from being allowed to commit adultery, that we may not look on a woman to lust after her. And as for justice, humanity, and acts of mercy, we are taught not to restrain these things to our own country-men, or those of our own religion only (as the *Jews* too commonly did) but we are obliged to be just and kind to all the world, and to call every other man our neighbour. Indeed, the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without the works of the law, may be so grossly misunderstood, as thereby to render those moral precepts of *Moses* useless and void: But then our holy religion allows not of such a doctrine. For we own the necessity of a most holy life, and all manner of works of piety, justice and mercy, (*Matt.* xxv. 35. *2 Cor.* v. 10. *Tit.* ii. 11, 12.

2. THIS doctrine of faith is so far from destroying this law, that 'tis accompanied with grace and power enabling men to obey these precepts; and to do this more exactly and universally, than was ever done before. The law it self was destitute of this power and divine assistance: It required obedience; but it did not enable men to obey: The effusion of the HOLY GHOST was a blessing reserved to the days of the MESSIAS; the prophets of old foretold it, and our JESUS made it good. The gospel is the *ministration of the spirit*: On the other hand the law was weak; it

it directed men to obedience, but it did not assist them powerfully in the performance. Of this matter † I have discoursed elsewhere. That, which helps us to obey the law, is so far from making it void, that it may be truly said to establish it. And this the doctrine of faith doth.

3. THE doctrine of faith is so far from making the very *typical* and *ritual* law void, that it rather doth *establish* it, as it exhibits and represents to us the *substance* of those things, of which the law had but the *types* and *shadows*. Hence it is, that the gospel or doctrine of faith, in opposition to the law, is called † *truth*.

4 THE doctrine of faith, or the *christian* religion delivered in the gospel, is so far from making the law and the prophets void, that 'tis the verification and completion of those testimonies, which are there to be found of the MESSIAS, and of those things, which were to be fulfilled in him. This I have proved at large † elsewhere. And this the apostle observes, (Rom. iii. 21.) *But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets.*

As for the political, or commonwealth laws, 'tis evident, that the apostle doth not in this place refer to them. They were not the laws of the *Jews* considered as a *church*, but as a *polity*: They must cease, when the *Jews* ceased to be a people, or body politick; and had no concern in their justification as sinners.

AND for the words of *Isaiah*, (Chap. lix. 21.) They serve not the purpose of the *Jews*, they being an express promise referring to the days of the MESSIAS, as is evident from the foregoing words, *And the redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the LORD. And as for me, this is my covenant, &c.*

THUS have I proved, that the law of *Moses* is not of perpetual obligation.

† Part I. cap. ult.

† John i. 14i

† Part I. chap. 10i





C H A P. II.

The C O N T E N T S.

Prophecies of the peaceable times of the MESSIAS. The Jews affirm, that these are not fulfilled in the days of JESUS. They also alledge the words of JESUS, Matth. x. 34. JESUS and his religion defended against this charge. The import of the foregoing prophecies. How far those prophecies have been fulfilled already. What ground we have to believe, that those prophecies will be farther fulfilled. Dan. ii. 44. considered; as also. Dan. vii. Matth. x. 34. considered at large, and compared with a parallel place, Luke xii. 5.

THERE are many prophecies in the old Testament concerning the peaceable times of the MESSIAS: And the Jews do very frequently upbraid us Christians with our quarrels and wars; and from thence they^a infer, that our JESUS is not the Christ that was to come. It must be confessed, that the prophets do foretell, that there should be abundance of peace in the days of the MESSIAS: That then men^b should beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. The^c wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together: And the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp; and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice-den. Such a change shall be made, that those, who before were fierce and furious, shall be then gentle and harmless: And this temper shall prevail, and extend, as far as the christian church shall extend: It follows,^d *They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.* The MESSIAS himself is called the^e prince of peace: And it follows, *Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.* 'Tis expressly said, that in the day of the MESSIAS,^f *They shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid. For the mouth of the LORD of hosts hath spoken it.* Moreover 'tis said of the

^a Nizachon vet. p. 96. Rambam Disputat. cum fratre Paulo p. 41. R. Isaac Chizuk. Emun. l. 1. p. 43.
^b Fortalitium Fidei de bello Judæorum. l. 3. ^c Isa. ii. 4. ^d Isa. xi. 6, 7, 8. ^e Ver. 9.
^f Isa. ix. 6, 7. ^g Micah. iv. 4.

MESSIAS, that he ^g *should speak peace unto the heathen*. I might reckon upon more prophecies to this purpose.

BUT how were these predictions (will the *Jew* say) fulfilled in our JESUS? His followers were not only persecuted from the beginning by the *Jews*, but afterward by the *Gentiles* also: And when they were freed from their avowed enemies, they fell foul upon one another. They have been divided into parties and factions; and by their quarrels and bloody wars have weakened themselves, and render'd themselves an easie prey to the common enemy. The church of CHRIST hath been so far from not learning war any more, that those very men, that have claimed the title of *catholick* and most *christian*, have troubled the world with quarrels and contentions, and shed the blood of the followers of JESUS.

NAY furthermore (will ^h the *Jew* say) JESUS himself (to whose times his followers apply the foregoing prophecies of the peaceable times of the MESSIAS) disowns, that he came to introduce peace in the world. For he saith, ⁱ *Think not, that I am come to send peace on earth; I am not come to send peace, but a sword: For I am come to set a man at variance against his father; and the daughter against her mother; and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household*. How can this consist with that account, which the prophets give of the times of the MESSIAS, and of *Elias*, who was to be his fore-runner; Of whom it is expressly foretold, that ^k *he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers*.

IT will well become us to consider this matter with due application of mind; since 'tis an objection against our whole religion, and which is formed against JESUS the author of it.

IN order to my better proceeding and speaking to this matter, I shall use the following method.

First, I WILL defend JESUS and his holy religion against the charge brought against them in the objection mentioned above.

Secondly, I WILL more particularly reflect upon the import of those prophecies, out of which this objection is formed.

Thirdly, I WILL shew, how far these predictions have been already fulfilled.

Fourthly, I WILL also shew, what ground we have to hope, that there will come a time, when they will be farther fulfilled.

Fifthly, I WILL consider our SAVIOUR's words, (*Matth. x. 34.*)

Lastly, I WILL make some reflections upon the whole, which may be of use to all of us, who profess *Christianity*.

I. I WILL defend JESUS and his holy religion against the charge brought against them in the objection before mentioned.

AS to JESUS, certain it is, that he ought not to be charged as a disturber of the peace of the world: We have a different account of him.

FOR he was so far from invading the rights of princes, that he was content to be subject to the powers, that were then in being; and whatever their titles were, he was so far from calling them into question, that he paid

^g Zech. ix. 10.

^h V MS. Lusitan. 132 & 152.

ⁱ Matth. x. 34.

^k Mal. iv. 6.

a ready

a ready obedience, and taught his followers so to do. His enemies did insinuate, indeed, as if he had affected a kingdom; and made use of that pretence to take away his life. But that was malice and spite: And though *Pilate*, in the inscription which he put upon the cross, called him ^l *king of the Jews*; yet the same *Pilate*, after he had discoursed this matter with him, did profess that he could find no fault in him. Farther still, our SAVIOUR paid tribute-mony ^m which strictly was not due from him; and whereas he had not wherewith to pay it; yet to avoid offence and the suspicion of disobedience, he would work a *miracle*. As to this matter JESUS was sufficiently tried. The *Pharisees* sent their insidious disciples on purpose to catch him, and to entangle him if it might be. They pursue their design with great craft: ⁿ *Master* (say they) *we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of GOD in truth, neither carest thou for any man; for thou regardest not the person of men.* Thus slyly and craftily do they address to our LORD; their main question follows, *Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar or not?* A nice argument this was: Many things a witty man might say in the negative. *Caesar* was an heathen, a foreigner, and an usurper: The *Jews* were under a *Theocracy*; and ^o when they were allowed to choose a king, they were obliged to choose one of their own nation: And he also was set apart by the holy oyl, or his succession was render'd unquestionable by his family, and his primogeniture. But JESUS is not to be wheedled by these crafty men. He called for a *Roman* coin, and from the image it bore, tells them their duty both of paying tribute, and all other dues to *Caesar*: He doth not resist that power, that was used amiss against himself, nor suffer his disciple to use his sword. So far was he from questioning the government, and from disturbing it. And as he did not disturb the *state*; so was he far from any thing, that spake him an enemy to *peace*.

As to the *church*: He was far from making any *schism* or *rent* in it. The temple of the *Jews* was shortly to fall, and the appendant rites with it; but JESUS doth not animate his followers to hasten their ruin. And though the priesthood, that was *Aaronical*, was near its end, and the priests were bad men; yet doth he not invade their rights and properties: He is so far from it, that, when he himself had cleansed the leper, he bids him ^p *shew himself to the priest, and offer the gift, that Moses commanded.* He was not only perfectly obedient to the ordinances of *Moses*, but he complied without disputing with the innocent rites and usages, which were used among the *Jews*, tho' they were not required of them by the letter of the law of *Moses*. He did not only go to the feasts, which were prescribed by the law, but to that of the ^q *dedication*, which was introduced in *after times*. He was not only circumcised according to the *Jewish* law; but, when he was about the age of thirty years, he was baptized also by *John* the *Baptist*, according to the usage, which then prevailed. He complied with the rites that were innocent, though introduced without the warrant of the letter of the law. Thus we find, that he ^r *sung an hymn* at the close of the passover, and did eat it sitting, or at least in the posture of those, who did eat at their meals, though neither of these were required

^l John xviii. 37, 38.
14, 15.

^m Matth. viii. 4.

ⁿ Matth. xvii. 14, &c.
^o John x. 22.

^p Matth. xxii. 15.
^q Matth. xxvi. 30.

^r Deut. xvii.

by the law, or recommended by the example of those, who did eat the first passover in *Egypt*.

JESUS was a great example of those virtues, which tend to the begetting and promoting peace in the world. He led an innocent and harmless, an useful and profitable life. He went about doing good, and obliging mankind. He did no injury, and frankly forgave those who were his enemies. He was profoundly humble, meek and lowly in heart, patient and content : He had a great concern and charity for others ; but pursued no worldly design of his own. No man can justly charge him as unpeaceable.

AND for his holy *religion*, 'tis like its author ; not only *pure*, but *peaceable* also.

THE *principles* and doctrines of it tend to peace and unity, not only as it commends the worship of one GOD, and the acknowledging but one mediator ; but also as it teacheth us, that ^t there is but one *body*, and one *spirit*, one *hope* of eternal life, but one LORD, one *faith*, one *baptism*, as well as one GOD and Father of all, who is *above all*, and *through all*, and *in all*. Here are great endearments to each other, and a foundation laid in the *christian* doctrine for the most lasting peace and unity. We are members of the same mystical body : ^t *We are one body in CHRIST, and every one members one of another*. Though ^u we are otherwise *many*, yet are we *one body*, and that too ^x the *body* of CHRIST, and *members in particular*. But there is one *Spirit* also. ^y *For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body*. We have the *same* hope, and ought therefore to have the same aim, and the same heart. Our LORD and our *faith*, as well as our *baptism*, our GOD and *Father* are one. This is the doctrine of our holy religion, the very articles whereof recommend to us peace and unity, and great care and tenderness for one another.

AND so do its *positive institutions* also. By *baptism* we are enter'd into CHRIST's church, and made members of his mystical body : Hence we are become obliged to ^z *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*. And 'tis very fitly applied by the apostle to that purpose.

AND as for the other sacrament of the LORD's *supper*, 'tis the greatest instrument of peace and unity imaginable. The very outward symbols insinuate this unity, the end of its institution recommends it, and the hope of benefit by it exacts it at our hands. 'Tis a feast of love, a commemoration of the greatest charity of our LORD and master, and of the propitiation, which he made by the sacrifice of himself. We are not fit for it, if we be not perfectly reconciled to each other ; we shall in such a case be so far from receiving any benefit from it, that we shall bring a curse upon our selves. We must purge out the leaven of malice : If we be sowed with it, we shall eat and drink damnation to our selves.

AND as for the *precepts* of the *christian* religion, they directly tend to the procuring and promoting *peace* and *unity*.

THESE things are recommended in our holy religion as our duty. Our SAVIOUR pronounceth a ^a blessing upon the *peace-maker* : And we are elsewhere required, ^b *if it be possible, as much as lieth in us, to live*

^t Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6.
xii. 13.

^z Eph. iv. 3.

^t Rom. xii. 5.

^a Matth. v. 9.

^u 1 Cor. x. 17.

^b Rom. xii. 18.

^x Cor. xii. 27.

^y Cor.

peaceably with all men : And to ^c follow after the things which make for peace : And that ^d we study to be quiet ; and seek peace and ensue it.

AND with respect to the church, we are required to preserve the peace and unity of it : *† To speak the same thing, that there be no divisions or schisms, but that we be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment ; we are to take great care, that ^f nothing be done through strife or vain glory : That we be ^g like-minded, that we ^h may with one mind, and one mouth glorifie GOD. There is a mark upon those that separate themselves ; and 'tis expressly commanded, that we should not ⁱ forsake the assembling our selves together.*

MOREOVER, our holy religion is full of such precepts, as tend to the procuring and promoting peace in the world. Such are the precepts, that require us to do justly, and as we would be done by : To shew mercy to the miserable ; to be kind and courteous, and tender-hearted ; to be contented with what we have, and patient and meek, of an humble and lowly heart ; to seek heaven and spiritual things, and to be loose to this world. These things tend to peace.

AND so do such as follow : The doing no wrong, and speaking evil of no man : The forgiving and forbearing each other. The doing our own business : The labouring honestly to get our own bread : The being subject to higher powers. We are also commanded to be gentle to all men, to forbear threatening, rash and long anger, and all censuring and judging our brother : To be converted and become as little children ; not to put our selves before other men, nor seek the highest places.

As we hope for the kingdom of heaven, we are obliged to obey these precepts ; and as we would avoid eternal and unspeakable misery.

But I proceed to consider,

II. THE import of those prophecies out of which this objection is formed. And for the better comprehending this matter I shall desire, that the following particulars may be considered.

1. THAT these predictions do foretell the *tendency* of the gospel : And that it doth tend towards peace and concord, I have abundantly shewed before. And if the MESSIAS be called the *prince of peace*, I have sufficiently made it appear, that our JESUS was a conspicuous example of peaceableness and good will. It is very certain, that the *example* and the *doctrine* of JESUS were such, as, if they were complied with, they would introduce peace and good will among men. And that may well be predicted as a thing, which will come to pass, when it naturally follows from what did really come to pass. GOD by sending JESUS into the world made way for that peace, which the prophets predicted ; and that might well be predicted as an *event*, when care was taken to bring those things to pass, from whence it should result. ^k *I have purged thee* (says GOD to Israel) *and thou wast not purged*, i. e. All was done, that was fit on GOD's part towards the purging them ; but yet through their own neglect they were not purged in the event of things.

2. THESE words of the prophets do also declare the *duty* of all those, who embrace the doctrine of the MESSIAS. ^l *They shall beat their*

^c Rom. xiv. 19.
^e Rom. xv. 5.

^d 1 Thess. iv. 11.
^h Jud. xix.

^e 1 Pet. iii. 11.
ⁱ Heb. x. 25.

[†] 1 Cor. i. 10.
^k Ezek. xxiv. 13.

^f Phil. ii. 3.
^l Isa. xi. 4.

swords

swords into plow-shraes: Neither shall they learn war any more. The expression (as it lies in the *Hebrew*) doth not necessarily imply the event, it may be enough that it intimates the *duty* of them, who are spoken of. And to that purpose we are to consider, that after the words above named (*Isa. xi. 4.*) there follows an exhortation to our duty (*v. 5.*) *O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the LORD.*

3. THESE prophecies are to be understood to extend no farther, than true *Christianity* should be received and spread in the world. For they being predictions of the days of the MESSIAS, are to be confined to his kingdom in the world. Now certain it is, that the power of *Christianity* hath not prevailed over the world, since it was first made known: And where this religion hath been professed, yet it hath been a bare and empty title. And as that alone gives us no right to the blessings of *Christianity*; so it cannot be enough to secure peace and unity among the professors of it. But as we hope for the advancement of CHRIST'S kingdom (of which I shall speak afterwards) so we have reason to believe, that peace and unity will prevail more and more. *They will not hurt or destroy, when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.* We doubt not of an universal peace; but that must not be expected, till the kingdom of CHRIST shall first spread it self over the world. In the days of the MESSIAS shall the *righteous flourish, and abundance of peace, so long as the moon endureth*: But this is not to be expected, till that blessed time shall come, *when he shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth,* (*Psal. lxxii. 7, 8.*) Then will the *chariot and the horse and the battle-bow* be cut off, and then shall he *speake peace to the heathen* (*Zech. ix. 10.*) We are not to expect peace without righteousness: When that returns, and the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of CHRIST, we justly expect abundance of peace: *When judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field. Then the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever.* And then shall the people of GOD dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings and in quiet resting places, (*Isa. xxxii. 16.*)

IT is enough, that these predictions be made good in any part of the days of the MESSIAS. 'Tis said, indeed, that these things shall be in the *last days*, by which expression is meant the days of the MESSIAS: But it is all one, as to the main question, whether these things happen in the beginning of the days of the MESSIAS, in the middle, or not till the end of his days. Whatever happens within the compass of *his* kingdom, may be said to come to pass in the *last days*.

FOR though all the time of the MESSIAS, with respect to the oeconomy of *Moses*, and the *Jewish* polity, is called the *last days*; yet is this no objection against what I am now pleading for: Because whatever happens in any part of the days of the MESSIAS, must be allowed to come to pass in the *last days*; and if it come to pass toward the end of that period of time, it doth more peculiarly belong to the *last days*. For the days of the MESSIAS take in a great period of time: And though

■ Abravenel in *Dan* fol. 80,

days of MESSIAS should continue before the resurrection ; yet it is allowed by several of them, that his days should continue some thousands of years. And as what falls out in any part of his time, may be said to fall out in the last days ; so what comes to pass towards the end of it, may more especially be said so to do. Supposing then any part of the predictions concerning the peaceable days of the MESSIAS not yet to be fulfilled, this will be no objection against JESUS, or his *religion* : Because they may yet be further accomplished before the expiration of that period of time, within the compass whereof they were to come to pass. For as it is no objection against the ancient prophecies, that some of them are not yet fulfilled, (as the *Jews* do own *they* are not, which foretell their deliverance and restoration) because they may yet be accomplished : So is it no objection against JESUS, that some things are not yet fully accomplished, that were to happen in some part or other of the days of the MESSIAS.

III. I SHALL shew, how far these predictions have been already fulfilled.

THAT they have in a good measure been fulfilled is undeniable. Before the coming of JESUS, and the planting his holy religion in the world, there were great heats, and feuds, and distances, and many wars and contentions in the world. The *Jews* were hated and detested by the *Gentiles* ; and they by the *Jews* no better esteemed than dogs. They stood at a great distance, and were separated by certain rites and institutions, which kept up that distance and separation from each other. This ⁿ enmity was removed by the *death* and *doctrine* of JESUS, who made peace not only between GOD and man, but also between the *Jew* and *Gentile* : He threw down the wall of partition, that did separate them from each other. The fore-runner of JESUS did by his doctrine dispose men for peace ; and so did JESUS, as hath been seen. And this was effected after the day of *Pentecost*, when the HOLY GHOST was poured forth miraculously upon the followers of JESUS. Then all believers (whatever their distances were before) kept close together, and had all things in common : they continued with ^o *one accord*. And after this we read, that the ^p *multitude of them that believed, were of one heart and of one soul*.

AND when GOD had fully declared his mind, that he would receive the *Gentiles* into his church, the *Jews* on that account ^a *glorified* GOD, saying, *Then hath GOD also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life*. And the *Gentiles* on the other hand abundantly shewed their kindness to the *Jews*. They sent great relief to their poor, and entertained them with the greatest humanity and kindness.

THE first *Christians* were pointed at for their singular love to one another, and however they were by some evil men traduced as disturbers of the world, were notwithstanding very remarkable for their peaceable temper and conversation.

THEY disturbed not the quiet of the places where they lived : They submitted to the powers that were in being. Their holy religion render'd them modest and inoffensive : Whatever they were before they embraced *Christianity*, they were after that gentle and innocent. The *wolf* be-

ⁿ Eph. ii. 15.

^o Acts ii. 42, 44, 46.

^p Acts iv. 32.

^a Acts xi. 18.

came a *lamb*, the *leopard* a *kid*, and the devouring *lion* as gentle as a *calf*. Let us hear what ^r some of the ancient writers report of this matter. *Justin the Martyr* tells us, what a change *Christianity* made as to this matter. Οἱ μισῶντες ἑκ ἀλλήλων, &c. *We* (says he) *that hated and murdered each other, and who, by our rules, which obtained among us, refused to eat at a common table with strangers, now, after the appearing of CHRIST, are conversing familiarly together, and praying for our enemies, and endeavouring to pacify those that unjustly hate us, that they, living according to the excellent precepts of CHRIST, may with us have good hope to partake of good things from GOD the great LORD of the universe.* Before the coming of *CHRIST*, the world was full of war and slaughter: But from the days of *Augustus* (when *JESUS* was born) the case was far otherwise, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ, &c. i. e. *From that time* (says *Eusebius*) ^t *to this* (speaking of his own time) *we see not, as formerly, cities and nations fighting with each other, nor our lives worn out with hurry or disturbance: Who may not therefore justly wonder, that when of old the devils tyrannized over mankind, and were greatly worshipped by them, that then, as possessed by them, they were furiously engaged in war with each other: So that the Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians and Romans fell into wars within themselves. They captivated and besieged their own country-men, as ancient stories report. But* (says he) *by the appearing of the holy and most peaceable doctrine of our SAVIOUR, the error of polytheism was destroyed, and an end was put to the mischiefs of dissensions; which I judge* (says he) *to be a great demonstration of the divine and unspeakable power of our SAVIOUR.*

To what hath been said I may add, that as upon the birth of *JESUS*, the angel brought ^t *the tidings of great joy to all people*, and the heavenly host praised *GOD*, and said, *Glory to GOD in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men*; so did *JESUS* leave his peace with his followers upon his leaving the world. ^u *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: Not as the world giveth, give I unto you.* And as he left his peace to his followers; so do they enjoy it. All that are truly such, do live in peace and love it: And whatever disturbances they meet with from abroad, they are at peace among themselves: They have ^x *peace with GOD*, and with each other, and are possessed with an inward peace, which passeth all understanding.

IV. *Fourthly*, I PROCEED to shew, what ground we have to hope, that there will come a time, when the predictions of the peaceable days of the MESSIAS will be farther fulfilled. But before I proceed, I shall premise.

(I.) THAT I do not lay the stress of the whole cause between the *Christians* and *Jews* upon this ground of a farther completion of the prophecies above-named. We have ground enough to believe, that *JESUS* is the *CHRIST*, without it. For as the *Jews* had sufficient ground to believe *Moses*, as a prophet sent by *GOD*, before his prediction of the *Jews* dispersion came to pass; so have we to believe *JESUS*, supposing some promises relating to the more peaceable state of the church not yet made good. And therefore I do not urge this matter, as that whereon the stress of the question lies.

^r *Apolog. pro Christ.* l. 2. ^t *Prepar.* l. 1. c. 4. ^u *Luke* ii. 10, 14. ^x *John* xiv. 27. ^y *Rom.* v. 1.

(2.) I DO not therefore think my self obliged operosely to treat of this argument : For besides that the main of the cause doth not depend upon it, this would be too great a digression in this place : For this argument alone would take up a volume. Besides, there are many *Christians*, that have done it already ; and others, I hope, are pursuing the same excellent design.

(3.) THAT, notwithstanding what hath been said, the shewing, that we have ground to hope for a more peaceable and prosperous state of the church, will be of good use in this controversie between us and the *Jews*. For as such a state, when it happens, will be of use to silence the *Jews*, and take from them the occasion of their upbraiding us with our wars and dissensions ; so will the good ground of this belief very much abate the force of their pretensions against our religion upon that account. And whatever effect it may have upon the *Jews*, it will be of good use to those weak *Christians*, who are at present greatly offended at the sad and deformed condition of the church of CHRIST.

UPON these considerations, it is fit something should be said of this matter ; though I am not oblig'd to enlarge upon it.

IT is highly probable, that these predictions will be farther fulfilled, if it be duly considered,

I. WHAT we read to this purpose in the ancient prophets. Great things indeed are foretold of the peaceable days of the MESSIAS, which may farther be fulfilled. 'Tis foretold of the days of the MESSIAS, That they shall ^y not learn war any more ; that ^z they shall not hurt nor destroy. The MESSIAS is not only called the ^a prince of peace ; but it follows, of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end. ^b There will come a time not only when judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, &c. But when the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever ; when the people of GOD shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places. GOD hath said ; ^c I will rejoyce in Jerusalem, and joy in my people, and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her. ^d The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like a bullock, and dust shall be the serpent's meat. Again, ^e I will extend peace to her like a river. Great indeed are GOD's promises made to his church. That ^f he will be her everlasting light, and that the days of her mourning shall be ended ; that she shall ^g be no more troubled with a pricking brier, or grieving thorn ; and be ^h no more a prey. These are indeed glorious promises : Such as speak the great peace and security of GOD's people. They were never made good to the *Jewish* people : They were in great troubles, both from the *Babylonians*, and after their captivity among them : They were at last a prey to the *Roman* power, and continue in exile ever since. These promises then are still to be made good, according to the *Jewish* principles. Supposing then these promises were made to the *Jewish* church (which is by no means to be granted exclusively to the *Christian*) yet were they never fulfilled to that people, to whom they are supposed to be made. And yet their not being fulfilled will not be allowed to be any objection against the truth of the *Jewish* religion. And if

^y Isa. xi. 4.
^d Isa. lxxv. 25.

^z Isa. xi. 9.
^e Isa. lxxvi. 12.

^a Isa. ix. 6, 7.
^f Isa. lx. 20.

^b Isa. xxxii. 16, 17, 18.
^g Ezek. xxviii. 24.

^c Isa. lxxv. 19.
^h Ezek. xxxiy. 22.

it be not, why should it be any objection against *Christianity*, supposing them to belong to the days of the MESSIAS? In a word, these promises belong to the days of the MESSIAS, or they do not. If they do not, they ought not to be brought as an argument (as they are) to prove, that JESUS is not the CHRIST. And if they do, they only afford a sufficient ground to believe, that they will be farther fulfilled.

2. WE have reason to believe, that the *Christian* religion will yet make a greater progress in the world; and consequently that the promises of the peaceable days of the MESSIAS will be farther fulfilled. For, as I have intimated before, this abundance of peace must be understood as the consequence of true *Christianity*, and that 'twill obtain in proportion to the progress of sincere *Christianity* in the world. And though *Christianity* (all things considered) did mightily prevail in the world, yet we do allow, that we have good cause to hope, that it will farther prevail; and when ever it doth, peace and other blessings will attend upon it.

WE have ground to believe, that the *Christian* doctrine will prevail more upon the world. GOD hath promised to give unto the MESSIAS, the ⁱ *heathen* for his inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the earth for his possession. It is expressly said, ^k *He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth: Tea all kings shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him, all nations shall call him blessed.* We read in the prophet *Daniel* of one like the son of man coming, with the clouds of heaven, to the ancient of days: ^l *And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him.* I will not multiply places to this purpose: Though these predictions have in great measure been fulfilled; yet we do easily yield, that they will be farther fulfilled before the end of the world. And 'tis enough to our purpose, that they be fulfilled in any part of the days of the MESSIAS.

3. WE have also ground to believe, that these glorious things were in a great measure to come to pass, not in the first times of the *Christian* church, but after that defection and apostacy of *Christians*, which the holy writers do foretell; that is, after the church should emerge out of that corrupt state, into which she would fall.

FOR that the church of CHRIST would lapse into a very great apostacy from sincere and primitive *Christianity*, we that are *Christians* cannot disbelieve. And indeed the main of the *Jew's* objections against *Christianity* lie not so much against the religion, as delivered by JESUS and his followers, but as it is taught and represented to them during this great apostacy, by those whose had corrupted it of the *Roman* church. And therefore when *Abravenel* ^m interprets the *little horn* in *Daniel*, and the *mouth that speaks great things*, of the *bishop of Rome* and his adherents, we have no dispute with him upon the main matter: We understand it the same way, with this difference only, that he understands the place of *Rome* as *Christian*, and we of *Rome* as *apostatized* from primitive *Christianity*. He never saw any *Christianity*, but what he saw in that communion: And 'tis not much to be wonder'd, that he should therefore speak hardly of it. 'Twas in the time of the great apostacy, in which that *Jew* lived and died. But as we *Christians* have clear evidence, that a defection from the faith was foretold; so we have ground to hope, that the church

ⁱ Psa. ii. 8.

^k Psa. lxxii. 8, 11, 17.

^l Dan. vii. 14.

^m *Abravenel in Dan. vii.*

of CHRIST will recover and get out of that wretched estate ; and that then the glorious things, predicted of the days of the MESSIAS, will be farther fulfilled. We do not want ground for this hope from the old Testament. The kingdom of the MESSIAS is predicted by *Daniel*, in his interpretation of *Nebuchadnezzar's* dream. The ⁿ *stone cut out without hands* doth certainly denote the first planting of CHRIST's kingdom in the world. This was done indeed not only under the fourth kingdom or *Roman* monarchy ; but in the time of their first emperors. This was the primitive time of this kingdom : Now was *Christianity* first planted in the world, and CHRIST's kingdom but set up. This was a fair beginning indeed ; but a great defection was to happen, and did fall out, and this kingdom was to be recovered and advanced : Thus we read ^o, *in the days of these kings*, (that is, of the ten kings into which the *Roman* empire was in after times to be divided, *v.* 41. those toes of the feet, *v.* 42.) *shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed.* That is, God shall again restore and advance the kingdom of the MESSIAS, which before had been brought low through the defection of *Christians* ; and this kingdom thus restored shall never be destroyed. So far shall it be from being destroyed, that *it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms.* We have in another vision of *Daniel* a ^p representation of the four great monarchies under the character of four beasts : The fourth whereof was that of the *Romans* ; and that under the character of a beast *dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly, and diverse* from the foregoing : And it is said to have *ten horns*, i. e. ten kings (*v.* 24.) Among or after these there came up a *little horn* ; it had *eyes like a man*, and a *mouth speaking great things*, (*v.* 8.) I do readily grant, that this is to be understood of the apostatized church of *Rome*. The character given of it (*v.* 25.) suits well with this interpretation : But that which is to be considered to my present purpose is, that upon the destruction of this *horn*, the *Son of man*, or the MESSIAS, is restored to his kingdom : ^q *There was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages shall serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.* Upon the judgment pass'd, and the execution of the sentence upon this little horn, ^r *The kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high.* And whereas 'tis said among the *Jews*, ^s *that after the destruction of Rome comes the MESSIAS* : We shall not deny a convenient sense of it. We do hope, that when the power of *Rome* as anti-christian is destroyed, then the kingdom of the MESSIAS will be exalted, and his holy religion greatly spread and be advanced in the world*.

MUCH more might be said in this matter to convince *Christians* of the ground which we have for this hope, both from the new Testament, and the belief of the ancient *Christians* : But to represent these things would be too great a digression in this place, and not so agreeable to the end of this discourse.

3

V. I SHALL

^a Dan. ii. 34.^o Ver. 44.^p Dan. vii.^q Ver. 14.^r Ver. 27.^s Abravenel

in Dan. fol. 4. p. 2. col. 2.

* As a just discourse on these promises would make a volume ; so I shall crave leave to add some observations, for the amusement of the reader, leaving him at liberty to believe, examine, or reject them, as he shall think proper, or suspend his opinion, until time shall discover them. The

The glorious time of the church's peace, mentioned throughout the whole prophet *Isaiah*, is limited (*chap. lx. 20.*) to the final end of all her outward afflictions, *when the LORD shall be her everlasting light, and the days of her mourning shall be ended.* And this is explained by St. *John* (*Rev. xi. 3, 7.*) to be at the fall of the *Popish Antichrist*; when the faithful witnesses of *GOD* shall have finished their testimony having been a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed with sackcloth. For then, (*ver. 15.*) The kingdoms of this European world, shall become the kingdoms of our *LORD*, and of his *CHRIST*, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

The prophet *Ezekiel*, in his six and thirty first chapters, foretells the siege and taking of *Jerusalem*, the captivity of the *Jews*, and the desolation of the *Israelites*, together with their gracious return, and *GOD* having mercy on them, and punishing their enemies. Upon this (*chap. xxxvi. 25.*) he foretells the great blessings of *CHRIST*'s kingdom. In the 37th chapter, he views the dispersed state of the *Jews*, and compares it to dry bones, and prophesies their being reunited, and restored to their own land and professing the *Christian* religion there. In the 38th and 39th chapters, he speaks of the fury and malice of *Gog* and *Magog*, (by which our best commentators both here, and in the *Revelations*, mean the *Turks*) against the *Jews*, upon their settlement in this country, and *GOD*'s judgments upon them, by destroying their armies, and disappointing all their designs, and fixing the *Jews* to dwell there in safety. In his nine last chapters, he gives us a most glorious description of the church, under the similitude of a magnificent temple, far surpassing all, which was ever seen in the world; and he places the tribes parallel to each other, like the several climates, and accordingly he makes it represent a map of the universe. So that according to *Ezekiel*, this glorious state is not to happen, 'till the conversion of the *Jews*, and the destruction of the *Turkish Empire*. In the forty seventh chapter, he shews us the four different successes of the preaching of the gospel of *JESUS CHRIST*, the pure waters which issued forth from the sanctuary. The first publication of the gospel, which began with the preaching of *Luther*, and brought on the reformation, is described (*ver. 3.*) as waters up to the ankles. And of this St. *John* speaks. (*Rev. xiv. 6, 7.*) *I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth; and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. Saying with a loud voice, Fear GOD, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him, that made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.* The second increase of these waters (*ver. 4.*) were up to the knees. This will be at the fall of the *Papal Antichrist*, when the true *Christian* religion shall be propagated in all *Europe*. The third increase of the waters (*ver. 4.*) will be up to the loins, when the *Jews* shall be all converted to the *Christian* faith. And the fourth increase of the waters, (*ver. 5.*) will be waters to swim in, and a river that cannot be passed over, when the *Turkish Empire* shall be destroyed, and the destruction thereof shall make way for the propagation of the gospel throughout all the world.

The prophet *Daniel* takes in the history of the world, as under the four monarchies, viz. the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Græcian*, and *Roman*. These he compares to beasts of prey, viz. a *Lion*, a *Bear*, a *Leopard*, a *Ram*, and a *He goat*, and the like. He arms them with horns, and makes them fight, with each other; so that, during their continuance, this peaceable time is not to be expected. However, he is more particular in fixing the times of the increase of gospel, (*chap. i. 41.*) He saith, that, as the feet are divided into ten toes; so the *Roman Empire* shall be divided into ten kingdoms. Thus it happened to be about the year 455. Thus it continued to be in several ages, and thus it is at this time. Accordingly he tells us, (*chap. ii. 44.*) that the first motion of the waters, the preaching of the gospel by *Luther*, and the beginning of *CHRIST*'s kingdom thereby, should be during this *Epocha*. And in the days of these kings, shall the *GOD* of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. After this, he tells us the miseries, which shall happen to the church of *GOD*, from the *Papal Antichrist*, (*chap. vii. 23.*) &c.

The fourth beast, or the *Roman Empire*, shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be divers from all kingdoms, as governing chiefly by a consular power, and it shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom, are ten kings that shall arise, and another the Pope of *Rome* shall rise up after them, and he shall be different from the first, exercising a spiritual authority, and not only a temporal, and he shall subdue three kings, viz. those that were near to his dominions in *Italy*. And he shall speak great words against the most high, and shall wear out the saints of the most high, and think to change times, and laws, and they shall be given into his hand. But at last the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it, unto the end. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him. And therefore according to the prophet *Daniel*, this glorious and peaceable time of the reign of the *MESSIAS*, is to take its beginning, soon after the fall of the *Papal Antichrist*, and could not commence before.

The prophet having now his thoughts more intently fix'd, on this grand delivery of the church of *GOD*, (*chap. xi. in the end.*) prophesies many things, which shall come to pass, immediately before it, (*chap. xii. 1.*) he tells us the great necessities, to which she shall be reduced, and how the power and providence of *GOD* shall carry her through all. At that time shall *Michael* stand up, the great prince, which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time: And at that time, thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. To fix the time, when those things shall happen, a question is asked (*ver. 6.*) How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? And the answer is returned, (*ver. 7.*) that it shall be for a time, and times, and an half. These are the express words of St. *John*, (*Rev. xii. 14.*) for the time of the duration of *Antichrist* at *Rome*; and they expressly end, when *Michael* and his angels overcome the dragon, and his angels. (*ver. 7.*) This *Epocha* is sometimes called 1260 days, as (*Rev. xii. 6.*) and (*Rev. xi. 3.*) and sometimes 42 months, (*Rev. xi. 2.*) and still consist of the same number. For 42 months being multiplied by thirty, the days of a month, according to that computation, make 1260 days. So also the *Chaldean time*, or 360 days, and two times, or 720 days, and half a time, or 180 days, added together, makes the same number, and end both according to *Daniel*, and St. *John*, at the destruction of the *Papal Antichrist*, when the second publication of the gospel comes on, and the waters of the prophet *Ezekiel* are up to the knees.

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The third increase of the gospel, when the waters will be up to the loins, is mentioned by Daniel, (chap. xii. 11.) to be at the end of 1290 days, that is thirty days, or rather years, after the former, which brings on the conversion of the Jews.

The fourth increase of the gospel, when the waters will be waters to swim in, is mentioned by Daniel (chap. xii. 12.) in these words, *Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh, to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.* This is 75 years after the fall of the Papal Antichrist, or 45 years after the conversion of the Jews. It brings on the fall of the Turkish Empire, and makes way for the propagation of the gospel throughout the world.

The prophet Joel mentions the four monarchies, (ver. 4.) under the similitude of four devouring insects, viz. the palmer worm, the locust, the canker worm, and the caterpillar. After this (chap. iii. 9. &c.) he speaks of violent wars, and GOD making himself known by the effect of them; and then follows the blessing upon the church, (ver. 17, 18, &c.) so that it is not to take place, until after the four monarchies, and the slaughter and commotions, which shall happen at the fall of the Papal Antichrist.

But to proceed to the new Testament, (Rev. xi. 1.) *There was given to St. John a reed like unto a rod, and the angel stood saying, Rise and measure the temple of GOD, and the altar, and them that worship therein.* He was, from what he then saw and heard, to take an exact account of the church of GOD; and of those remarkable Epochas, through which it was to pass; and if he took but due pains, he might expect to find, in this chapter, something that might gratify his curiosity. (ver. 2.) *The outward court is given to the Gentiles, to the Antichristian tyranny of the see of Rome, and the holy cities, or church of GOD, shall they tread under foot, forty and two months.* (ver. 3.) *And power shall be given to GOD's two witnesses; the Albigenes in Spain, and the Waldenses in Savoy, and they shall prophesy against the corruptions of the Papal Antichrist, one thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth, in a miserable and poor condition.* (ver. 7.) *And when they shall have finished their testimony, when each of them shall be able to say to GOD, as our SAVIOUR did (to whose actions the past ages of this chapter do principally allude) John xvii. 4. I have glorified thee on the earth, I have finished the work, which thou hast given me to do, the beast, that ascended out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and overcome them, and kill them.* First, The small remains of the Albigenes, being worried out, by the continual onsets of their neighbours, the French, and Spaniards, were forced to quit their habitations, and retire to the Vaudois. Upon their being thus united, the Duke of Savoy, the sovereign of these Vaudois, by an edict dated Jan. 31. 1685. N. S. forbade the exercise of their religion, on pain of death, and therein ordered their churches to be demolished, and their ministers to be banished. The edict for their banishment was dat at Turin. April 9. enrolled the 10th, and published in the Vallies the 11th, and an army sent against them of Savoy, and French troops, who attack'd them on the 22d of the same month, and totally subdued them, in the following month of May, when many of these poor people were killed, and barbarously slaughtered; great numbers cast into prison, and inhumanly used there; and the miserable remainders of them were at length released out of prison, and permitted to depart about the beginning of December; so that the total dissipation of them was not completed, 'till that time, or the beginning of December, 1686.

(Ver. 8.) *And their dead bodies shall lie in the streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our LORD was crucified.* The places, from whence they are now banished, are not two, as they were formerly, but only one, in Italy, ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ πολέως, τῆς μεγάλης near unto that large and great city of Rome, (for so the words may well be literally translated) which is spiritually called Sodom, and Egypt, because of its detestable abominations and superstitions, where also our LORD was crucified, by bringing in such doctrines, as are derogatory to his honour and offices, and setting up another to act, as in his stead.

(Ver. 9.) *And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days, and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.* In the mean time these poor Vaudois were very kindly received, and succour'd by the Protestant states, and kingdoms, particularly those of England, Holland, Brandenburg, Geneva, and Switzerland, and so preserved from ruin.

(Ver. 10.) *And they that dwell upon the earth, all those of the church of Rome, who were their neighbours, shall shew their approbation of this expulsion of the Vaudois, For they shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets, by their doctrines, tormented those of the church of Rome, that dwelt on the earth.*

(Ver. 11.) *And after three days and an half, the spirit of life, from GOD, entered into them, and they stood upon their feet.* Toward the latter end of the year 1689, about three years and an half, after the publication of the edict before mentioned in the Vallies, or the beginning of its execution, they pass'd the lake of Geneva secretly; and entering Savoy, with their swords in their hands, they recovered their ancient possessions, and by the month of April, A. D. 1690, established themselves in it, notwithstanding the opposition of the troops of France and Savoy, of whom they, who were comparatively but a few, slew great numbers with inconsiderable loss, 'till the Duke himself, who had now left the French interest, recalled the rest of them, and re-established them by his league, and an edict signed June 4. 1690. just three years and an half after their total dissipation, and added also a liberty to the French refugees to return with them. So that great fear fell upon their enemies, which saw them.

(Ver. 12.) *And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.*

Here is a more glorious state to the two witnesses, and in them to the whole church of GOD; which as it is not yet fulfilled, so it will not be improper, to inquire into the time, when it will be, and as the angel commands (ver. 1.) to arise, measure, and compute the same. For the right understanding whereof it is observable, that St. John, in treating of these witnesses, makes a plain allusion to the actions of our SAVIOUR, as his finishing the work, which was given him to do: His death, his resurrection, and ascension. And therefore, as there were 39 compleat days, between the resurrection of CHRIST, and his ascension; so we may allow 39 compleat years, between the resurrection of the witnesses, and their ascension into heaven; and if so, then as their resurrection happened in the year 1690, their ascension will happen in the year 1729. Others give a different Epocha, and some conclude, that the time of these prophecies cannot be fix'd, 'till they are all accomplished.

Ver. 13. *And at the same hour (as a day makes a year; so an hour must make the 24th part of a year, or 15 days, in which time there will be or there was a great earthquake, (a violent commotion throughout all Europe) and the tenth part of the city fell (one of the principal kingdoms, into which the Romish Empire was divided, is conquer'd, and the crown translated into another family, which also makes an immediate way for an intire reformation from Popery, to the true Christian Religion throughout that whole kingdom) and in the earthquake were slain of men, (in Greek names of men) seven thousand.*

The smallest name of number, belonging to men, is a *Centurion*, or captain of an hundred, and supposing that to be meant, then seven thousand names of men will imply, that, in about a fortnight's time, may be slain throughout all Europe, in battles, and massacres, about seven hundred thousand men) and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven. This dismal Crisis brings all the kingdoms of Europe into danger, and makes them all so sensible of their deliverance, that an intire reformation from Popery soon follows among them, and occasions those triumphant songs of praise in the church of God, which we read in the remaining part of the same chapter.

And now it is probable, that the reader will be willing to inquire, after what method it will please God to execute his judgments on the enemies of his church, until he hath utterly destroyed them, and settled her in that peace, which hath been so often foretold by the prophets, and so much expected by others. For satisfaction to which inquiry the reader is desired to turn to the 16th chapter of the Revelations, which, as soon as the grand *Epocha* is over, pours out the wrath of God on the enemies of his church, until they are destroyed. For the understanding whereof this observation is necessary, That the seven trumpets have a mighty correspondence with the seven vials, and they are to be look'd on as some way or other answerable to one another all along, and so capable to afford light to each other perpetually: So that by inquiring, how one hath been fulfilled, we may also observe, how the other shall be fulfilled in its due time. Thus (Rev. viii. 7.) *The first angel sounded, and it affected the earth, the main continent, and inland countries of Germany, by the terrible inundation of the Goths: A. D. 376. So (Rev. xvi. 2.) The first angel went and poured out his vial upon the earth, upon the main continent of Germany, and there fell a grievous and a noisom sore upon the men, which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image. Germany is first reformed from Popery, not with much, or perhaps, not with any effusion of blood, but with the discovery of the vile and abominable practices of the fest of Rome, and their adherents.*

(Rev. viii. 8.) *The second angel sounded, and it affected the sea. It brought the terrible inundation of the Vandals, Anno 406, into the Western maritime powers, and over-run all Spain and Portugal. (Rev. xvi. 3.) And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man, and every living soul died in the sea. Spain and Portugal now throw off the errors of Popery; but there are many battles, and much blood shed on that occasion, with a revolution of that government; and thus their destroying of the Albigenes is revenged. (Rev. x. 3, 4, 5.)*

(Rev. viii. 10.) *The third angel sounded, and it affected the rivers and the fountains of water. This brings in the Huns into Lombardy, and Italy. A. D. 452. So (Rev. xvi. 4, 5, 6, 7.) And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers, and fountains of waters, and they became blood. And I beheld the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O LORD, which art, and wast, and shalt be; because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of thy saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy. And I heard another out of the altar, saying, Even so LORD GOD almighty; true and righteous are thy judgments. The reformation proceeds into Lombardy, Savoy, and Italy, but with great effusion of blood, and probably with revolutions in those parts. (Rev. xi. 3, 4, 5.)*

(Rev. viii. 12.) *The fourth angel sounded, and it darken'd the sun, moon, and stars, it extinguish'd the Western Emperor, and his subordinate governors, thereby putting an intire end to the remainders of the Roman Casars. A. D. 476. (Rev. xvi. 8, 9.) And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun, the Pope and Popish Hierarchy, to bring them to their destruction, so that they have no successors, and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire, &c. The towns in Italy, belonging to the Pope's dominions, are now burnt with fire, and particularly Rome it self is levelled with the ground. And soon after this all Europe feels the blessed effects of a thorough reformation in religion, and a general, happy and settled peace, both in church and state.*

(Rev. ix. 1. to 13.) *The fifth angel sounded, and brings a most poisonous sort of locusts, which darken'd the air, out of the bottomless pit, viz, the Saracens out of Asia, who, about the year 726. began to be a torment to Europe; and afterwards founded the Mahometan Empire, with its detestable religion, in Asia. (Rev. xvi. 10.) And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast, this kingdom of Mahometan Antichrist, plaguing them with great plagues; so that their kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain. And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds. The only way of computing the time, when this shall happen, must be by the analogy between the trumpets and the vials, thus: As 1423 years, the distance between the first and seventh trumpet, is to 350 years, between the first and fifth trumpet; so is 75 years, the distance between the first and seventh vial, to 18 years between the first and fifth vial; and therefore as the first vial may begin about the year 1730, so the fifth may begin about the year 1748.*

(Rev. ix. 13.) *The sixth angel sounds, and lets loose the four angels, or kingdoms, which are bound by the great river Euphrates, and so lets loose the Ottoman Empire, Anno 1301, to be a torment to Europe, until the end of the last century. (Rev. xvi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.) The sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates, the heart of the Turkish Empire, and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east may be prepared, that is, the way for the conversion of all these potentates to Christianity. Three detestable heresies arise in Turkey, which divides them very much, and they all prepare for battle against the Jews, to root them out of the land of Canaan. The only way also of computing the time, when this shall happen, must be by the analogy between the trumpets and the vials, thus: As 1423 years, the distance between the first and the seventh trumpet, is to 925 years between the first and the sixth trumpet; so is 75 years, the distance between the first and the seventh vial, to 48 years, between the first and the sixth vial; and therefore as the first may begin about the year 1730; so the sixth may begin about the year 1778.*

(Rev. xi. 12, 13, 14, 15. to the end.) *The seventh angel sounds*, which brings the grand catastrophe of the *Popish Antichrist*, so that it falls with terrible commotions, battles, convulsions of nations, with bombarding of towns, in most parts of *Asia*. *A. D.* 1729. (Rev. xvi. 17. to the end.) *The seventh angel pours out his vial*, which is attended with the same efforts, but in a more terrible manner, throughout all *Asia*, and brings on the utter fall of the *Turkish Empire*, or dividing it into six parts. For so the word (Ezek. xxxviii. 2.) may be well translated. This the prophet (Daniel xii. 12.) fixeth to the year 1335, or 75 years, after 1260. the fall of *Popery*. *A. D.* 1729, viz. to the year 1804. After which the prophet (Ezekiel xxxix. 12, 13, 14.) allows seven months, or 210 years, for the cleansing of all the world, from all idolatry, superstition, and false ways of worship, which fixeth the time for an universal love, peace, and unity, to be completed under the reign of the *MESSIAS*, in the year of the world, 2014, and so to continue for a thousand years, or perhaps much longer.

To sum up all in one view, I shall present the reader, with a short *Chronological* table of these affairs, where he may observe, that (2 Pet. iii. 8.) as with the *LORD*, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years but as one day. So in the creation, the six days of labour seem to point out six thousand years of trouble and sorrow to the church of *GOD*; but the seventh day, being a sabbath of rest, foreshows the glorious rest and peace, which the prophets in most ages have foretold, and will then in all probability be fully accomplished, to the infinite glory of *GOD*, and the honour of our dear *REDEEMER*.

Anno Mundi. 1. The world is created.

Anno Mundi. 2009. At the end of the second Millennium, *Abraham* the father of the faithful is born.

Anno 3001. At the end of the third Millennium. The temple of *Solomon* is finished, and all the legal services settled.

Anno 4004. At the end of the fourth Millennium. *CHRIST* is born of the seed of *Abraham*.

Anno Christi. 1000. At the end of the fifth Millennium. All *Europe* is enslaved by the *Popish Antichrist*, and the rest of the world is enslaved by the *Mahometan Superstition*.

Anno Christi. 1516. The first publication of the gospel. (Daniel ii. 35, 44. Ezek. xlvii. 1, 23. Rev. xiv. 6, 7. *The waters come forth from the sanctuary up to the ankles.* Luther begins the reformation.

Anno 1686. The *Waldenses* and the *Albigenses* are banished from *Savoy*, and relieved by the protestant princes. (Rev. xi. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10.)

Anno 1690. At the end of three years, and six months, they are recalled by a publick edict. (Rev. xi. 11.) And as at the end of 39 full days, after our *SAVIOR'S* resurrection, he ascended into heaven; so at the end of 39 years compleat, viz.

Anno 1729. The *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* are said to ascend up into heaven. (Rev. xi. 12.) So that now the second increase of the gospel begins; *Daniel's time and times, and half a time*, (chap. xii. 6, 7.) are now accomplished; also *St. John's time and times, and half a time*. (Rev. xiii. 14.) or 42 months, (Rev. xi. 2.) or 1260 days, (Rev. xi. 3.) and (Rev. xii. 6.) now end. *The waters of the gospel are up to the knees*. (Ezek. xlvii. 4.) This year there are terrible battles. (Rev. xiii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) with much effusion of blood. All *Europe* in confusion and dismal apprehensions. One of the ten kingdoms fall, and a reformation from *Popery* immediately follows, which is the fatal blow to the *Antichristian Hierarchy*. (Rev. xi. 12. to the end.)

Anno 1730. The first vial is poured out upon the enemies of the church of *GOD*. (Rev. xvi. 1, 2.) *Germany* is reformed, not with much effusion of blood, but by a vile discovery of the *Romish* practices.

Anno 1731. The second vial is poured out. (Rev. xvi. 3.) *Spain* is reformed, with much effusion of blood, and probably by a revolution in that kingdom. (Rev. x. 3, 4, 5.)

Anno 1732. The third vial is poured out. (Rev. xvi. 4, 5, 6, 7.) *Savoy* and the adjacent parts of *Italy* are reformed, with much effusion of blood, and probably by a revolution in those kingdoms. (Rev. x. 3, 4, 5.)

Anno 1733. The fourth vial is poured out. (Rev. xvi. 8, 9.) An utter end is put to the *Papal Hierarchy*, of all sorts. Many towns in *Italy* are burnt with fire, and *Rome* herself is levelled with the ground.

Anno 1734. All the potentates in *Europe* throw off the *Popish* yoke. (Rev. xvii. 15, 16, 17, 18.)

Anno 1735. Now *Europe* begins to enjoy a firm and a general peace; being the happy consequence of the destruction of *Antichrist*, and the settling the kingdom of *CHRIST* in these parts.

Anno 1748. The fifth vial is poured out. (Rev. xvi. 10, 11.) The *Turkish Empire* is now afflicted with many and great calamities.

Anno 1759. *Daniel's* 1290 days (chap. xii. 11.) now end. *The third increase of the gospel*, in which the waters are up to the loyns, (Ezek. xlvii. 4.) The idolatry of the church of *Rome* being now removed, (which was the great stumbling block, that prejudiced others against *Christianity*) the *Jews* are now converted, and assisted by the *European* powers, recover the land of *Canaan* from the *Turks*, and are settled there. See these Prophecies at large. (Gen. xvii. 1, —8. Deut. xxx. 1, —10. Isai. iv. 2. Isai. vi. 13. Isai. xi. 11, —16. Isai. xii. throughout. Isai. xxiv. 23. Isai. xxv. 1, —12. Isai. xxvii. 6, 12, 13. Isai. xl. 9, 10, 11. Isai. xliii. 1, —7. Isai. xlv. 17. Isai. xlix. 8, —26. Isai. li. 1, —11, and 22. Isai. lii. 1, 2, 3, 7. Isai. lx. 1, —9. Isai. lxiii. 7, —19. Isai. lxx. 8, 9, 10. Isai. lxxi. 8, 10, —14, 19, 20. Jer. iii. 12, —25. Jer. xxiii. 3, —8. Jer. xxx. 1, —22. Jer. xxxi. 1, —17, 21, 23, 24, 27, 35, 36, 37. Jer. xxxiii. 1, —7, 19, —26. Jer. xlv. 27, 28. Ezek. xx. 33, —44. Ezek. xxviii. 24, 25, 26. Ezek. xxxiv. 20, —31. Ezek. xxxvi. 1, —38. Ezek. xxxvii. 1, —23. Ezek. xxxix. 25. Hos. iii. 5. Joel. ii. 21, —32. Zech. viii. 7, —15, and Zech. x. 5, —12.)

Anno 1768. The *Jews*, being now settled in the land of *Canaan*, place the several tribes in their order; they rebuild the city of *Jerusalem*, and a famous church for the true worship of *GOD*. See these Prophecies at large. Gen. xlix. 1, —27. Deut. xxxiii. 6, —27. Isai. xxxiii. 20. Isai. li. 17. Isai. lii. 9. Isai. liv. 11, 12. Isai. lviii. 12. Isai. lx. 10, —17. Isai. lxi. 4. Isai. lxii. 6, 7. Isai. lxvi. 6. Jer. xxxi. 38, 39, 40. Jer. xxxiii. 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18. Ezek. xxxvi. 36. and Ezek. xxxvii. 26, 27, 28. Tobit xiv. 4, 5, 6, 7.)

Anno

Anno 1778. The sixth vial is poured out upon the Turkish Empire (Rev. xvi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.) The Mahometan superstition seems to decline. Three other vile and abominable heresies arise in that empire. They all encourage the Turks to make war with the Jews, and have frequent skirmishes; but the Turks always are beaten. See also these Prophecies at large. (Deut. xxxii. 35,—43. Psal. lxxix. 8,—13. Isai. xxxiv. 1,—17. Isai. xli. 11,—16. Isai. xlix. 25, 26. Isai. li. 22, 23. and Jer. xxx. 16, 23, 24.

Anno 1804. The fourth increase of the gospel. Daniel's 1335 years (chap. xii. 12.) now ends. The prophet Ezekiel's waters, (chap. 47. 5.) are risen so high that they are waters to swim in. The seventh vial is poured out. (Rev. xvii. 16.) to the end. The Turks bring their whole armies against the Jews, and are most terribly beaten; their empire is torn in pieces, with wars, devastations, and bombarding of towns. It is divided into three kingdoms, (Rev. xvi. 19.) and after that into six, (Ezek. xxxix. 2.) and many kingdoms revolt intirely from them, so that their whole power is broken. See these Prophecies at large. (Isai. ii. 1,—4, and 10,—21. Isai. xi. 4. Isai. xxiv. 17,—23. Isai. xxvi. 20, 21. Isai. xxvii. 1. Isai. xxix. 5, 6, 7, 8. Isai. xxx. 25,—33. Isai. xxxi. 8, 9. Isai. xlii. 13, 14, 15. Isai. liv. 15, 16, 17. Isai. lix. 17, 18, 19. Isai. lx. 1,—6. Isai. lxvi. 6, 15, 16. Ezek. xxxviii, and xxxix. throughout. Joel. ii. 20. Joel iii. 1,—15. Zech. iii. 8, 19. Zech. xii. 6, 7, 8, 9. Zech. xiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 15. and Rev. xx. 7, to the end. Here is now a glorious state of the Jews, as converted to the Christian faith, and professing the true religion, and other countries continually come in to the same profession. See at large. Isai. ii. 1,—5. Isai. iv. 3, 4, 5, 6. Isai. x. 20, 21, 22, 23. Isai. xi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Isai. xii. 1,—6. Isai. xxv. 1,—12. Isai. xxvi. 1,—19. Isai. xxx. 18,—26. Isai. xxxii. throughout. Isai. xxxiii. throughout. Isai. xxxv. 5,—10. Isai. xlv. 3. Isai. lli. 1,—6. Isai. liv. 1,—10. Isai. lv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Isai. lix. 20, 21. Isai. lx. 18,—22. Isai. lxi. 3,—11. Isai. lxii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Isai. lxv. 17,—25. Isai. lxvi. 18, 19, 22, 23. Jer. iii. 16, 17. Jer. iv. 1, 2. Jer. xxxi. 31,—34. Jer. xxxiii. 8, 15, 16. Ezek. xvi. 60,—63. Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, 30. Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, 27. Ezek. xxxvii. 22,—28. Ezek. xxxix. 22, 28, 29. Joel iii. 16,—21. Zeph. iii. 9, 10, 15. Zeph. ii. 10, 11, 12, 13. Zech. xii. 10,—14. Zech. xii. 1. Zech. xiv. 8, 9, 16,—21. Rom. xi. throughout. Psal. lxxii. throughout. Isai. xlix. throughout, and Isai. lx. throughout. After this glorious change; yet it is seven months, or 210 years, before all the world are brought to the knowledge, and practice of the true religion. (Ezek. xxxix. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. (so that

Anno Christi 2014. The sixth Millennium ends. The whole world is of one and the true religion, which flourishes, and is encouraged every where: All nations are in peace with each other, and all the prophecies, relating to it, are punctually fulfilled. (Ezek. xl.) to the end of the book. (and Rev. xxi. and xxii.) And as the third Millennium, from the creation, ended with the perfecting of the legal temple; so the sixth ends with the perfecting of the evangelical.

This happy state lasts about 1000 years, and then

Anno Christi 3014 or thereabouts, errors, immoralities, and disturbances arise, and those other particulars, which are mentioned as fore-runners of

The end of the world.

Matth. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xvii. 20, &c. and xxi. 5, &c.

V. I SHALL now consider our SAVIOUR'S words, (Math. x. 34.) *Think not, that I am come to send peace on earth; I am not come to send peace but a sword.* From hence the Jew would infer, that JESUS was not the MESSIAS, that prince of peace, of whose times such glorious things are predicted by the prophets of old. But in answer to this pretence, I offer the following particulars. And

I. THAT we consider the context, and design of the words of JESUS; He sends his apostles to preach, and sends them, as he tells them, as ^r *sheep in the midst of wolves.* He lets them know what treatment they must expect, viz. ^u *to be delivered up to the counsels, to be scourged in synagogues, and brought before kings and governors:* Moreover, that ^x *the brother shall deliver the brother, the father the child, and children cause their parents to be put to death.* So great a rage will the unbelievers fall into upon the preaching of the Christian doctrine: It will expose the preachers to the hatred of mankind. JESUS arms his followers against these trials, and lets them know, that they will certainly meet with them, if they persevere in the constant profession of the truth. He would not have them flatter themselves with a vain opinion, that they should be able to persuade all men to receive their doctrine: They will find many reject it, and some of their kindred and relations among them, who would thereupon withdraw from them, and treat them hardly. They must not

^r Matth. x. 16.

^u Matth. xvii. 18.

^x Matth. xxi. 22.

therefore desist, but be stedfast, and know, that he designed not, that his followers should comply with the enemies of his truth : He designed not to set on foot such a wicked and ungodly peace in the world, but rather to renounce and bid defiance to these perverse opposers of the *Christian* doctrine. This is the scope of our SAVIOUR'S words.

2. THAT the word *sword* doth not in this place denote *wars* or *fightings* ; but *division* and *separation* from one another upon account of religion. And this is evident from the following words here, and from a parallel place. For the following words are these, ^y *For I am come* (not to animate my followers to blood and slaughter, but) ^z διχάσαι, to separate son and father, &c. one rejecting, and the other receiving my holy doctrine. The parallel place instead of *sword* hath ^a *division*. Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth ? I tell you, nay, but rather division : ^b Διαμέρισ-
μην. There cannot be any concord between light and darkness, between CHRIST and *Belial* : The ^c sword, which CHRIST sends, was not to murder but to part, not to slay but to separate the precious from the vile. If all had received the truth, there would have followed no division : CHRIST'S ^d sword is the word of GOD, the sword of the spirit, which divides asunder indeed, but sheds no blood. CHRIST sent a sword ^e χωρίζουσαν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων, i. e. that divides us from infidels, but by no means puts us upon slaughter, much less upon killing one another.

3. THAT whatever *evil* follows upon preaching the *Christian* doctrine, CHRIST was not the cause of it, nor his doctrine. I have before vindicated JESUS, and his holy religion : 'Tis certain, that all the bad effects and consequences are to be imputed to the wickedness of unbelievers. ^f Οὐκ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκείνων πονηρία. JESUS is not the author of them, but the wickedness of unbelievers. Whatever occasion JESUS or his holy religion might be of other things, they were not the cause of any evil. 'Tis he that denies or opposeth the truth, that brings the mischief upon himself and others. This will be very plain to him, that will take the pains to consider, what hath been said before in defence of JESUS and his religion. Whatever evils followed upon spreading the *Christian* doctrine were accidental : And if the world was turn'd upside down, the charge could not justly be brought against the *Christian* doctrine, or the preachers of it : They were those who opposed it, that caused all the mischief that happened.

4. NOR do the words of JESUS, *I am not come to send peace, but a sword*, denote his design and the purpose of his coming, but the event of things. All that can be inferred is the certainty of the thing, or that it will as surely come to pass, as if he had designed it. We are in interpreting such places as those to consider the particular manner of speaking in use among these ancient writers : And we shall by doing so find, that all that the words import is the certain futurity of the thing. Simeon said of JESUS, ^g *This Child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel ; and for a sign, which shall be spoken against*. Where 'tis evident, that the words denote not the design, but event : And they denote no more than this, when the Greek particle *ἵνα* (which elsewhere denotes the design of the

^y Matth. x. 35.

^z Separare. V. L.

^a Luke xii. 15.

^b Separationem, V. L.

^c Bel-

lum missum est bonum, ut rumpetur pax mala, Hieron.

^d Οὕτω τὸν λόγον ἐχρημάτισε, Chrysostom.

in Heb. iv. 12.

^e Theodor. Heracleot. in Matth. x. 34.

^f Chrysost. in Matth. x. 34.

^g Luke

ii. 34.

agent, or the final cause) is used. ^h For judgment (says JESUS) I am come into this world ; that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind. In which words is expressed, not the design but event of CHRIST's coming. Again, ⁱ The law entred, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα, that the offence might abound. This was not the design of the law's entring, but the event or consequent only. And if where this particle is added, the words import no more than the event, there is less reason, they should import more where it is omitted ; and it is omitted in the words of JESUS, (Matth. x. 34.)

VI. I WILL now make some reflections upon the whole, which may be of use to all of us, who profess *Christianity*.

1. WE see the true method of coming to a right judgment of religion. We are to consider its principles, its tendency, and its motives of credibility ; and as it is in its self, and in its naked purity, not as it is represented by partial men, or as 'tis exemplified by the lives of many of the professors of it. This is the fault of the *Jews*, they judge of *Christianity* by *Christians*, of JESUS by his followers, and of the whole cause by a false measure. I must confess, that if I knew no *Christianity* but what is to be found in some parts of the church of *Rome*, or did I know no more of it, than as it is represented in some of their books, perhaps it would be the last religion, which I should choose. A man would be tempted to believe, that JESUS was not the prince of peace, when he beholds the fightings and quarrels of his professed followers : He would suspect, that this religion is no friend to peace, who looks no farther than to the schisms and contentions of those who profess it. But this is not the way to come at the truth. All that we can infer is, that such contentious and evil men are not *Christians* ; and whatever they profess, that they are not the genuine disciples of JESUS. 'Tis unjust to charge the faults of false people upon the religion or author of it : Especially when the books, where this religion is taught, give us notice of a great defection from primitive *Christianity*, that should happen in the world.

2. WE may judge from what hath been said, whether our religion hath gained its end upon us or not, or whether we have receiv'd the grace of GOD in vain. Hath it render'd us gentle, of easie access, harmless and of a lamb-like disposition ? Hath it filed off the roughness and fierceness of our temper, all cruelty and proneness to rapacity, the wolfish and lion-like disposition, and turn'd us into the innocence and inoffensiveness of a lamb or little child ? This change it doth make, wherever it prevails in power. And wherever it is professed, and doth not mend our temper and new mould us, we receive it in vain. 'Twas designed to mend our tempers, and to pare away all that superfluity of naughtiness, by which we are render'd less useful and less conversable with our fellow-creatures. JESUS did not strive, nor lift up his voice on high. His doctrine is design'd to render us peaceable, and easie to be intreated.

3. WE see, what need we have to live at peace with each other, and to preserve unity, as much as may be, in the church of CHRIST. Our quarrels, and unnecessary separations from one another do not only much mischief *within* the church, but *without* it too. They tempt the *Jew* to

^h John ix. 39.

ⁱ Rom. v. 20.

reject the whole religion, and to impute to that, what is only to be charged upon our selves. Good God, awaken us all to a due sense of this matter, and grant, that we may prefer the unity of the church, and the interest of our common *Christianity*, before our own particularities, and private opinions! Nothing so ill becomes us as strife and debate, quarrels and schisms. Our holy religion puts us upon a vigorous pursuit of peace and unity. For the gaining whereof 'twill be worth our while to part with very much: For by keeping our breaches wide we endanger the whole. 'Tis high time to mind *the things that belong to peace*; as well as those, by which we may be able to *edifie one another*.





C H A P. III.

The C O N T E N T S.

A defence of the writers of the new Testament against some other objections of J. Aben Amram. His objection against Matth. xii. 3, 4. answered. An answer to his objection against Luke iv. 25. His objection against the words of J E S U S in Mark x. 19. An answer to that objection. An objection against J E S U S for destroying the herd of swine, Matth. viii. 32. An answer to it. The Jew's objections against J E S U S for not making good his promise, Matth. xxvi. 32. and against the credibility of the history of his ascension. An answer to these objections. The Jew's objections against the words of J E S U S, John xvi. 7. and 13. An answer to those objections. His objections against the evangelists relating our S A V I O U R's keeping the passover just before his death. The Jew pretends, that the relation is inconsistent and incredible: An answer at large to the Jew's pretences. His objection against the relation of Pilate's washing his hands, answered. An answer to his objection concerning the weight of the Myrrh and Aloes, John xix. 39. An answer to his objection against Matth. xxviii. 18. His objection against John xxi. 25. A defence of that evangelist against the Jew's assaults. The Jew objects against the words of St. Paul. Gal. iii. 10. A defence of St. Paul. He objects against the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, for those words which are found, ch. ix. 19. A defence of that divine author. His objection against the epistle of St. James. An answer to his objection.

AFTER I had finished my second part of this book against the Jews, and made it publick, a friend lent me a MS. written by a Jew against the Christian religion, bearing the title of *Porta veritatis*; The author goes under the name of *Jacob Aben Amram*. In that MS. I find a great many objections against the writings of the new Testament; and

and among them some, which had not been considered before, and that required a more particular consideration. And not knowing into what hands that *MS.* might come, I thought fit to consider those objections in this place, rather than to let them go without any answer at all.

I. THE *first* objection, which I met with in that author, in that part of his *MS.* ^a where he treats of this matter *ex professo*, is against the words of JESUS reported by St. *Matthew* ch. xii. 3, 4.) *Have ye not read what David did, when he was hungry, and they that were with him? How he entred into the house of GOD, and did eat the shew-bread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, &c.* The *Jew* objects, that these words cannot be true, because *David* was alone; which he attempts to prove from the words of the priest, where this passage is related, *Why art thou alone, and no man with thee?* (1 Sam. xxi. 1.)

HE concludes thence, that *David* fled *alone*; and that *he only* eat of the shew-bread: And therefore it ought not to have been said by JESUS, *and they that were with him.* He concludes, that JESUS and the evangelists were deceived in this matter of fact; but yet he is so courteous as to allow, that perhaps it might so happen by occasion of the words, (1 Sam. xxi. 2.) *I have appointed my servants to such and such a place.* We need not this courtesie. I shall defend JESUS and the evangelists from the *Jew's* charge. And I answer,

1. THAT *David* did appear *alone* before the priest, cannot be denied; nor doth JESUS say any thing that contradicts it. He says that he (i. e. *David*) *entred into the house of GOD.* And *Doeg*, in his accusation, mentions *David* only. *I saw the son of Jesse*, says he, (1 Sam. xxii. 9.) And this agrees with what we read, (1 Sam. xxi. 1.)

2. BUT then it is as evident also, that he had company in this his journey or flight, even from the text of *Samuel.* He asked for five loaves of bread, or at least what the priest had to spare. The priest tells him, he had no common bread, but that he had hallowed bread; which, indeed, was to be eaten, according to the law, by hallowed persons; at least it was not fit it should be eaten by those, who were under any legal uncleanness: And therefore the priest expresseth his caution in those words, *If the young men have kept themselves at least from women:* (See *Exod.* xix. 15.) by which it appears, that this bread would be eaten by *David*, and his companions also. By the young men must be meant *David's* companions, as appears from his reply; *Of a truth* (says *David*) *women have been kept from us about these three days since I came out; and the vessels of the young men are holy, &c.* By which answer *David* satisfied the scruple of the priest, who feared lest some of his company might eat of the hallowed bread under some legal defilement. Upon this he gives *David* the hallowed bread for the use of himself and his company, in their great necessity.

3. HENCE it appears, that the *Jew* is very impudent in his charge, against JESUS and his evangelists, whereas they *have* not in any kind mis-reported the history, as it lies in the book of *Samuel.* He affirms, that *David* only did eat; but *Samuel* doth not say so. His words imply,

^a Jacob Amram *Port, Veris.* Artic. III. par. 3. de *Laboribus Evangel.* Num. 933.

that the holy bread was given to *David*, not only for his own eating, but for the use of them that were with him (*Mark* ii. 26.) Indeed, the *Jew* on this occasion falls upon *St. Mark* for misnaming this priest, and calling him *Abiathar*; but ^b I have elsewhere given an account of that matter.

II. THE same author ^c objects against the words in *St. Luke* (ch. iv. 25.) *In the days of Elias, when the heavens were shut up three years and six months*, where *JESUS* speaks of the time of drought in the days of *Elias*; whereas that drought did not continue three full years, as appears from *1 King*. xviii. 1. where it is said, that the word of the LORD came to *Elijah* in the third year. I answer,

THE whole stress of this objection is derived from what is related (*1 King*. xviii. 1.) And therefore I am obliged very particularly to consider those words; and then it will appear, that *JESUS* affirms nothing in *St. Luke*, that is inconsistent with what is related in the book of *Kings*. I will therefore consider the words, as they lie in the book of *Kings*.

THE words in the book of *Kings* are thus translated by the *English*. *And it came to pass after many days, that the word of the LORD came to Elijah in the third year.* The words as they lie in the *Hebrew* are these, וַיְהִי־מִיָּמִים רַבִּים וַיָּבֹרֶךְ יְהוָה הִיא אֶל אֱלִיהוּ בְּשָׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית, I must needs join with *Grotius*, ^d who thought the words might be thus interpreted. *Dies aliquam multi* (id est, sex menses) *preterierant, ex quo DEUS allocutus erat etiam anno tertio; id est, fine anni tertii, postquam pluisse desierat, i. e. Many days passed* (viz. sixth months) *from the time when GOD had spoken to Elias in the third year, i. e. in the end of the third year, after it had ceased to rain: And then the command, which Elias had received at the end of the third year, was to be executed six months afterwards.* This interpretation quite overthrows the *Jew's* objection. I do declare solemnly, that this interpretation of the words, as they lie in the text, is very agreeable to the text, and to the ^e use and sense of the *Hebrew* words and particles in other places. It would be too great a digression to bring in what might be said in confirmation of this interpretation, which yet I shall be ready to do, if required. In the mean while the marginal quotation will furnish the curious reader with store of examples, which will justify this interpretation. I do appeal to the learned, for the account I have given of the place; nor do I see what the learned *Jew* can object against it. I am sure the words, as they are translated by the *English*, seem very uncouth and strange.

I VERY well know, that much more might be said upon this occasion, and to very good purpose also; but I am satisfied, that what hath been said above is sufficient to put the *Jew* to silence; nor do I care to amuse the reader with the several ways, which *Christians* have taken to answer this difficulty. Our SAVIOUR doubtless spake nothing, but what was the received opinion of the *Jews* at that time: Nor do we find, that the *Jews* contradicted him in this matter.

^b Part II. chap. 3. paulò post medium.

^c V. Noldii Concord. Particul. p. 156. & p. 279.

^d Id. ibid. n. 994.

^e H. Grot. in Luc. c. iv. vs 25.

III. THE same Jew ^f objects, what we read (*Luke* ii. 22; 23; 24.) concerning the purification of the virgin *Mary*, the presenting of *JESUS*, and offering a *sacrifice*. He thinks this purification inconsistent with the belief, that the *Christians* have of the immaculate conception; and that *JESUS* being miraculously born could not be said to open the womb; nor consequently was there any need of a sacrifice. I answer,

THAT the legal purifications and sacrifices did not always imply a guilt. Men were obliged to obey the divine institutions; and not to have done it would have involved them in guilt. The virgin *Mary* was a debtor to the law; and our SAVIOUR was *made of a woman, and made under the law*, (*Gal.* iv. 4.) And being really a man and born of a woman, might truly be said to open the womb. We believe that CHRIST was *made sin for us* (*2 Cor.* v. 21.) and was *sent in the likeness of sinful flesh*, (*Rom.* viii. 3.) And agreeably hereunto he obeyed the law, and *fulfilled all righteousness* (*Matth.* iii. 15.) He was baptized, though he had no impurity to wash away; and he was circumcised, though he had no superfluity of naughtiness to pare off. And a Jew, of all men, should not object this; for if our SAVIOUR had not complied with the divine institutions, they would not have failed to have objected that against him, and would not have wanted a colour for it.

IV. THIS ^e Jew objects against the words of *JESUS* (*Mark* x. 19.) A man came to *JESUS*, and asked him, What he should do that he might *inherit eternal life*? *JESUS* replies, *Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.* The Jew objects against *JESUS*, that he did not mention the other precepts mentioned, (*Exod.* xx. & *Deut.* v.) which are of greater moment. He thinks, that *JESUS* ought to have made some general mention of them, and ought not to have subjoined, *One thing thou lackest, go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor.* As if nothing else be wanting, when there were a great many precepts (which he had not named) that the man was obliged to obey. Besides, for that *one thing*, 'tis not necessary; for many have been saved without it, as the *Christians* do not deny. I answer,

I. THAT *JESUS*, by naming these precepts only, cannot in justice be supposed to excuse this man from his obligation to the other precepts. Nothing is more common than to put some precepts for the whole. The fear of *GOD* is sometimes used for our whole duty. *What doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy GOD*? Says the prophet (*Micah* vi. 8.) And I hope, that he will not be blamed, that said those words, though there was a great number of other precepts in the law of *Moses*. But perhaps the stress of the Jew's objection may lie in this, *viz.* That when the man inquired the way to eternal life, *JESUS* should mention the precepts of the *second table* only, and not any of the *first*, which concern our duty towards *GOD*. I therefore answer,

^f *Ibid.* num. 1001.

^e *Ibid.* num. 1026.

2. THAT JESUS is not blameable upon this account, because he may be justified from the *old Testament* in this method. LORD, *who shall abide in thy tabernacle? And who shall dwell in thy holy hill?* (Psal. xv. 1.) This is a question very like to that of the man in the gospel. *David Kimchi*^h tells us, that by the *tabernacle* and the *holy hill* heaven is meant, the state of recompence and blifs to righteous souls. Now the answer to this question follows: He that walks *righteously* or *uprightly*, he that *doth righteousness*, that *speaks the truth*. He that neither injures, backbites, nor reproacheth his neighbour, &c. where we find nothing mentioned but obedience to the *second table*. This doth not exclude the duties of the *first table* in the *Psalmist*; nor in the words of JESUS may this be presumed to do it. Thus the prophet *Jeremy* speaks to the *Jews*, *Did not thy father do judgment and justice? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: Was not this to know me? saith the LORD*, (Jer. xxii. 15, 16.) This is so far from excluding the precepts of the *first table*, that it rather implies and infers them; as appears from those words, *Was not this to know me? saith the LORD*.

3. WE do not doubt, but rich men have been saved, nor do we believe that it is absolutely and universally necessary, that we should strip our selves of all that we do possess. But we do believe, that we ought to be in a preparation to part with our wealth, when GOD declares his will, that we shall keep it no longer. 'Tis necessary that we obey JESUS; and whenever the enjoyment of our riches becomes inconsistent with our obedience to the laws of our holy religion, we ought to part with them. JESUS tells the man: *One thing thou lackest*. And it appeared, from what follows, that here he came short: He was not ready to part with his riches, when JESUS commanded him to do it. If the *Jew* concludes from this passage, that all *Christians* are obliged to part with their worldly estates, he concludes too much. 'Tis enough that we do it, as often as JESUS requires it.

V. THE *Jew* objects against what JESUS did in destroying the herd of swine (*Matth. viii. 32.*) He says, ⁱ no man ought to hurt his neighbour; that it was a great injury to destroy this great herd, which were under a keeper. He adds, that whereas St. *Matthew* mentions two, that met JESUS, yet St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* mention but one (*Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 27.*) I answer,

1. 'Tis very well known, that swine's-flesh was prohibited by the law of *Moses*. It was so far from being allowed for *sacrifice*, that it was not allowed for *food*. And how much soever the *Romans* valued that flesh, (as 'tis certain they did it at a great rate) there was nothing that the *Jews*, who adhered to their law, more detested. No man received any good from a swine till after its death; but the *Jew* even then received no advantage by it. They were so far from it, that it was among them detestable, even when alive. A nourisher of swine was one of an ill name; 'Tis in their *Talmud*^k reckoned as an infamy, and reckoned among the crimes of drunkenness and usury. *Maimonides* reports as ^l a saying of their wise men, *Cursed is he that brings up dogs or swine, because they are mis-*

^h R. D. Kimchi in Ps. xv.
mon. *Nizke Mamon. c. 5.*

ⁱ *Ibid.* num. 1028.

^k *Talm. Hieros. Shekalim.*

^l *Mai-*

chievous. The same author tells us, that their *wise men* forbad the bringing up of swine in any place; but they did not thus absolutely forbid the bringing up of dogs. But we have an older author than *Maimonides*, that delivers it as a ^m canon and settled constitution among the *Jews*; I mean the author of the *Misna*. His words are these, אין מנרלין ירכי i. e. *They do not bring up small beasts in the land of Israel, &c. They do not bring up cocks in Jerusalem, &c, nor may an Israelite bring up swine in any place, &c.* This is the ancient constitution of their wise men, to which the *Jews* think themselves obliged to pay obedience. It hath been supposed, that the *Gentiles* might keep this herd of swine, who lived among the *Jews*; but this is not sufficiently proved: And granting it so to be, yet it must be allowed to be a great hardship upon the *Jews*, as well as a great snare also. For the *Jews* were remarkable among the *Gentiles* for their detestation of swine's-flesh; and this practice was an ill example to that people, who, out of the desire of lucre, might be tempted to set up the same trade; and tempted also to tast of the forbidden flesh, out of compliance with the *Gentile* practice; or to avoid their scoffs on this account; so that it was in truth an act of grace and favour to the *Jews* to remove from them so dangerous a snare, and so bad an example.

2. I SEE NO cause, why the *Jew* should charge JESUS with any injustice or injury done: For it doth not appear, that JESUS destroyed this herd of swine. The devils besought JESUS, that he would suffer them to go into the herd of swine; and he did permit them. *He suffered them,* says St. *Luke* (ch. viii. 32.) The devils had a natural power to do it of themselves, were they not restrained by a superior power. JESUS did not think fit (and doubtless for great reason) to restrain them. They were the devils, which destroyed the swine, not JESUS. Doth the *Jew* think JESUS bound to interpose in this matter? The good work was his; He dispossessed the poor man; the devils upon this enter'd into the herd. The man was worth the saving, and JESUS saved him; He did not think fit to concern himself any farther. He relieved the man, and only neglected the swine. He preserved the *image* of GOD, but did not think the unclean and forbidden swine worthy of his care. This is all that this mighty charge amounts unto.

3. 'TIS great severity in the *Jew* upon this occasion to censure our SAVIOUR. The miracles, that JESUS did, were generally so many rescues and reliefs, so many acts of mercy and compassion. Those, which *Moses* wrought, were many times so many plagues and inflictions: And yet we do not charge *Moses* upon that account. We do not complain of *Elijah* for his destroying fifty men at a time; nor against *Elishah* for his severity to the forty two children: And 'tis very hard, that the *Jew* should inveigh against JESUS for permitting the devils to destroy the herd of swine. 'Tis true *Moses* had a divine commission, and the other were true prophets, and we ought not to question them. But then I have proved, that we have as much ground, not to say very much more, to believe the divine mission of JESUS, as the *Jews* have for the divine mission of *Moses*, or any other of their prophets.

4. AS for what the *Jew* objects, that St. *Matthew* mentions two that met JESUS, and St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* mention but one, I need not

trouble my self about it. For besides that the objection hath no weight in it, a parallel case of this kind hath been considered before, in the ⁿsecond part of this book.

VI. THE same Jew tells us, ° that JESUS said to his disciples, a little before his death, that after his resurrection from the dead he would go before them into Galilee (*Matth.* xxvi. 32.) He promiseth the same after his resurrection (*Matth.* xxviii. 10.) The same thing is predicted by an angel (*Mark* xvi. 7.) that it is subjoined, v. 12. that he appeared to two disciples (in Jerusalem the Jew adds to the text ; but in St. Mark it is) as they walked, and went into the country. After this he appeared to the eleven, v. 14. (in the same city of Jerusalem adds the Jew) and after his discourse ended he took his last farewell of them, and he ascended into heaven, v. 14. with v. 19. Hence he concludes, that JESUS never appeared to them in Galilee, and that he ascended not from Bethany, or mount Olivet, but from the table, where he did eat with his disciples. He says, that St. Luke doth more clearly bear witness to this in his last chapter, where he says nothing of Galilee ; but on the contrary, all together, viz. that he only appeared in Jerusalem, and v. 50. that he departed from his disciples ascending into heaven. He quotes St. Luke again, *Acts* i. 12. and says, that there is no mention of Galilee, or of the table. He adds, that St. John (ch. xx.) agrees with St. Mark and St. Luke, that he appeared to his disciples in Jerusalem ; but that he dissents from them (ch. xxi.) where he affirms, that he departed from his disciples in Galilee. This he reckons as inconsistent with what is said of his ascending from mount Olivet in Bethany, and from the table. He adds, that St. Matthew, (ch. xxviii. 16.) affirms, that the disciples went unto a mountain in Galilee, as JESUS had commanded, and that he mentions no appearance in Jerusalem, but that to Mary Magdalen, in which he dissents from the other evangelists. Hence he infers, that the account is inconsistent, and that there is no ground to believe the ascension of JESUS.

ANY man may see the tendency of this. The Jew would represent JESUS, as one who was false to his word, and the article of his ascension as incredible ; and that the evangelists deserve no belief, in that they speak inconsistently with one another. I answer,

1. I DO grant, that JESUS did promise his disciples, that he would go before them into Galilee, after he should rise from the dead : And yet, if the evangelists had not after this related that he had done it, it would not thence have followed, that JESUS had never done it ; nor could this have been inferred from their silence, with any sound reason ; nor would the evangelists upon that account have been unworthy of belief : Much less would JESUS have been so, unless the Jew could prove (which he can never do) that JESUS did not meet his disciples in Galilee, as he promised he would. And he must, to prove that, have produced a stronger proof than the bare silence of the evangelists. And yet that is more than he can pretend to. For,

2. THIS going of JESUS into Galilee is mentioned. St. Matthew says expressly, *Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where JESUS had appointed them ; and when they saw him*

ⁿ Chap. 2. in med.

^o *Ibid.* num. 1030.

they worshipped him (ch. xxviii. 16, 17.) These words do not only assure us, that the disciples went to *Galilee*, but also that they met with JESUS there. St. *Matthew* did not think fit to mention all the other appearances; but mentions this as the most illustrious. It seems to be that appearance, which is mentioned (1 *Cor.* xv. 6.) St. *John* relates also this appearance in *Galilee*, saying, *After these things JESUS shewed himself again to the disciples, at the sea of Tiberias*, ch. xxi. 1. At the *sea of Tiberias*, that is, in *Galilee*, as we learn from *John* vi. 1. We have in this matter the express testimony of two *evangelists*; and yet this bold *Jew* would insinuate to his reader, that JESUS did not appear to his disciples in *Galilee*, as he had promised. The *Jew* believes, that JESUS promised to meet his disciples in *Galilee*; But why doth he believe this? He says the *evangelist* affirms it, and so it is. But why doth he not believe, that he did meet them there, when yet two *evangelists* affirm that also? The *Jew* must pretend, that these two *evangelists* are not credible witnesses, because they do not speak consistently with St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*. I take that to be his meaning, and therefore I am to shew,

3. THAT there is no inconsistency in the relation given by the four *evangelists*: I will not think much to follow the *Jew*, and examine his pretences in that order, in which he hath laid them before the reader.

AND first, I must begin with St. *Mark*. He relates that JESUS appeared to two disciples (ch. xvi. 12.) not, as the *Jew* reports it, in *Jerusalem*; but as they were going into the country: After this he appeared to the eleven as they sat at meat (v. 14.) He discoursed with his disciples; and says the *Jew*, took his last farewell of them, and ascended into heaven. That is, as the *Jew* would have St. *Mark* speak, he ascended immediately *à mensâ ad cælum*, from the table unto heaven: And hence he rashly concludes, that JESUS never appeared to his disciples in *Galilee*, and that he did not ascend from mount *Olivet* (in *Bethany*) as St. *Luke* relates (ch. xxiv. 50. and *Acts* i. 12.)

BUT the *Jew* makes St. *Mark* say what he never said, and what is notoriously false likewise. What St. *Mark* says is this; *So then after the LORD had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven* (Mark xvi. 19.) He doth not say, that after he had spoken *these things*, he was immediately received into heaven, as the *Jew* would have him say: But that after he had given the precepts and promises, which he had to impart to his disciples, and nothing now remained, but that they should be sealed and confirmed by the HOLY GHOST, he was received up into heaven. The words of St. *Mark* will be better understood, if we compare them with the words of St. *Luke* (*Acts* i. 2, 3.) *Until the day in which he was taken up, after that he, through the HOLY GHOST, had given commandment unto the apostles, whom he had chosen; To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of GOD.* So that those words of St. *Mark*, *After the LORD had spoken to them*, are not to be restrained to the particulars mentioned (v. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.) but are to be understood of all the things delivered to them during his forty days stay upon earth. Those words in St. *Mark* were spoken in the evening of that day, in which he arose from the dead.

BUT to this purpose (and to put this whole matter out of all doubt) I shall compare what we read in St. *John*. We find in St. *John*, ch. xx. v. 19. a parallel place to St. *Mark* xvi. 14. I cannot see the least shadow to doubt, but that it is perfectly parallel, and I believe all mankind must own it. And yet St. *John* reports, that after that appearance of JESUS he appeared again to his disciples after eight days, when *Thomas* was with them, v. 26. And after this appearance he relates the appearance of JESUS in *Galilee*, ch. xxi. v. 1. in these words, *After these things JESUS shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias.*

THE *Jew* afterwards appeals to St. *Luke*, as the clearer witness in this matter. He says, that St. *Luke* says nothing of *Galilee*, imò totum contrarium, nempe in *Jerusalem* duntaxat comparuisse: They are the *Jew's* words; he affirms, that St. *Luke* affirms that JESUS appeared only in *Jerusalem*. He cites *Luke* xxiv. 50, and 52. And *Acts* i. 12. I shall examine the truth of this assertion.

THAT St. *Luke* doth not mention the appearance in *Galilee*, is of no moment in this case, as I have shewed before. 'Tis enough that two evangelists do mention it.

HE affirms, that St. *Luke* says, that JESUS appeared only in *Jerusalem*. But what proof doth he produce for this? The reader might justly have expected a very clear one: For there is no such thing said in the places, which he cites from St. *Luke*, ch. xxiv. v. 50, and 51, and *Acts* i. 12. more than that St. *Luke* is so far from affirming any such thing, that the very contrary may be collected from his words. St. *Luke* tells us, that JESUS led out his disciples as far as *Bethany*, and that upon the ascension of JESUS they returned to *Jerusalem*, from the mount called *Olivet*, and that they looked stedfastly towards heaven as he went up, and that this place was from *Jerusalem* a sabbath-day's journey. This doth abundantly refute the *Jew*, who pretends, that St. *Luke* affirms, that JESUS appeared only in *Jerusalem*.

THE *Jew* affirms, that St. *John* doth assert (ch. 21.) quod JESUS postremâ vice comparuit & discessit ab illis (viz. discipulis) in *Galilæa*. They are the very words of the *Jew*; but how far they are from truth, any man will see, that will take the pains to read over the twenty-first chapter of St. *John*.

As for what he adds of St. *Matthew*, it needs no answer, if what hath been said before be duly considered. Upon the whole, there is nothing said by the *Jew* of any weight or moment. I am sorry, that I can truly say, that he hath said any thing that is notoriously false: But so it is, that his prejudice against JESUS and the evangelists was so great, that it drew him aside, and put him upon objections, which when examined appeared to have no truth, and consequently no weight in them.

VII. THIS *Jew*^p proceeds to object against *Matth.* xxvi. 34. *This night before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice*; compared with other passages in the evangelists. In St. *Mark* (ch. xxiv. 30.) it is thus, *Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice*. Whether the cock did crow once or twice is doubtful, saith the *Jew*. For *Matth.* xxvi. 74. *Luke* xxii. 60. and *John* xiii. 38, and xviii. 27. mention but one

^p Ibid, num. 1031.

crowing of the cock ; but St. *Mark* xiv. 72. mentions the crowing of the cock a second time, as a signal unto *Peter*.

THIS may seem to be a considerable difficulty, at the first view of these several ways of expression : But when the matter is thoroughly weighed, I hope the difficulty will vanish away. I answer,

1. THAT as to the difficulty occasioned by the words in St. *Mark*, 'tis certain, that there is a various reading, that removes it intirely, from *ch.* xiv. 30. For *ἡ δὲ* is left out in the ancient copy of the university library of *Cambridge*. Admitting the reading of that very ancient copy, St. *Mark* doth perfectly agree with St. *Matthew*, *ch.* xxvi. 34. And then the *Jew's* objection falls of it self. But I will not lay hold of this, because the generality of copies read as we do now ; and I do not think it reasonable to depart from the reading, which the *Jew* follows, and which is most common.

2. I WILL therefore consider the importance of the words, as they lie in St. *Matthew*, upon which the main stress of this controversie depends. *This night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice*, says JESUS ; Here it is to be considered, what is meant by these words, *Before the cock crow*. It hath been observed, that the cock crows twice in a night ; at midnight, and in the fourth watch or approach of the morning. The latter is more properly called the *Gallicinium*, or cock-crowing. This is confirmed by the words of our SAVIOUR in St. *Mark* xiii. 35.—*Ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning* : Where it is evident, that *that* is called the *cock-crowing*, which doth immediately precede the morning, and which succeeds the midnight. Our SAVIOUR in *those* words explains *these* abundantly. For though the cock was wont to crow at midnight ; yet properly speaking, that is the cockcrowing, which is the fore-runner of the morning ; this being the more noble and welcome crowing, which precedes and ushers in the dawning of the day. And when the cock-crowing is mentioned absolutely, it is taken for this time ; and is always so taken, where there is not something said, that doth determine and limit it to another sense. In this case, I say, the cock-crowing signifies that time, when the cock crows the second time. So that those words, *Before the cock crow*, are as much as *ante Gallicinium* ; that is, before the cock crow twice. I am much inclined to the opinion of a very learned man, that St. *Mark* took from the mouth of *Peter* the very express words of CHRIST, when he said, *Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice* ; i. e. Before that time in which the cock is wont to crow the second time (which is, most properly speaking, the *cock-crowing*) thou shalt deny me thrice. And then St. *Mark* and St. *Matthew* perfectly agree. He that is so curious, as to see this matter more largely discussed, and proved from greater variety of witnesses, may consult ^a *Bochartus*.

VIII. THE *Jew* goes on, and objects against those words of JESUS (John xvi. 7.) *I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you, that I go away ; for if I go not away, the comforter will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send him unto you*. And against these words, v. 13 *Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come ; he will guide you into*

^a V. Bocharti *Hierozoic.* p. 11, l. 1, c. 17.

^r *Ibid.* num. 1033.

all truth : For he shall not speak of himself : But whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak. The Jew profanely and scoffingly says, that JESUS affirms, that the Spirit (the third person of the Christian's Trinity) could not come, unless JESUS returned to his Father, and sent him. He would know, why two persons might not be here together ; and most profanely and scoffingly offers a reason of his own, not fit to be named, having nothing of weight, but much of profaneness in it. He adds, that the Spirit and JESUS were here together, (*Matthew iii. 16.*) He proceeds to scoff, in which I will not follow him : He says, if the spirit speak not of himself, then he hath no power of himself ; and if he leads into all truth, because he speaks not of himself, then he says, if he did speak of himself, he would not lead into all truth. I answer,

1. I OBSERVE, before I proceed any farther, that the Jew mis-represents the words of JESUS. He tells us, that JESUS doth assert, *non posse, &c. i. e.* that the spirit could not come, unless he first returned to his Father. So that he supposeth, that JESUS affirmed this to be a thing absolutely and in its own nature impossible : And then, he exercises his wit and raillery in inquiring into the causes of it ; and in so profane a manner, that I cannot think it fit to repeat his words. He would make JESUS say, what he never said, and then scoffs at him : But JESUS doth not affirm, what the Jew says he did. The words of JESUS are these. *It is expedient for you, that I go away—If I go not away, the comforter will not come.* In which words JESUS doth not say, that it was absolutely impossible, that he and his spirit should be upon the earth at the same time ; and therefore the Jew might have spared his profane scoff, in inquiring into the reason of this affirmation of JESUS, and his quotation of St. *Matthew*, (ch. iii. 16.) JESUS only affirms, what was expedient for the sorrowful disciples ; and that if he did not go away, the comforter *would* not come amongst them.

2. I SHALL next consider the words of JESUS, as they lie before us in the words of St. *John* : *I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away ; for if I go not away the comforter will not come unto you : But if I depart, I will send him unto you.* In which words our SAVIOUR only tells his sorrowful disciples, what is best for them, and what they might expect in the event of things. He doth not say, that it was absolutely impossible, that it should be otherwise, as the Jew precipitantly represents our SAVIOUR's meaning. And for the better explaining this whole matter, I shall endeavour to put it into as clear a light as I can.

OUR SAVIOUR speaks to his disciples, who were in sorrow upon the account of his departure ; and the more effectually to comfort them, lets them know, that it was expedient for them, that he should go away : And to make them sensible of this, he adds, *If I go not away, the comforter will not come unto you : But if I depart, I will send him unto you.* He foretells, what will be the event : If he stays, the comforter will not come : If he goes, he will send him. He tells them, that GOD had in his wisdom thought fit, that so it should be, that the miraculous gifts of the HOLY GHOST should not be bestowed upon the disciples, till he should be exalted to the heavenly kingdom. It seemed good to the divine wisdom so to order things ; and doubtless for good causes. That thus it should be, was

predicted long before, (*Psalms* lxviii. 18.) That place is applied to this matter by St. *Paul*, (*Ephes.* iv. 8.) *Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.* It was GOD's will, that those gifts should not be bestowed, till JESUS was exalted to GOD's right-hand. *Therefore being by the right hand of GOD exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the HOLY GHOST, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear,* (*Acts* ii. 33.) This serves to explain what we read in St. *John* (ch. vii. 39.) *The HOLY GHOST was not yet given, because JESUS was not yet glorified.* It was so ordered by GOD, that JESUS should receive the promise of the HOLY GHOST, while he was upon earth; but that he should not bestow the wonderful gifts of the HOLY GHOST, till he should be exalted to GOD's right-hand in his heavenly kingdom. And JESUS, agreeably hereunto, bids his disciples to stay at *Jerusalem*, waiting for this promise of the *Father*.

BUT still here was not any absolute necessity that the *Spirit* should not be given, till after JESUS was glorified, as St. *Augustin*¹ observed long ago: No doubt but JESUS might have sent him sooner. There was no antecedent necessity, that things should be thus: And it is evident, that the *Jew* mis-represents the sense of the words of JESUS. But though there was no antecedent necessity; yet we ought to believe, that what was done was best, and that it was becoming the divine wisdom. And this course was very fit, with respect and reference to the *Holy Spirit*. The mighty miracles, which were wrought by the *Holy Spirit*, did very much tend to the honour of this *Spirit* of GOD, and were a great proof of the divinity of this *Spirit* of GOD. And this was more effectual still, when JESUS was glorified: Whereas, had these miraculous gifts been bestowed during his continuance upon earth, they might indeed have been imputed to some secret power of *his*, but would not have been so publickly owned, as the works of the HOLY GHOST, and as clear proofs of the divinity of *that person* of the *Holy Trinity*. Again, it was very fit upon the account of JESUS also. For CHRIST having promised to send the HOLY GHOST after his departure, the HOLY GHOST, when he came, did not only confirm the truth of his prediction, but also gave assurance to his disciples, that he was sent by JESUS according to his prediction; which might otherwise have been doubted of, if the HOLY GHOST had been poured out, while he lived upon earth. The HOLY GHOST was an *advocate*, with respect to JESUS; as that *word*, which we render *comforter* sometimes signifies, (*John* xvi. 7, 8, &c.) He testified of our SAVIOUR, (*John* xv. 26.) And he was justified by the *Spirit*, (*1 Tim.* iii. 16.) The coming of the HOLY GHOST did not only bear witness to the veracity of JESUS; but was also an unexceptionable proof of his exaltation to heaven, and of his great *power* as well as glory in that place; which would not have appeared so evidently, had the miraculous gifts been bestowed, while JESUS lived upon earth.

IT is true, and St. *Augustin*² takes notice of the objection, that the *Holy Spirit* had been among men before. He was in *Simeon*; by him the virgin *Mary* conceived; *Zacharias* was filled with the HOLY GHOST: The HOLY GHOST attended upon the baptism of JESUS; and the *prophets of old spake, as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST*. But the

¹ August. in Joan. Tract, 94.

² Tract. 32. in S. Joan.

answer is easie : Our SAVIOUR predicts the miraculous and plentiful effusion of the HOLY GHOST ; which is mentioned in the *Acts*, and which came to pass on the day of *Pentecost*. We have nothing like that effusion mentioned before. This was promised and made good to the believers. *He that believeth on me* (says JESUS) *out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* It follows, *This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive : For the HOLY GHOST was not yet given, because JESUS was not yet glorified,* (John vii. 38, 39.) Whence it is very evident, that these words refer to the stupendious and plentiful effusion of the HOLY GHOST on the day of *Pentecost*. Prophecy had ceased a long time, before these words were spoken ; and though some holy men had upon occasions received the HOLY GHOST ; yet this plentiful effusion was reserved, till JESUS was glorified.

IT is farther said, what the *Spirit* shall do, when he doth come, (v. 13) *He will guide you into all truth.* All necessary truth, whether relating to faith, or manners, or the establishing and well governing the church.

FOR he shall not speak of himself, i. e. He shall deliver nothing for truth, but what is the will of GOD, and nothing contrary to it. Compare (John vii. 18. ch. viii. 26 and ch. xiv. 10.) He shall discharge the office of a faithful legate ; and deliver to you nothing but what he *bears*, i. e. receives from my Father and me, who send him. The *Jew* might have spared his scoff, when he says, if the *Spirit* spake not of himself, he hath no power of himself. His not speaking of himself speaks his veracity, but doth not infer want or defect of power ; for GOD, who is almighty, yet cannot lye, nor repent. The *Jew's* last words are as weak and vain, as any thing can be, *viz.* That if the *Spirit* did speak of himself, he would not lead into all truth. If what hath been said before be considered, it will need no answer : The *Spirit* of GOD cannot be supposed to speak of himself in that sense, in which that is to be understood, without a contradiction.

IX. THE same *Jew*^u objects against the *evangelists* relation of JESUS his eating the *passover*. The disciples ask JESUS (Matth. xxvi. 17.) on the *first day* of the *passover*, where he would have them prepare to eat the *passover* ; and JESUS directed them in this matter. This first day, the *Jew* says, was that day, in the evening whereof they killed and eat the paschal lamb ; the following night being the time, whence the first day of the *passover* commenced. After JESUS had eaten of the paschal lamb, he went out to pray ; and that that very night he was taken, and crucified the next day. This the *Jew* says cannot consist ; it not being lawful to apprehend, to accuse in court, nor to execute a malefactor on that solemn festival. He adds, that St. *John* relates, that JESUS supped with his disciples, and performed all the rites of the *passover*, and that the day before the *passover* he was crucified, and was buried ; and to prove this, he refers to St. *John* xiii. at the beginning, and to St. *John* (ch. xix. 14. 31.) And that St. *Luke* intimates the same, (ch. xxiii. 54.) Though he be in that matter inconsistent with himself. He says, St. *John* is contradicted by the other *evangelists* ; besides that no man could eat the paschal lamb out of its appointed time. From the whole he infers the incredibility of the relation. Here are a great many things,

^u *Ibid.* num. 1034.

which are with great application of mind to be considered separately and apart : When that is done, we shall soon see, whether there be any weight or not, in what this *Jew* hath laid before his reader. I answer,

1. I OBSERVE, that the *Jew* speaks inconsistently with himself. The first day mentioned (*Matth.* xxvi. 17.) he says, was the first day of the *passover*, that is, says he, *Ante ejus ingressum*, i. e. Before the *passover* began, in which the paschal lamb was sacrificed, which was done in the evening, viz. before the night, from which night begins the first day of the *passover*, and in which the lamb was eaten. All that I observe in this matter is this only, that the *Jew* speaks either very obscurely, or very inconsistently with himself. If his meaning be, that it was the day before the *passover*, then he doth not speak clearly, when he calls it the first day of the *passover*. If this be not his meaning, then he speaks inconsistently, because he says afterwards, that the first day of the *passover* commenced from the evening of that day, when these words were spoken. But I lay no great stress upon this.

2. I OBSERVE, that the *Jew*, to serve his purpose and promote his opinion, makes use of a testimony or argument, which is nothing to his purpose : And this I make appear.

THUS to prove the time of our SAVIOUR'S eating the *passover*, he cites the beginning of the thirteenth chapter of St. *John* : Here he would have his reader believe, that the supper mentioned, (*John* xiii. 2.) was the paschal supper. This belief would encrease the difficulties, that attend upon this matter ; it would serve his purpose, which was to represent the *evangelists* as inconsistent with each other, and therefore he produceth that place.

I SHALL shew, that the supper mentioned in that place was not the paschal supper ; I do very well know, that many learned men are of that opinion, and know also the consequence of it in my present debate. I shall therefore shew with all possible clearness, that it was not the paschal supper which is mentioned, (*John* xiii. 2.) And that appears, (1) From St. *John* (ch. xiii. 1.) It is there expressly said, *to be before the feast of the passover*. 'Tis probable, that it is the same which is mentioned, (*Matth.* xxvi. 6.) which was in the house of *Simon* the leper, and was two days before the *passover*, (*Matth.* xxvi. 2. *Mark* xiv. 1. (2) From St. *John* (ch. xiii. 27, 29.) JESUS said unto *Judas*, *That thou doest, do quickly*. These words were not understood by the other disciples. Some of them thought, because *Judas* had the bag, that the meaning of those words of JESUS was, that he should buy those things, which were needful against the feast. That feast must be the feast of the *passover* : For if the paschal supper had been over, the disciples could never have thought, that this was the meaning of these words. (3) From St. *Luke* (ch. xxii. 3.) *Then entred Satan into Judas* ; and (v. 4) *And he went his way, and communed with the chief priests, and captains, how he might betray him unto them*. It follows in St. *Luke* (v. 7.) *Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover* (i. e. the paschal lamb) *must be killed*. So the devil entred into *Judas* before the *passover*, viz. at the supper mentioned, (*John* xiii. 2. with v. 27.) and that supper must therefore be before the *passover*, and consequently it could not be the paschal supper. (4) The paschal supper was a part of the feast of the *passover*, and so considerable a part, that it gave a denomina-

tion to the whole feast, and therefore ought not to be excluded from the title of that feast; and if so, the supper (*John* xiii. 2.) which is said to be before the feast of *passover*, could not be the paschal supper. (5) If the supper which is mentioned, (*John* xiii. 2.) was the paschal supper, then *Judas* must be supposed to have made his agreement to betray JESUS with the priests, and captains, that very night after supper, which is by no means to be supposed. For he had not time that night to do it. For that night they did not sup together. By the law every master of a family was obliged to sup with his family, and such a number of men as *Judas* had to agree, and contract with, could not be supposed to be together that night; and yet they could not contract, unless they were together, and did it by common consent. (6) From *St. John* (ch. xiv. 31.) compared with *St. John* (ch. xviii. 1.) it may well be concluded, that JESUS did change his place, when he had said, *Arise, let us go hence*; but then that change of place after the *passover*, (ch. xviii. 1.) is clearly another from that mentioned, (ch. xiv. 31.) The reader, who is curious, may see more upon this argument in a very * learned writer of our own.

I ADD, that there is nothing mentioned in this chapter of a paschal supper. The washing of the disciples feet is no rite belonging to the paschal supper. Mr. *Buxtorf* owns^y that there was no such usage among the *Jews*, though he was himself of opinion, that *St. John* (ch. xiii. 2.) is to be understood of the paschal supper. Let them that are of this opinion shew, how these difficulties, which attend it, can be answered: Let them shew, what rites of the paschal feast they can find in this 13th chapter of *St. John*. Here is no mention of the institution of the LORD's supper. And the *Jew*, who^z to serve his purpose would have chap. 13th of *St. John* to be understood of this supper; yet frankly owns, that there is no mention of the *Christian Eucharist* in *St. John's* gospel.

I MUST do the *Jew* right, that tho' *St. John* (ch. 13.) doth not serve his purpose; yet the other places he quotes from *St. John* (ch. xix. 14.) and (v. 31.) deserve to be very carefully considered. His design is to prove from those places, that *St. John* relates, that JESUS was crucified, and buried the day before the *passover*. *It was the preparation of the passover*, (v. 14.) And after our SAVIOUR died on the cross, it is said, *The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath-day besought Pilate, &c.* (v. 31.) He says, that in this *St. Luke* agrees, and *that was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on* (*Luke* xxiii. 54.) If JESUS did die a day before the *passover*, how could he be said to have eaten the *passover* with his disciples? For that could not be eaten but in its appointed time. I answer therefore,

3. I WILL not dispute with the *Jew* concerning the precise time, when JESUS kept this last *passover* with his disciples. I will suppose (I do not say grant) that he kept the *passover* supper with his disciples a day before the *Jews* eat their paschal supper; which is what the *Jew* contends for. Yet still upon this supposition I will defend the *evangelists*, whom he would endeavour to represent as inconsistent with one another. And if I do that, I shall do the *Jew* justice, and he will have no cause to complain,

* Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr. in Matth.* xxvi. 6.
Ibid. num. 1084.

^y *Institut.* SS. *Cæna.*

^z J. Aben Amram.

or to represent the holy *evangelists* as unworthy of belief. And there are two things to this purpose, which I shall lay before the reader.

First, THAT there was a two-fold *passover* in use among the *Jews*. There was a *πάχα θύπνον* and *μνημονεύτικόν*, i. e. The *passover* was *sacrificial* or *commemorative*. The first of these was *solemn* and *full*, and perfectly agreeable to the law of *Moses*. This was determined, and fixed, as to the precise *time*, and *place*, when GOD had made choice of *Jerusalem* for the place of his publick worship. There was the paschal lamb slain as a proper sacrifice, and the blood sprinkled upon the altar by the priests at the temple. Of this there is no dispute between the *Jews* and *Christians*. The utmost then that the *Jew* can contend for is, that JESUS did not just before his death keep this *passover* with his disciples: Nor will I contend with the *Jew* about this matter. Let it be supposed, that JESUS did not keep this *passover*. But then there was also a *passover* that was *commemorative*, which was not fixed to *time* and *place* as the *sacrificial* was. This was subrogated or substituted into the room and place of the *sacrificial*, for the sake of those *Jews* who were dispersed and lived at a great distance from *Jerusalem*, and could not therefore be present at their solemn festivals. 'Tis reasonable to believe, that these *Jews*, wherever they were, must think themselves obliged to commemorate the mercy of GOD in delivering their fore-fathers from the bondage of *Egypt*. And though they could not by their law sacrifice out of their land; yet they must be obliged to commemorate GOD's mercies. There is no doubt, but that the pious *Jews*, even in *Babylon*, did this. And the *Jews* among us do it to this day. And yet neither could the devout *Jews* in *Babylon*, nor can the *Jews* living among us do it any otherwise than by way of commemoration. Sacrifice they cannot, I might say they ought not, by their own law; but they may keep a supper, they may eat unleavened-bread (and they do it) and bitter herbs. *Maimonides*^a gives us an account of the *passover* supper, and the provisions for it during the standing of the temple: But then he adds, that in *this time*, i. e. the time of their captivity, מביאים זכרי they bring to the table two sorts of flesh, one a memorial of the *passover*, and the other a memorial of the *Chagigah*.

BUT it will be objected, that granting such a commemorative *passover* in *Babylon*, and in remote places, and now the temple is down; yet was there no occasion for it in our SAVIOUR's time. The temple was then standing. It is not to be supposed, that JESUS would depart from the letter of the law, when it was in his power to keep to it.

TO this it is answered, That^b JESUS knew that he was to die the next day, and therefore not being to live to the legal time he anticipated it, and must do so, or not keep the *passover* at all. And in that case he did all that was possible for him to do, when he kept the *commemorative* *passover*. In which he was so far from breaking the law of GOD, that he kept it, as far as it was possible to do it. He did that which was allowable in all cases of necessity. Thus (*Matth.* xxvi. 18.) JESUS says to his disciples, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The master saith, My time is at hand, I will keep the *passover* at thy house with my disciples: What we render I will keep is *ποιῶ* in the present tense, I keep, that is, I cannot stay to the following day, when the paschal lamb

^a H. Chametz Umatzah, c. 8. S. 1.

^b Grot. in *Matth.* xxvi. 18.

was to be sacrificed, but intend forthwith (my time being at hand) to keep the *passover* with my disciples. 'Tis farther observed, that JESUS is said to *eat* the *passover*, not to *sacrifice* it. We grant, that the *sacrificial* *passover* could not be kept out of the legal and appointed time. But this doth not infer, that JESUS might not keep that which was the *commemorative*.

PERHAPS it may be objected, that this account of the anticipation of this last *passover* which JESUS kept is a novel opinion, and not of any antiquity, and therefore not to be credited.

To this it is answered, that several of the ancients have said the same. Photius^c is a competent witness in this case. He tells us, that he read a book of an *Anonymomus* author, written against the *Jews*, in which the author affirms, τῇ ἀγίᾳ πέμπτῃ μὴ τὸ νομικὸν φαγεῖν πάχα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν χριστόν· μὴδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τότε τὸν καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐπείσει, i. e. That is, Our LORD JESUS CHRIST *did eat* the *passover* on the *fifth* day of the *holy* week, which was not legal, for the time (or legal season) was not then, but the following day. The same Photius mentions another of the ancients, who wrote a book concerning the feast of *passover*, in which he affirms, Ὅτι κατὰ μὲν, &c. That CHRIST our LORD and GOD did in the other years in his presence keep a legal *passover*, but did not do so, in that year when he was betrayed. This is sufficient to shew, that this is no novel doctrine.

Secondly, SUPPOSING that JESUS did keep the *sacrificial* *passover*; yet in that case I have something to offer the *Jew*, which will be enough to silence him, and, as I hope, sufficiently defend the *evangelists*.

AND that is what hath been said on this occasion by a^d very learned countryman of our own. He tells us, that the difference of time between our SAVIOUR'S *passover*, and that of the *Jews*, must be derived from the way of reckoning the month, and of determining the ראש חודש or *beginning of the month*, which was in use in our SAVIOUR'S time, which was by the φάσγ. He describes the whole manner of it in the following words.

IN^e the great or outer court of the temple there was a house called Bethjazeck, where the senate sate all the thirtieth day of every month, to receive the witnesses of the moon's appearance, and to examine them. And here they always had a feast provided for the entertainment of those that came, to encourage men to come the more willingly. In ancient times they did admit of strangers, and receive their testimony, if it was approved upon examination. But when the hereticks (that is, the Christians) afterwards grew up, by whom (they say) they were sometimes deluded, they began to grow shy, and to admit of none, but such as were approved of to be of the *Jews* religion. If there came approved witnesses upon the thirtieth day of the φάσγ seen, then the chief man of the senate stood up, and pronounced Mekuddash, It is sanctified; and the people standing by caught the word from him, and cried out Mekuddash, Mekuddash. Whereupon there was notice presently given to all the country, which was done at first by torches from mountain to mountain, till

^c Photii Bibliothec. Edit. Rhotomag. pag. 291. & 294.
supper.

^d Dr. Cudworth's notion of the LORD'S
^e Talmud. Babylon. Rosh Hashan, and Maimon. Kiddush. Hachod.

at length the Christians (they say) abused them in that kind also with false fires; wherefore they were fain to send messengers from place to place over the whole land to give intelligence of the new moon. But if, when the consistory had sate all the thirtieth day, there came no approved witnesses of the *φάσις*, then they made an intercalation of one day in the former month, and decreed the following one and thirtieth day to be the calends. And yet notwithstanding, if after the fourth, or fifth day there should come some witnesses from afar, that testified they had seen the *φάσις* in its due time; nay, though they came toward the end of the month, the senate, when they had used all means by affrighting them from that testimony, that so, if it were possible, they might decline a new consecration, (after they had already made an embolism in the former month) if the witnesses remained constant, were then bound to alter the beginning of the month, and reckon it a day sooner, to wit, from the thirtieth day.

WE may learn hence the ground of the difference of a day concerning the calends, and consequently the feast depending thereupon; viz. from the true *φάσις*, and the senate's decree. It appears, that the senate, having once decreed and made their consecration of the *Neomenia*, was very unwilling to make any alteration: And the senate in corrupt times might refuse to approve of the testimony of undoubted witnesses in the case. And hence we may well suppose, that the difference of time between our SAVIOUR'S *passover* and that of the *Jews* may be well accounted for. It was^f a canon or constitution among the *Jews*, that what the *Sanhedrin* or senate had decreed in this matter, tho' they were mistaken in their judgment, must stand good. Our SAVIOUR and other pious *Jews* could not be obliged by this canon in any good reason. This probably might be the case in our SAVIOUR'S time, and that he followed the true *φάσις* and some number of the superstitious *Jews* the decree of the *Sanhedrin*, which was for the day after. So that supposing our SAVIOUR to have kept the *sacrificial* *passover*, it is from what hath been said easie to understand, how our SAVIOUR'S *passover* might be sacrificed a day before that of some of the other *Jews*. And then the seeming inconsistency of the *evangelists* is removed, and I think, the force of all the *Jews* objections is intirely taken away.

FOR in such a case we may well suppose the *Jews* divided. That JESUS and many others with him kept the precise time according to the true *φάσις* or appearance, and that another part of them stuck to the *Sanhedrin*'s decree, and kept it the day after. And then it is infinitely plain, that our SAVIOUR kept it the *right* time, and the other *Jews* in the *wrong*. For notwithstanding the canon or constitution above-named, it is certain, that JESUS observed the time that was legal, the *φάσις* being the true direction in this whole matter. As for what our very learned author mentioned before quotes from *Epiphanius*, I suppose the printer hath done him wrong as to the quotation. However, it is certain that *Epiphanius*^g in another place says, that the *Jews* did keep their *passover* that year not in the legal time, but then he adds withal such things, as render that testimony of no manner of force in this my argument against the *Jew*: And I think,

^f Maimon. *Kiddush Hachod*, c. 2 S. 10.

^g Epiphan. in *Panar. Hares*. LI.

that I ought not to urge any thing as a proof, which upon examination will not bear. What other place may be elsewhere in that Father to my present purpose I cannot tell.

WHAT I am going to add on this occasion is a matter of greater moment in the question before us, and it is this. That differences arising concerning the consecrating of the *Neomenia*, it came to pass in such doubtful cases, that the *Jews* permitted the feasts (and particularly the *passover*) to be kept two days together. *Maimonides*ⁱ hath declared himself upon this occasion. He affirms, that the *Jews*, who lived remote, kept two days, and that in *Jerusalem*, where the senate sat, they kept the new moon two days. Our very learned author produceth an instance out of the *Talmud* of the *passover*'s being kept two days together, because the new moon was doubtful. Hence the *Karraites*, who are governed by the moons *φάσις*, retain as a rule to this day (says our author) *observare duos dies propter dubium*, i. e. *To keep two days in a doubtful case*. In imitation of whom even the *Rabbinical Jews* are observed to keep the *passover* two days together. *

I DO not know any thing now in the *Jew*'s objections, which can have any force, if what hath been said before be duly considered; and the *Jew* ought not to represent the *evangelists* as unworthy of credit, unless he can answer what is offered in their defence.

X. The *Jew* would disparage the relation of *Pilate*'s washing his hands before his giving *JESUS* up to be crucified, as importing his unwillingness to put him to death. If he was unwilling, says^k the *Jew*, to put him to death, how came *Pilate* to scourge him before that?

BUT this objection is so frivolous, that it needs no answer. There is no accounting for the actions of an unjust judge. 'Tis enough, that there is nothing related in this matter, that doth in any degree weaken the credit of the *relators*.

XI. THE *Jew*^l objects against St. *John*, for saying that *Nicodemus* brought a mixture of *myrrh* and *aloes* about an hundred pound weight; ch. xix. 39. He affirms, that this was enough for two hundred dead bodies, and that it could not be carried with less than the strength of a *mule*, and therefore not by *Nicodemus*. So that this relation of St. *John* is not worthy of belief. I answer,

I. WE have nothing but this *Jew*'s word for it; that this was enough for two hundred bodies, and that this would have been a load for a *mule*. We have no manner of reason to believe this. Had the *Jew* done any thing to the purpose, he should have told us what was the weight of the *λίτρα* mentioned by St. *John*, and reduced the hundred to a weight known among us, that the reader might have been able to see the force of the objection. But^m 'tis probable, that this was beyond his skill, the *λίτρα* being a *Greek* word, and a *Greek* weight signified thereby, and not of *Hebrew* extraction. And we, having no assurance of the exact weight from

ⁱ *Kiddush. Hachod. c. 5. Sect. 6, 8.*

^k *Ibid. num. 1036.*

^l *Ibid. num. 1040.*

^m V. Heinsii

Aristarch.

* The reader is desir'd to take notice, That a book is designed to be printed, intitled, *The Scripture Chronology demonstrated by Astronomical Observations*, in which it is hop'd, that this controversy, will be set in a clear light,

the *Jew*, are not concerned at what he says, that *Nicodemus* could not carry so great a burden. Besides, *Nicodemus* might be properly said to bring, what he caused to be brought.

2. WE will consider what was the custom of the *Jews* on these occasions. 'Tis a thing well known, that among the *Jews*, the bodies of great men were buried with great quantity of spices. We read of *Asha*, that *they buried him in his own sepulchre, which he had made for himself, in the city of David, and laid him in the bed, which was filled with sweet odors, and divers kinds of spices*, 2 Chr. xvi. 14. It was allowed to be profuse in this expence. And *Nicodemus* out of honour to our LORD may well be allowed to be at greater expence than usual. Besides, we *Christians* do believe, that the honourable burial of our SAVIOUR was predicted long before by the prophet *Isaiah*, and then it is not strange, that the fulfilling that prediction should be very remarkable.

THE *Jew* subjoins under the same number, that St. *John* says, that *Mary* seeking at the sepulchre for the body of JESUS found two angels, to which St. *Luke* agrees: But (says he) *Matthæus testatur unum duntaxat invenisse*, i. e. *Matthew testifies, that she found one only*. To which, says he, St. *Mark* agrees. I answer,

THAT as for the main of this^m objection it hath been answered fully already, and I will not so far impose upon the reader, as to repeat in this place, what I have said before upon this occasion. I am fully convinced, that that answer may satisfy any *Jew*, who is willing to receive any reasonable satisfaction.

THE reason why I mention it here is, that I might lay before the reader the great insincerity of the *Jew* in mis-representing St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark*. He would have his reader believe, that these two *evangelists* affirm, that there was one only angel found, and not two, as the others affirm, and that out of a design to make them contradict each other; whereas in truth St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* affirm no such thing, as the *Jew* pretends; as the reader, who can believe his eyes, may soon find. I must needs say, that this is very unjust, and at this rate he may easily impose upon the unwary reader.

XII. THE *Jew*ⁿ objects against the words of JESUS, (*Matth. xxviii. 18.*) where he says to his disciples, *All power is given to me in heaven and in earth*. If JESUS was GOD, and equal with the Father, how could he say this? These words suppose, that he had it not before. Perhaps, says he, he receiv'd it for the merit of the cross, or that the Father being weary with long governing now leaves that care to his Son, as he scoffingly proceeds. I answer,

1. THAT we *Christians* do believe the Son to be GOD, and co-eternal with the Father, and therefore he had a power before this power was said to be given him in these words.

2. WHAT we *Christians* teach is this: That the Son of GOD, the *λόγος*, is a divine person, and as such he hath a natural and independent authority and right over all his creatures, whether in heaven or on earth, as he is the creator of them: The words in St. *Matthew* are not to be understood of this right or authority; for this is independent and unde-

rived. But the power mentioned in St. *Matthew* is to be understood of a right imparted to him, as a man that was sent by *GOD*, anointed, and constituted the mediator between *GOD* and man, and was raised from the dead, and exalted into heaven. Now this derived authority is partly *oeconomical*, and therefore to be resigned to the *Father*, from whom it was derived, as soon as those ends are fully accomplished, for which this power was at first granted; partly so *proper* to the *union*, or *due* to the passion of the humane nature, that it must be co-eval to it, that is, of eternal duration. To confirm all this from the *new Testament* will signify nothing to a *Jew*; but however this is enough to set the matter in its true light. And for the profane scoffs of the *Jew* I leave him to a righteous judge; it doth not become me to render him scoff for scoff. I do not think, that such a method could ever gain any proselytes. But if the *Jew* will pretend to reply, he ought to take this question, as it is stated by *Christians*, and to answer it as it is so stated, and then he may expect farther satisfaction.

XIII. THE *Jew*^o objects against St. *John* ch. xxi. 25. and prefaces to this objection. He says, he hath often observed and proved, that the gospels are of suspected credit, he adds, and of no credit: And among them, that of St. *John* especially, because he says, *And there are also many other things which JESUS did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world it self could not contain the books, that should be written.* Here the *Jew* objects, that St. *John*'s phrase is not scriptural, that *JESUS* did not preach, till he was thirty years of age, that then he did not continue above three years, more or less, till his crucifixion. How many books (says he) could be written? A book for a day? But would not the world contain so many? Why did St. *John* write so little a gospel? And why was that, which he wrote, replete with vain, and amorous, and rhetorical speeches? As particularly beginning from ch. xiv. 7. Some more such stuff he adds, not worth the repeating; having nothing in it of reason, or force. I answer,

1. THAT I do not doubt of his ill opinion of the *evangelists*. I dare take a *Jew*'s word for that: But that he hath proved them to be of suspected, and of no credit, I have no reason to believe. And yet I am never like to have any better proof than the word of the *Jew*.

2. HOWEVER, I am no farther concerned in this place, than to defend St. *John* for the words afore-recited: I believe, that I shall not find any great difficulty in that matter. Nor will I lay hold of any evasion: I will not suppose, that the world's not containing is to be interpreted of the incapacity of the men of the world. This looks too much like artifice.

3. I DO allow it to be an hyperbolical expression. But of all men in the world a *Jew* should not have brought this objection against the *evangelists*, because not only the sacred writers of the *old Testament* take this liberty, which St. *John* takes; but the *Jewish* writers do it frequently, and nothing is more common in other writers, and common discourse and conversation.

As for the sacred writers nothing is more common. St. *Austin*^p long since takes notice of that hyperbolical expression, *Gen.* xiii. 16. where

^o *Ibid.* num. 1094.

^p *Aug. de Civ. D.* l. 16. c. 21.

GOD says to *Abram* : *I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth ; so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbred.* What proportion was there between the seed of *Abram* (I might have said *Adam*) and the dust of the earth? As great the disproportion is, as between the space that those books would take up, which might have been written of *JESUS*, and the capacity of the whole world. And yet these are the words of GOD himself : And I hope, the *Jew* will not be so profane as to scoff at them, whatever he doth by the *evangelists*. Compare *Gen.* xv. 5. GOD promiseth to the *Israelites* a land flowing with milk and honey, *Exod.* iii. 8. The expression is hyperbolical ; but all that is meant is a very fruitful land. Thus we read of a darkness that may be felt, for a great darkness, *Exod.* x. 21. Of a ⁹ great number of camels hyperbolically expressed, by being *without number, as the sand of the sea side for multitude*, *Judges* vii. 12. Compare *1 Sam.* xiii. 5. Thus when there was a great noise of pipes, it is hyperbolically expressed thus, that *the earth rent with the sound of them*, *1 Kings* i. 40. The wealth of *Solomon's* time is thus hyperbolically expressed. *The king made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones ; and cedars made he to be as the sycomore-trees that are in the vale for abundance*, *1 Kings* x. 27. The reader may find more of these ways of speaking, *Gen.* x. 4. *Numb.* xiii. 33. *Dan.* iv. 20. And in this very *evangelist*, ch. xii. 19. So that the *evangelists* way of speaking may be justified from the sacred writers, whatever the *Jew* affirms to the contrary.

BUT all men know, that are conversant in the *Jewish* writings, that they are full of such kind of expressions : As the sacred writers are confessed so to be ; so are the *Talmudical* and other writers, which yet are of great fame, and esteem among them. There are some things said by the *Jewish* doctors so very strange and surprizing, that this hyperbolical speech of *St. John* can give no just offence to a *Jew* of any men whatsoever. For their way of speaking is so romantick, that if we consider the bare letter, they cannot be defended. We must allow them their מציאות, i. e. their hyperbolical way of speaking, or we must suppose, that there lies a farther and more hidden meaning under it, than what the bare letter imports. It is a saying among the *Jews*, that ^r GOD *bath nothing in this his world but four cubits of Talmudical constitutions.* *Maimonides* takes a great deal of pains to defend this odd expression. Many more ^t such expressions we have, which cannot be defended without allowing of great *hyperboles*, or of some other meaning than the bare letter will afford, of which 'twere easie to give several instances, if it was worth the reader's while.

AGAIN, there is nothing more common than *hyperboles* in all other writers, and common conversation. The *Jew*, if he pleaseth, may quarrel with all mankind as well as with *St. John* on this account.

4. AS for his scurrility and scoffs they prove nothing but the rancor and vanity of his own mind. Those divine words in *St. John* xiv. and the following chapters are far above contempt. But there is nothing so sacred, which a profane and reprobate mind will not reproach and revile.

⁹ V. Maimon. *More Nev.* P. II. c. 47.
span, in *Lipman, Nizachon*, c. 2.

^r V. Dr. Pocock's *Port, Mos.* p. 90.

^t V. Hack-

XIV. THE same *Jew*^t objects against St. *Paul* for his words, *Gal.* iii. 10. *For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: For it is written, Cursed is every one, that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law to do them.* He thinks St. *Paul* very unequal in this matter: For 'tis certain according to the doctrine of the *old Testament*, that as he was pronounced cursed that obeyed not; so on the other hand he was esteemed blessed, who yielded obedience to the law of *Moses*. The *Jew* demands of St. *Paul*, what punishment he shall incur, who professeth and doth not practise the *Christian* religion? He supposeth, he will answer, that he will incur heresy or eternal condemnation: Then (says the *Jew*) may I infer, that whoso is under the *Christian* faith or religion, is under eternal heresy or condemnation, by the same reasoning that St. *Paul* useth here. He says, that St. *Paul* runs into the same impiety again, *Rom.* iii. 20. & *ch.* iv. 15. & *ch.* v. 13. where he affirms, that we cannot be justified by the works of the law, because by it we come to the knowledge of sin, and incur the penalty of our disobedience. The *Jew* replies, that sin and punishment flow from the violation of the law, and the keeping it would assure men of the reward. He goes on and asks the *Christian*; He that is a *Christian* and doth not obey the *Christian* laws, and *papal* constitutions, doth he sin and incur any penalty? He will own, that he sins and is liable to punishment. Then, says he, I argue thus, By the works of faith no man can be saved; for by faith, that is the *Christian* doctrine, we have the knowledge of sin; and by our disobedience we render our selves liable to punishment. According to this way of arguing (says the *Jew*) it would be better for mankind to be without any law at all. I answer,

1. THAT it is a very easie thing to ridicule and mis-represent any author whatsoever, if we take some of his words separately from the context, and frame objections against them. At this rate I could very easily object against many passages of the *old Testament*. It is fit, that we should consider the argument, which the author insists upon, and fairly consider the import of the words themselves. I do confess as the *Jew* lays his objection, it looks very plausibly; but when we consider the words with application, and the argument, which St. *Paul* pursues, and the context also, perhaps there is hardly any thing bears harder upon the *Jews* then the words of St. *Paul* do. It is infinitely plain, that St. *Paul* argues against those, who expected to be justified by the law of *Moses*; this is what he means, as is evident from the context. Those that are of *the works of the law* are those, who expected to be justified by their obedience to the law of *Moses*. This is so plainly the meaning of the apostle, that I shall not need to prove it. Let any man read the whole context, and he will soon be satisfied in this matter. This being granted (as it cannot reasonably be denied) it will be no hard matter to defend the apostle against the *Jew*.

2. THIS being premised, it will be very easie to defend St. *Paul*, both as to what he affirms here, and what he says upon the same argument in his epistle to the *Romans*. His design is to prove, that the *Jews* had no sufficient ground to expect to be justified by obedience to the law of *Moses*; and consequently to oblige them to seek for justification by the

^t *Ibid.* num. 1097.

gospel, which requires a faith in our LORD JESUS CHRIST. This was a main and fundamental point between the *Jew* and *Christian*. I shall consider the several arguments which are, and may justly be produced, to confirm St. *Paul's* doctrine.

(1.) HE that would be justified by the law of *Moses*, must give an absolute and perfect obedience to it. To do this the *Jew* could not pretend, and was consequently liable for his disobedience to the curse of the law. *Did not Moses give you the law*, says JESUS to the *Jews*, *and yet none of you keepeth the law?* John vii. 19. St. *Peter* calls it a yoke, *that neither they nor their fathers were able to bear*, Acts xv. 10. St. *Paul* shews, that it is not possible to be justified by this law; he says, It is evident from what is said by the prophet, *the just shall live by his faith*, Gal. iii. 11. The condition of the law is not that of faith, but absolute obedience. *The man that doeth them shall live in them*, v. 12. The *Jew* cannot pretend to perfect and sinless obedience; and therefore must consent to what St. *Paul* says elsewhere, *All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God*, Rom. iii. 23. And consequently the *Jew* is liable to the curse mentioned, *Deut. xxvii. 26. Cursed is he, that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them*. The *Jew* can never with good ground expect to be justified by that law, which he hath not obeyed. For if he hath not obeyed its precepts, he must lie under its curse. In this case *the law worketh wrath*, Rom. iv. 15. The *Jew* may flatter himself as he pleaseth: But he can never expect to be justified by that which condemns him. The words of the law are very plain and positive, truly quoted and rightly applied by St. *Paul*. The law it self is our school-master to bring us unto CHRIST. It excludes all the transgressors of it from all possibility of hope of being justified by it: For nothing short of absolute obedience can have any just claim to be justified by it.

(2.) THE law of *Moses* did not enable the *Jews* to obey its precepts, and therefore they may not expect to be justified by it. Had it given *power* as it gave *precepts*, the *Jew* might have some ground to expect justification this way. *By the law is the knowledge of sin*, Rom. iii. 20. but not the ability of absolute obedience. And therefore it condemns, but justifies not. Hence it is, that St. *Paul* with great reason calls the law the *ministration of condemnation*, and the *ministration of death*, 2 Cor. iii. 7, 9. And the *letter that killeth* v. 6. On the other hand he calls the gospel the *ministration of the Spirit*, and the *ministration of righteousness*: As we are enabled by it, and justified by it also. To the same purpose he discourseth, Rom. vii. 5, 6. and *ch. viii. 1, 2, 3*. To this purpose it is said, that *the law came by Moses; but grace and truth by JESUS CHRIST*, John i. 17. The gospel is called grace, with respect to that grace or heavenly assistance, with which it is attended. For it is very certain from the *old Testament* (as I have had occasion formerly to observe) that a plentiful effusion of the *Holy Spirit* was promised in the days of the MESSIAS, and we *Christians* do believe, that this promise was made good upon the day of *Pentecost*. 'Twas by the power of this *Holy Spirit*, that the gospel spread, and that the first planters of it were enabled to do and suffer so great things. And though the *Jews* deny JESUS to be the CHRIST; yet the wonderful propagation of the doctrine, and faith of JESUS they cannot with any shadow of reason deny. Admitting the matters of fact, 'twill be next to impossible

impossible to impute them to any other cause, but to the power and energy of the *Holy Spirit*, bearing witness to the truth.

(3.) Nor did the expiatory or propitiatory sacrifices, which were allowed under the law of *Moses*, give any just assurance to the *Jews* of being justified by that law. For besides, that these sacrifices were allowed only in case of transgression of some laws, and so were not the primary laws of *Moses*, as those commands were, which required obedience to the other laws of *GOD*: Besides this, I say, these sacrifices only sheltered the *Jews* from temporal punishments, but did neither rescue them from death, nor give them any just claim to eternal life. To which I may add, that there were a great many sins, that by the law of *Moses* would not admit of any atonement from these sacrifices, and in all those cases the *Jew* was left without any hope of pardon by the law of *Moses*, so far was he from being justified by it. The *Jew* will find poor relief from this allowance of propitiatory sacrifices. I shall consider this matter a little more particularly, that, if it be possible, I may convince the *Jew* in this pretence [1.] It is to be considered, what place the laws about propitiatory sacrifices have in the laws of *Moses*. They do not stand in the first place or rank of precepts. *GOD* required obedience to his laws antecedently to sacrifices. This was *GOD*'s first intention, and not expiatory sacrifices; they were required *consequenter*, as a remedy when the sin was committed: Sacrifice like repentance was but *secunda tabula post naufragium*. It was the method, which *GOD* allowed for reconciling sinners. But *GOD* required men to obey his laws, and not to need expiation and atonement. The *Jewish* doctors^u teach this lesson themselves. *Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house, lest he be weary of thee, and so hate thee*, Prov. xxv. 17. There is a *Midrash* among the *Jews*, that interprets those words to my present purpose: It is said, that by the neighbour's house is meant the sanctuary, and it is an admonition to men to obey *GOD*'s laws, and not to be frequent at the sanctuary with expiatory sacrifices, which are not so welcome to *GOD*, as obedience is. To the same purpose *Maimonides*^x delivers himself. He affirms, that the scripture and *Kabbala* do both teach, that the laws about sacrifices are not the first laws; but proceed from a second intention. It was most pleasing to *GOD*, that men should not transgress. *GOD* required obedience in the first place: Upon failure he admitted in the second place of an expiatory sacrifice. *To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams*, 1 Sam. xv. 22. Agreeable hereunto are the words of *Jeremiah*, ch. vii. 22, 23. *I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: But this thing commanded I them saying, Obey my voice*. To this purpose it is farther to be considered, that the laws concerning sacrifices were not given till after the decalogue, and the statutes, which were given afterwards. [2.] The sacrifices themselves were very defective, and did not produce the more desirable effects. They kept off temporal punishment, they were means to preserve men in the peace and external communion of the church, but they did not purify the conscience of the offerer, *Heb.* ix. 9, 10, 13. [3.] There were many sins, for which

^u V. Bechai in *Legem*, fol. 135. c. 2.
Men. Ben. Israel. *Conciliator*. p. 181.

^x *Mora Nevo*. p. 3. c. 32. *Abravanel Prefat. in Levit.* c. 4.

no sacrifices were allowed by the law of *Moses*; and in this case the *Jew* was left without hope of pardon from that law, and therefore could not be justified by it. Of this matter ^y I have spoken in another place, and therefore will not pursue it here.

(4.) THE law of *Moses* had not any explicit promise of eternal life, to encourage to a perfect obedience to its precepts. This was reserved for the gospel, where it is brought to light. And now if these things be laid together, we shall find St. *Paul* fully defended against the *Jew*.

3. It will therefore be easie to answer the *Jew's* question, What shall become of the *Christian* professor, who doth not obey his religion? We do not excuse the disobedience of the *Christian*, or think him exempt from punishment, unless he repent and return to his duty. But we do not believe our condition to be the same with that of the *Jews*. The law required of them an absolute and perfect obedience, which because they could not yield, they could never be justified by that law: For the broken law could never justify them. Our case under the covenant of grace is otherwise; for our justification doth not depend upon an absolute and sinless obedience, but upon a sincere and unfeigned one. We have divine assistances, and a mighty reward in our eye. And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, JESUS CHRIST the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins, 1 John ii. 1, 2. Let the *Jew* shew, what shadow of hope he can have of being justified by the law of *Moses*. If we say, that we have no sin, we deceive our selves—If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness, 1 John i. 8, 9.

XV. THE same *Jew* proceeds to object against *Heb. ix. 19.* where it's said, that *When Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water and scarlet wooll, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book and all the people.* The *Jew* takes these words to refer to *Exod. xxiv. 7, 8.* And that the author of this epistle refers to this place: But, says the *Jew*, he doth it so perversely and sottishly, that one may securely conclude, that he was not an *Hebrew*, but a silly wretch; for the text in *Exodus* is thus: *And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: And they said, All that the LORD hath said, will we do, and be obedient. And Moses took the blood and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you concerning all these words.* Here's nothing of the water, of the wooll, or of the hyssop. He adds, that what is said of sprinkling the blood upon the book is false and foolish: For (says the *Jew*) those words, *concerning all these words*, do only denote the cause of the covenant, for which the blood was sprinkled upon the people, that is, for the cleansing of the people. For (says the *Jew*) neither did the sprinkled blood fall upon the people, but upon the altar for the cleansing of the people, as the manner was, and as the divine *Chaldee Paraphrase* hath it. For (says he) it was not possible, nor credible, that the blood should be sprinkled upon all that very numerous people. Besides (he says) that from *Exod. xxiv. 5.* there is no mention of any blood but that of oxen (*Taurorum*, says the *Jew*) no men-

tion of the blood of calves and goats. And he concludes hence, that if the *Christian* censor would consider the writings of *St. Paul*, which are commonly owned to be his, with attention and with freedom, he will find them partly vain, and partly false, as to the fundamentals of the *Christian* faith.

I HAVE faithfully represented the *Jew's* objection in its fullest force and strength. I answer,

1. THAT I will allow, that the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* doth refer to *Exod* xxiv. Nor will I in the least controvert or dispute this matter with him, but take it for granted.

2. THAT it is very unreasonable, that the *Jew* should quarrel with *St. Paul*, when he says the very same thing, which *Moses* doth say, whose relation he follows. He saith, that *Moses* sprinkled the people, and *Moses* tells us the very same. But the bold *Jew* says, None of the sprinkled blood fell on the people; and whatever *Moses* saith, he will follow *Onkelos*: And pretends it was not possible, that so very numerous a people should be sprinkled. And yet he doth not object against what is said before, that *Moses* read in the audience of the people. Sure it was as hard to do that, as to sprinkle them. I need not concern my self in shewing how this might be done, or how it is to be understood. All that I observe at present is, that the *Jew* finds fault with *St. Paul* without cause, when he says what *Moses* said before him. Indeed *Moses* says, he sprinkled the people, *St. Paul* that he sprinkled *all the people*. This is mere trifling. For if the people's representatives were sprinkled, all the people might be said to be so. 'Tis not to be imagined that *Moses*, as oft as he spake to the people, could be heard by all the people. If the *Jew's* interpretation was admitted, which he borrows from *Onkelos*; yet by the people, even in that case, must be signified all the people, because all the people stood in need of cleansing: This *Jew* was surely greatly prejudiced against *St. Paul*, when he doth not only quarrel with him, when he departs from *Moses*; but even when he follows him too.

2. BUT, saith the *Jew*, there is no mention of the water and the wooll, and the hyssop, in the words of *Moses*, to which these words in the epistle to the *Hebrews* do refer. I grant it, but it doth not thence follow, that no such things were used; unless we do affirm that every circumstance was written by *Moses* (which no man can with any sound reason believe) in those things which he relates that he did. These things are not mentioned here. 'Tis true: But then all these things are elsewhere, upon the occasion of sprinkling or aspersing, which is the case before us. See *Levit.* xiv. 49, 50, &c. *Exod.* xii. 22. *Psal.* li.

4. BUT (saith the *Jew*) *Moses* is said to have sprinkled the book, which he adds is both *false* and *foolish*. If it be allowed him, that this be said of *Moses*, by the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*; yet we have nothing but the *Jew's* word for it, that it is false and foolish. I should be very loth to take this upon his bare word, and I am sure he offers no argument to prove it so. Had he proved it foolish, I should have believed it to be false without any more to do. But let us examine this matter a little more narrowly. I own, that *Christians* commonly understand the words in the *Hebrew*, as the *Jew* doth. But notwithstanding all that, I believe it cannot be proved, that *St. Paul* doth affirm, that *Moses*

sprinkled the book. The best way to know this is, to consider his words as they lie in the *Greek*. *Λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα τῶν μόχων καὶ τράγων μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἱερὴς κηκίνης, καὶ ὑσώπης, αὐτὸ τε τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐρράντισε.* These words may be translated thus, *Taking the blood of calves and goats with water and scarlet wooll and hyssop, and the book, he sprinkled all the people.* The αὐτὸ τε τὸ βιβλίον will then refer to λαβὼν, as well it may. And this perfectly agrees with *Exod. xxiv. 7.* where it is said, that *Moses took the book λαβὼν τὸ βιβλίον.* And then it is, as if he had said Ἐλαβε καὶ ἐρράντισε, &c. He took these things, and sprinkled the people. In this case the καὶ before πάντα is redundant as both καὶ in the *new Testament*, and ἡ in the *old Testament* very often is, as is well known to all that are skilled, and well versed in these matters. I cannot imagine, how the *Jew* can answer this account of the words: Here is nothing strained, nothing added, no manner of violence nor of artifice used. So that if he was able to prove, that it was *false* and foolish to affirm, that *Moses* sprinkled the book; yet it is absolutely impossible for him to prove from these words, that *St. Paul* ever affirmed it. The *V. Latin* renders the words thus. *Accipiens sanguinem vitulorum & hircorum, cum aquâ, & lanâ coccineâ, & hyssopo, ipsum quoque librum, & omnem populum aspersit.* Where *Librum* may very well refer to the word *Accipiens*, and that, which appears as a *copula*, be no more but an *expletive*, as it is very frequently in other places.

5. BUT still he urgeth, that *St. Paul* mentions the blood of *calves* and *goats*, whereas *Moses* only mentions the blood of *bulls*. And this he reckons as another great fault in this author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*. The *Jew* is right so far, that *Moses* doth not, as this author doth, mention the blood of *calves* and *goats*; but it is by no means truly inferred from hence, that *Moses* did not use them. *Moses* mentions only *holocausts* and *peace-offerings*, v. 5. Had *St. Paul* not mentioned any thing more, yet it had been reasonable to believe, that upon this solemn occasion there was some sacrifice for sin added, to which purpose the goat was of eminent use, *Levit. iv. 23, 24. ch. ix. 3. ch. xvi. 15.* It was the manner on such occasions to join sin-offerings with peace offerings, v. *Levit. ix. 3, 4.* And especially where the people were to be cleansed, for whose sake the oblation was made. Nothing can be more credible than this is to him, that considers the whole oeconomy and system of sacrifices, and the practice among the *Jewish* people, v. *Levit. viii. & ch. ix. & ch. xiv. 7. & 52.* There was nothing more consistent with the ancient usage, and order, than what *St. Paul* affirms here. 'Tis certain, he could serve no end of his own by mis-representing *Moses* in this matter. This would have been the way to have disserved himself. Indeed the *Jew* represents him as silly and unskilful. But that is easily said. The author of that epistle doth not argue like such a person.

BUT still, though I think I have said enough to satisfy any indifferent person; yet, to convince a *Jew*, I shall add something more to what hath been said already.

6. THAT however the *Jew* is pleased to disparage our author; yet he cannot charge him with so much as mis-quoting or altering the text of *Moses*: He tells what *Moses* did; but he doth not say, Thus it is written in the book, or law of *Moses*; nor doth he say any thing like it. He

might have what he adds concerning the wooll and water by tradition or inspiration. Many facts were conveyed down among the *Jews* by a constant tradition, which were never written in the law or prophets. What the apostle saith of *Jannes* and *Jambres* resisting *Moses*, is no where written in his law ; but yet it was a tradition among the *Jews*, and the *Chaldee* paraphrast upon *Moses's* law mentions these names. The widow which is mentioned 2 *Kings* iv. 1. is by the *Chaldee* paraphrast said expressly to be the widow of *Obadiab* : But then that is more than the text saith. Yet I think no man can doubt, but so it was. *Josephus*² says the very same, the character of the man agrees, and so doth the time also ; and no *Christian* (I believe) doubts, but so it was in fact, but yet it was not so written in any text of the *Holy Scripture*. Our author quotes what *Moses* did not write ; Doth it thence follow, that he affirms what is not true ? He cites not any writing upon this occasion. He relates not what *Moses* wrote, but what he did.

I OBSERVE, that when he mentions the *Chaldee paraphrast*, he calls him divine, and he admires his exposition of those words, *He sprinkled the people* ; when yet *St. Paul* in that matter follows the letter of *Moses*, and the *Targumist* is supposed to destroy it. This speaks the *Jew's* prejudice against the *Christian* writer. It was easie to shew a multitude of instances, where the *Chaldee paraphrasts* add to the text, and yet they must be divine and magnified, and *St. Paul*, who doth no such thing, must be represented as silly or something worse. For 'tis plain, that *St. Paul* doth not so much as quote any place of *Scripture* upon this occasion.

BUT because the *Jew* doth so much revile *St. Paul* on this occasion, and magnifie the *Chaldee paraphrast*, I shall not think much (to shew how partial the *Jew* is) to reflect a little upon the *Chaldee paraphrasts*, and shew what liberty they have taken of adding to the *Hebrew* text upon occasion. I might produce a multitude of instances. I shall select enough for my present purpose.

I WILL begin with *Onkelos*, who is the oldest and best of them, and who keeps closest to the text. His *paraphrase* is generally rather a strict version, than a paraphrase. On *Levit.* xviii. 5. to those words *he shall live*, he adds, *Eternal life* : And yet there is no mention of eternal life in the law of *Moses*. *Numb.* xii. 1. to those words, *Whom he had married, or taken*, as it is in the marginal reading ; he adds, *he dismissed her whom he had taken*. *Numb.* xxiv. 1. *the wilderness* ; he adds, *toward the calf which the Israelites made in the wilderness*. *Numb.* xxvii. 18. *Spirit* ; he adds *of prophecy*. *Deut.* xvii. 8. he adds to *stroke, of leprosie*. *Deut.* xxv. 7. *To the gate* ; he adds בית דין *i. e.* of the house of judgment. *Deut.* xxxiii. 6. *live* ; to this he adds, *Eternal life*. *v* 18. *in thy going out* ; he adds, *to fight against thy enemies*. I might mention several more additions of *Onkelos*.

As for the *Jerusalem Targum* and that of *Jonathan* on the *Pentateuch*, they are full of additions. It would be too tedious and operose a thing to reckon them up, and therefore I will not attempt it. I shall name some few. To *Gen.* v. 24. *Jonathan* adds, *And his name was called Metatron a great scribe*. To *Gen.* xiv. 18. *Melchizedeck King of Salem*, *Jonathan* and the *Jerusalem* add, *He is Shem the son of Noah*. *Gen.* xvi. 1. To

² Joseph Ant. l. 9. c. 2.

Hagar, *Jonathan* adds, *the daughter of Pharaoh*, &c. He that is curious may see more in this book of *Genesis*. See those *Targums* on *Genesis*, Chap. xxiv. 31, 55. ch. xxv. 1, 25, 34. ch. xxxiii. 4. ch. xxxvi. 12. ch. xlii. 23. ch. xliii. 16. ch. xlvi. 13, 14. ch. xlvii. 2. He may also see them on *Exodus*, Chap. ii. 12. ch. iv. 25. ch. vi. 16. ch. ix. 20. ch. xii. 3, 10, 11, 29, 40, 44. ch. xv. 25. ch. xxiv. 5. I will not pursue these *Targumists* any farther.

As for the other *Targums*, I should be endless, if I should lay before the reader the liberties which they take. It is easie to give a vast number of instances, if there was any occasion. I do readily grant, that some of their additions, though not warranted by the text, might be agreeable enough to the truth of things, and to the constant tradition among the *Jews*, and they may be allowed to be good and useful authors notwithstanding all these additions. But then, why may not *St. Paul* be allowed to be of credit, when what he affirms is less exceptionable than many passages, which I could easily produce out of the *Targumists*? I have been the longer upon this matter, both because the *Jew* insults, and because such an objection as this may be brought against several other places of the *new Testament* upon the same account. And I thought a full answer to this might furnish the reader, wherewithal to answer other objections of the same kind.

XVI. THE same *Jew*^a objects (I might say he scoffs) against the epistle of *St. James*. He reckons it worthy of his scorn and contempt. It is directed (says he) to the twelve tribes of *Israel* dispersed in the world. But (he goes on) *Ubi Jacobus*? Where is this *James*? And where are ten of the twelve tribes? They were of old (says he) in a far, an unknown and inaccessible country. And as for the other two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* they were not then dispersed, nor were they (saith he) dispersed till forty and two years after the death of *JESUS*, as he saith he hath observed in another place: And then (he saith) *James* was not alive to write to them. I answer,

I. THAT the *Hebrews* reckon those *Jews*, who are out of their own land, to be of the dispersion. When *St. James* writes to the twelve tribes scattered abroad, he writes to all the *Israelites*, who were any where out of their own country. And the *Jew* must grant, that there were many that were so, when *St. James* wrote that epistle. The *Jews* scattered abroad are those *Jews*, which lived among the *Gentiles*. The *Syriack* version render *scattered abroad*, by words that signifie as much as *disseminated among the Gentiles*. He is in the law of *Moses* called גֵּר, who lives out of his own country, *Deut.* xxx. 4. The LXXII. render that word by Διαπορευ, which is the word used by *St. James* in this place. The very same *Hebrew* word is used in the same sense, *Nehemiah* i. 9. and there also rendered by the same *Greek* word. The *Jew* doth not (I hope) pretend, that all of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* were at that time in their own land. And if he doth, he ought to have proved it, and not to have insulted. He directs his epistle to all the *Israelites* whatsoever, that were abroad, and therefore he doth it by the fittest expression of the twelve tribes; *Israel* had so many sons,

^a Num. 1096.

and this number comprehends all his race. It is all one as to the matter in hand, when St. *James* died ; he might in any part of his life direct his epistle as he doth.

2. I OBSERVE, how very unfairly the *Jew* deals in this matter. He puts his own sense upon the words of St. *James* first, and then ridicules him. The ten tribes lived in a strange land, and the two were not yet dispersed ; nor were they dispersed till after St. *James* died. And therefore St. *James* could not write thus. I do not think, that St. *James* wrote an epistle after his death. The *Jews* know very well, that some of them have affirmed, that one of their prophets did send a letter to one of their kings, after he had left the world. But we *Christians* are not put to it to use any such shifts. 'Tis well, that he will allow ten of the tribes to be dispersed : As for the other two, 'tis enough that any of them at that time lived out of their own land, and to them only is this epistle directed.





C H A P. IV.

That the Christian's doctrine of the Holy Trinity is no sufficient bar to the Jew's embracing the Christian religion. What the new Testament teacheth us concerning the Holy Trinity. The Jews pretend, that this doctrine is absurd and against reason, and that it infers tritheism, or a plurality of gods. These pretences considered. They also object, that the Christian's doctrine is against the law of Moses, and the old Testament: In answer whereunto it is granted, that this doctrine is not clearly revealed in the old Testament; but there are intimations of it there. Several places produced to shew, that there are in the old Testament intimations of some kind of plurality in the divine nature; and more particularly of the trinity. This shewed from the Jewish writers. A testimony to this purpose from R. Bechai. Several other testimonies from the Rabbins. Of GOD's creating man, as 'tis related, Gen. i. Ps. l. 1. considered, with a place quoted from Midrash Tehillim. Isa. vi. 3. with some testimonies related by P. Galatinus. Numb. vi. 24, &c. considered, with several testimonies from the Hebrew doctors. Deut. vi. 4. considered. How those words may be translated. Another testimony out of Zohar from a Jewish writer. Some objections against what hath been said, viz. [1] Abravanel's, that Elohim is of the singular number. An answer thereto. [2] The pretence that the plural Elohim is used from the custom of speaking, which obtained among the idolatrous Canaanites. An answer at large to that pretension. [3] A pretence that the plural is used according to the custom of kings, who speak of themselves after the same manner. An answer to this pretension. [4] An objection mentioned by Aben Ezra on Gen. i. 26. but disapproved by him also. An answer to it. A reflection upon passages quoted out of the Bereshith Rabba relating to this matter. Several places quoted from the Apocryphal books, to prove that the ancient Jews own'd some kind of plurality in the divine nature; and that there were among them some intimations of the Holy Trinity.

I SHALL now proceed to shew, that the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity*, as that doctrine is delivered in the *new Testament*, is no sufficient bar to the *Jew's* embracing the *Christian* religion.

THEY do indeed upon all occasions dispute against this doctrine with great vehemence: They endeavour to expose it, and render it ridiculous and

and incredible ; In *fact* it is true, that this doctrine is a bar hindering them from embracing *Christianity*. This they pretend as a main obstacle : And I will admit, that in fact so it is ; it shall be my business to prove, that it ought not to hinder them.

AND I am obliged to shew (before I go any farther) what it is that the *new Testament* teacheth us concerning the *Holy Trinity* : I choose to do it in the very words of scripture. *There are three, that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost ; and these three are one*, 1 John v. 7. These words are very expressive of the *scriptural* doctrine concerning the *Holy Trinity*. I very well know, that some have called in question this text, and some (I hope very few) have given it up. It would be in this place too great a digression to enter into that matter, nor is there any need to do it. Those men who doubt of the place, and those who are so rash as to give it up, yet cannot deny but these words contain the doctrine of the *new Testament* concerning the *Holy Trinity* ; nay farther, they do allow that the same doctrine is delivered (though not in these words) in other parts of the *new Testament*. But we have no dispute with the *Jew* in this matter. The *new Testament* teacheth us, that there is but one GOD ; and that one GOD ought to be owned and worshipped under the personal distinctions of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. It is infinitely plain, that these names are applied to GOD in the *new Testament*. This is in short the doctrine of the scriptures of the *new Testament*. I think, that the *Jew's* objections against this doctrine of the *new Testament* are reducible to the following heads.

First, THAT this doctrine is absurd, against reason, and a contradiction.

Secondly, THAT it infers *tritheism*, or a plurality of gods.

Thirdly, THAT it is not agreeable to the law of *Moses*, but rather repugnant to that law, and to the *old Testament*.

First, THAT this doctrine is absurd, against reason, and that it implies a contradiction. All this is easily pretended, and said, but can never be proved.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, that if it was against sound reason, and if it did imply a contradiction, it ought not to be received ; and my reason is, that then we could never be sure of any thing else : For if we admit any doctrine, that is manifestly absurd and against reason, we can never be sure of any thing whatsoever. Upon this consideration we justly reject the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* : We are sure ; that that doctrine cannot be true ; and if it were admitted as true, we should overthrow those grounds, upon which the whole *Christian* faith is built. If we are not sure, that that doctrine is false ; we can never be sure, that the *Christian* religion is true.

I KNOW very well, that it hath been urged by those of the church of *Rome*, that we ought to admit the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* upon the same grounds, on which we admit the doctrine of the *Trinity* : But the case is not the same, as I^a have elsewhere proved : And that,

^a Second dialogue between a *Catholic* convert and a *Protestant*. Printed, 1687.

1. BECAUSE the doctrine of the *Trinity* is plainly revealed in the *new Testament*: In this both sides are agreed. The other doctrine is not revealed: So the ^b *Protestants* affirm with one consent. And those of the church of *Rome* do grant, that the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* is not clearly revealed in *Holy Writ*. *Scotus* affirms, as ^c *Bellarmino* confesseth (and thinks his opinion not altogether improbable) that *Transubstantiation* cannot be evidently proved from any express scripture. Now the fathers of the council of *Nice* urge the text of *Holy Writ* against the *Arians*: But the church of *Rome* maintains her doctrine upon another bottom, and that is, the authority and declaration of the *Church*.

2. THE doctrine of *Transubstantiation* contradicts right reason: It involves an heap of contradictions: It supposeth a change of substance, when the accidents remain; That these accidents can nourish or destroy; that a body can be in many places at once, and broken, and whole at the same time; that a whole body may be in a point; that every wafer is the whole body, and yet the body but one; and that a thing can be divided into two wholes. The doctrine of the *Trinity* may be *above* our reason, but it is not *against* it. Besides, 'tis revealed; and 'tis fit we should believe the revelation. We are after all better able to judge of the nature of bodies, than of the spiritual nature of GOD. We reject not what our reason doth not comprehend: But shall we therefore admit that which contradicts the reason and sense of all mankind?

WE believe but one GOD; nor do we believe that *one* can be *three* in the same respect, in which it is one; nor that the three persons in the *Trinity* are to be understood to be three, as three men are three persons. We do not affirm any thing, that undermines the foundation of all other knowledge, or that endangers the whole *Christian* doctrine.

Secondly, It is pretended, that this doctrine will infer *tritheim*, or a plurality of gods. This is pretended among the *Jews*; and hence it is that they vehemently clamour against this doctrine, and against *Christians* for holding it: But this is altogether a false charge.

WE appeal to the *new Testament*, the rule of our *Christian* faith. We cannot conceive that there are a plurality of gods. It is not possible for us to maintain such a *trinity*, without forsaking at once our *rule*, and our *reason* also. If any private doctors have given any such explication of the doctrine of the *trinity*, as doth infer such a plurality of gods; we disown such explications, and therefore this cannot be charged upon our religion.

Thirdly, It is pretended, that this doctrine is not agreeable to the law of *Moses*, but rather repugnant to that law, and to the *old Testament*. This the *Jewish* writers do mightily insist upon; and that which they principally urge is, that the doctrine of the *Christians* infers a plurality of gods; which is indeed a doctrine inconsistent with the *old Testament*, and is a doctrine, which the *Christians* do disclaim. And then all, which the *Jews* can reasonably pretend under this head, is this, that the doctrine of the *trinity* was never revealed to the *Jews* in the *old Testament*, and therefore is by no means to be admitted. This matter will require good

^b Salmeron. *Tom.* 9. *Tract.* 16.

^c Bellarm. *de Euchar.* l. 3. c. 23.

consideration : And for my better and more orderly proceeding, I shall discourse under the following heads.

First, I SHALL readily grant, that the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* was not explicitly and plainly revealed in the law of *Moses*, nor in the *old Testament*. I shall not (as some have done, both ancient and modern writers) inquire into the reasons, why this doctrine was not there plainly revealed : But I shall shew, that the *Jew* will not be sufficiently excused for rejecting *Christianity* upon the account of this doctrine. For there are several articles of faith, and propositions, which are firmly believed by the *Jews*, and yet are not plainly revealed in the law of *Moses*. The *Jews* believe the resurrection of the dead and everlasting life ; but will never be able to prove these things from any express testimony in the law of *Moses*. *Menasseh B. Israel* hath^d tried his skill as to the doctrine of the resurrection ; but the proofs, which he brings of this doctrine from the law of *Moses*, are so very short, that as he will hardly satisfy another indifferent man, so he doth not seem to satisfy himself. For thus he concludes, *Ex his omnibus liquet, loca nonnulla in libris Mosaicis reperiri, ex quibus licet apodicticis demonstrationibus fundamentalis & essentialis articulus de resurrectione mortuorum probari non possit, verisimiliter tamen ex iis evincitur*. And he tells us afterwards, that he will give an account, why that article is not more plainly and explicitly delivered in the law of *Moses*. The *Jew* is not able from any express place in the law of *Moses* to prove the article of everlasting life ; and yet he pretends to believe this article. *Moses* makes no express mention of the creation of angels ; and yet the *Jews* believe they were God's creatures. I would press the *Jew* to shew me any express doctrine of the rewards and punishments in the life to come. If he will attempt to prove this, I will undertake to shew him as much ground to believe the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* from that law.

Secondly, THAT though this doctrine is not plainly revealed in the *old Testament* ; yet there are even there fair intimations of it. To shew this briefly will be sufficient at present : I shall confirm the truth of it afterwards, from arguments which to the *Jews* are unexceptionable. I will not undertake to give in a perfect account of all the intimations of this doctrine, which are to be found in the *old Testament* ; it shall be enough that I give some instances, which are most obvious, and most material. And *first*, I shall shew, that in the *old Testament* there are some places, which intimate some kind of *plurality* in the divine nature. And *secondly*, that there are other places that intimate a *Trinity*.

(1.) As for those places, which intimate some kind of *plurality*, I shall not enlarge on them, but only pitch upon a few : I cannot omit the very first words of the *old Testament* in the history of the creation. *In the beginning GOD created* ; it is *Bara Elohim*. Gen. i. 1. The verb is of the singular, but the noun of the plural number. I add Gen. i. 26. *And GOD said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*. Here we have a verb of a plural number, and another intimation of some plurality. It is farther observed, that the word *Elohim* is frequently joyned to *verbs* and *adjectives* of the plural number. I shall take notice of some few ; the reader may easily collect a great number. v. Gen. xx. 13. GOD

^d Menasseh B. Israel de Resur. mortuorum. c. 1, 2.

caused me to wander *התעו אתי אלהים*, ch. xxxv. 7. *God appeared unto him*, *אלהים קדשם*, Josh. xxiv. 19, *an holy God*, *אלהים*, Deut. v. 26. *living God*, *חיים*, *אלהים* To which I shall only add, *Eccles. xii. 1. Remember thy creator*; in the *Hebrew* it is, *creators*, in the plural number. This way of speaking doth intimate some kind of plurality; though not a plurality of gods, as I shall endeavour to prove against the *Jews* afterwards.

(2.) I ADD, that there are other places which intimate a *trinity*. This I will prove from the history of the creation, as it is delivered by *Moses*, in the book of *Genesis*. But this shall be done in its proper place: I will in the mean while mention some other places to the same purpose. The form of blessing the people is very remarkable, where the name of *God* is repeated three times; and sure it is no vain repetition. *The LORD bless thee, and keep thee: The LORD make his face to shine upon thee: The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace*, Numb. vi. 24, 25, 26. Again, *The LORD is our judge, the LORD is our law-giver, the LORD is our king, he will save us*, Isa. xxxiii. 2. Again, *O LORD hear, O LORD forgive, O LORD hearken and do*. Dan. ix. 19. The seraphims in the prophet cried and said, *Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts*, Isa. vi. 3. To which I must add what we read, *Psal. l. 1. we render it indeed, the mighty God, even the LORD hath spoken*. But there are in the *Hebrew* three names of *God* expressed, *El, Elohim, and Jehovah*. Some very learned men do add those words, *Deut. vi. 4. which the Jews repeat daily, and think it most express against this belief of Christians. Hear, O Israel, the LORD our God, is one LORD*.

Thirdly, I WILL appeal to the *Jewish* writers themselves, as to the truth of what I have affirmed, *viz.* That in the *old Testament* there are intimations of some kind of *plurality* in the divine nature, and of the doctrine of the *trinity*. If I was to prove the doctrine of the *trinity* against the *Arians* and *Socinians*, I would take another method. For though the testimony of the *old Testament* in that case ought not to be despised; yet that from the *New* would be sufficient to them, who own its authority, as those men do. But when I have to do with the *Jews*, I must use another method. They deny the authority of the *new Testament*, where this doctrine is clearly taught; and therefore I must insist upon the *Old*, and *their doctors* explication of it. And 'twill be enough against them, to shew that there were intimations of this belief in the *old Testament*, as that was understood and expounded by their *Catholick doctors*; and that shall be my next work.

R. Bechai,^e a celebrated author among the *Jews*, discoursing of the word *Elohim*, and of the import and signification of it, adds these words: ועל דרך הקבלה השם הזה שתי מלות אל הם והנה הנה פי' הו"ד וזכר את: That is, *According to the Kabbalistical way this name Elohim is two words, viz. El Hem, i. e. They are God. But then the explanation of the Fod (which is wanting in these two words) is to be fetch'd from Eccles. xii. 1. Remember thy creators. He that is prudent will understand it.* These words do sufficiently prove the *Kabbala* among the *Jews*, that though the divine nature was but one; yet there was some kind of *plurality* in this divine nature: And this is fairly in-

^e Bechai in *Legem*, fol. 4. col. 1. Edit. Cracov.

nuated in the *Barah Elohim*, which we find in the book of *Genesis*. I shall add another testimony to the same purpose, as I find it in a late^f learned writer out of the *Zohar*. I have not that book by me, but I doubt not but the curious reader, who will take the pains to consult that author, will soon find the passage. The author speaking of the word *Elohim*, doth it in these very words : רוא רמלה ג' דרגין אינון וכל דרגא ודרגא : *i. e. The mystery of Elohim is this : There are three degrees, and every one of these degrees subsisteth by it self ; and yet all of them are one, and knit together in one, nor can one be separated from the other.* The same^g author quotes several other passages to the same purpose, which do intimate some kind of plurality in the divine nature at least, and sometimes the *trinity*. As for example, *Deut. iv. 7.* We read, אלהים קרובים. He tells us, that by that plural expression is meant the *supreme God*, the *God* was called the fear of *Isaac* ; and *Elohim*, which he calls אלהים the same^h author having quoted, *Deut. vi. 4.* where the name of *God* is mentioned three times, adds, 'אלון וכו', *i. e. These are three degrees with respect to this high mystery, In the beginning, Barah Elohim.* And elsewhere the sameⁱ author upon the same occasion speaks more plainly thus, : איהו ייחודא : וכו' *i. e. This is the unity which is called the first JEHOVAH, our God, the JEHOVAH, Behold all is One : And therefore it is said אחד One, intimating that these three names are One : And therefore we read אחד One, intimating that they are One.* This is known so to be by the revelation of the *Holy Ghost* ; However it be otherwise also apparent דתלתא אלן אחד That is, that, *These three are one.*

I CANNOT omit one place more of^k the above-named author, who speaking of that famous place, *Deut. vi. 4. The LORD our God is one LORD*, he adds the following explication, רוא : וכו' ; That is, *This is the mystery of him, who was before the rocks, and is united with the head, the stem, ושבלא, i. e. and the way ; by JEHOVAH (i. e. the first JEHOVAH mentioned, Deut. vi. 4.) is meant the high, or first, beginning ; by the Stem is meant the Stem spoken of Isai. xi. the Stem of Jesse ; by JEHOVAH (viz. last mentioned in Deut. vi. 4.) is meant the way.*

ANY man may perceive, that by the second of these is meant the MESSIAS (of whom the words *Isai. xi. 1.* are by the *Jews* understood.) And perhaps it might be very easie to shew, why the *Holy Spirit* is called the way. *Teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God : Thy Spirit is good ; lead me into the land of uprightness,* *Psal. cxliii. 10.* Our SAVIOUR tells his followers, that the *Spirit* shall guide them into all truth, *John xvi. 13.* 'Tis *ὁδηγῶν* in the *Greek*, he shall be the way to the truth, and shall bring you to it.

BEFORE I proceed any farther, I will consider some passages in the first chapter of *Genesis* relating to the creation. I would have the *Jews* consider them, as they lie in the *Hebrew* text, to which we *Christians* do appeal. There they may easily find intimations of that truth, which I am now contending for. Let them give a good account if they can of the

^f J. Henr. Maii *Synops. Theolog. Judaic.* pag. 31. *Zohar. in Levit.* fol. 29. col. 4. lin. 25. *Edit. Cremon.* Ed. Sulzbac. col. 106, ^g *Ibid.* pag. 35. ^h *Ibid.* pag. 46. ⁱ *Ibid.* pag. 47.

^k *Ibid.* pag. 56.

Barab Elohim. 'Tis of little moment, which we find in the *Bereſhith Rabbah*, that it is not ſaid *Barau* in the plural number. It is certain, that the noun is plural, though the verb be ſingular : I would fain know of the *Jew* the meaning of this. The *Chriſtians* urge, that it is an intimation of one divine nature, but that it is alſo an intimation of ſome plurality, and that only of perſons. I cannot imagine, what ſatisfaction the *Jews* can give of this matter. If we proceed to v. 26. It is ſaid, *Let us make man in our image, after our likenefs*. Theſe are words, that bear very hard upon the *Jews*. They may put what face upon the matter they will, but the words will ſtill fly in their face. They very well know what he ſaid in ¹ the *Bereſhith Rabbah* on this occaſion. It is there related, that when *Mofes* wrote the law, he gave an account of the ſeveral works of creation day by day ; but when he came to write thoſe words, *Gen. i. 26. Let us make man in our image, after our likenefs* ; GOD questioned him about it, and demanded of him, *Why he, after that manner, give occaſion to the Jews to open their mouth ?* I quote that paſſage for this reaſon only, that I may ſhew, that the ancient *Jews* were of opinion, that that expreſſion of *Mofes* did give ground or occaſion to believe, that there is ſome kind of plurality in the divine nature. And therefore it is not to be wonder'd at, that the ancient *Chriſtians* ſhould even from theſe words be induced to ſuch a belief. *Epiphanius* ^m ſays expreſſy, *That Adam was formed, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, &c. according to what is written, when GOD the Father is brought in ſpeaking to his Son, Let us make man.* Nor can he be juſtly cenſured for it, it being plain even from the *old Teſtament*, that the divine λόγος, or *Word*, as well as the *Spirit* of GOD were concerned in the creation of the world. *By the word of the LORD were the heavens made, and all the hoſt of them, by the breath of his mouth, Pſal. xxxiii. 6. And, by his Spirit he hath garniſhed the heavens, Job xxvi. 13. And, the ſpirit of GOD moved upon the face of the waters, Gen. i. 2. That ſpirit which moved, the Jews commonly ſay, was the ſpirit of the MEſſias.*

I SHALL now conſider thoſe other places of ſcripture, which do intimate a *trinity*. Here I ſhall begin with *Pſal. l. 1.* 'Tis true, as I intimated before, that our *English* tranſlation doth not give to thoſe words any ſuch *idea*. I ſhall therefore conſider them, as they lie in the *Hebrew* text, to which I ſhall appeal in this matter. GOD is there expreſſed by *El, Elohim* and *Jehovah*. The author ⁿ of *Midraſh Tillim* allows, that theſe are three ſeveral names of GOD ; for he asketh this queſtion, : למה זכור Why doth he mention the name of the bleſſed GOD three times ? He answers thus, *It is to teach thee, that the bleſſed GOD created his world by theſe three names, which answer to the three Middoth (or properties) by which the world was created ; and they are theſe, wiſdom, knowledge and underſtanding : Wiſdom, as it is ſaid, The LORD by wiſdom hath founded the earth ; Underſtanding, as 'tis ſaid, By underſtanding he hath eſtabliſhed the heavens ; Knowledge, as 'tis ſaid, By his knowledge the depths were broken up. And thus it is ſaid Exod. xx. 5. I am the LORD, thy GOD, a jealous GOD (Jehovah, Elohim, El, are the words there uſed) Three answering to the three, by which the world was made. And thus the chil-*

¹ V. Bereſh Rabbah, fol. 9. col. 2. Edit. Amſtelodam.
Tillim. in Pſal. l. 1.

^m Epiphan. Hæref. 46. num. 3.

ⁿ Midr.

dren of Gad, and the children of Reuben say, ° *El, Elobim, Jehovah; El, Elobim, Jehovah he knoweth. And why are these mentioned twice? Because by them the world was made, and because by them the law was given.* I must leave the reader to make his reflections upon this very remarkable passage. I shall however add what ^p *Jos. Voisin* observes for the making this passage more useful, That though the *Jews* do on this occasion industriously avoid the word *person*; that yet the *Jews* do call these three *Middoth*, in the book *Jetzira* והוריות, and in the book called the *Shaare Tsedek*, פנים הפנים, i. e. *Hypostases* or *persons*.

I PROCEED to *Isaiah* vi. 3. where the seraphims cry to each other, *Holy, holy, holy is the LORD GOD of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.* I would know of the *Jew* the cause of this repetition of the word *Holy* three times; for he cannot suppose it to be a vain repetition: And though I do not produce the place as a clear proof of the *trinity*; yet all things considered, it may be allowed as a fair intimation of it: And if what ^a *Galatinus* affirms be admitted, it hath a very great weight in this present argument. *Galatinus* asserts, that this repetition of *Holy* three times doth expressly shew to us the three divine persons. To prove this he appeals to *R. Simeon*, the son of *Johai*, and to *Jonathan* the son of *Uziel* upon this place. The first of which thus expounds the place: קדוש זה אב קדוש זה בן קדוש זה רוח הקדוש That is, *Holy, this is the Father; Holy, this is the Son; Holy, this is the Holy Ghost*: The latter of them in *Chaldee* thus, 'קד' 'רו' 'ברא קד' קדוש אבא קד, That is, *Holy, Father; Holy Son; Holy, Holy Ghost*. As for what he says from *R. Simeon*, I can affirm nothing upon my own knowledge: But as for what he says of *Jonathan*, it is not so in the copies, which we now have: But then *Galatinus* affirms positively, that it was so in the ancient copies of *Jonathan*, out of which the *Jews* have razed it. He farther avows, that he saw these words in an ancient copy at that time, when the *Jews* were expelled the kingdom of *Naples* by the king of *Spain*. The *Jews* will believe as they please; I see no cause to disbelieve him. He positively affirms, that he saw it in an ancient copy, and doth truly own, that it is not to be found in the modern copies, which we now make use of. Be that as it will, this is certain, that as the seraphims cry *Holy, holy, holy*, three times, of the LORD GOD of hosts; so the *glory*, which they ascribe to him in the following words, is acknowledged to be three-fold also. To this purpose we have a remarkable ^r passage in *R. Bechai* upon the law. He tells us of three degrees or excellencies which are in GOD; and every degree or excellency is called כבוד that is, *glory*, and פנים that is, *faces*; which, for what I see, I may call Περσωνα, or persons. The first degree or excellency (saith he) is called the *Supreme glory*. The second is called the *Middle glory*, the third degree or excellency is called the *Latter glory*: And he adds, 'וכו' וזהו סוד; That is, *This is the mystery, &c.*

I WILL next consider *Numb.* vi. 24, 25, 26. where we have an account of the form of blessing the people prescribed to *Aaron*, and to his sons. *The LORD bless thee, and keep thee: The LORD make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* Here is also a repetition of the name of

° *Jos.* xxii. 22.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

^p *Jos. Voisin.* in pug. fid. pag. 406.
^r *Bechai* in *Legem*, fol. 124. col. Edit. Cracov.

^a *Petr. Galatin.* de *Arcanis Cath. Verit.*

GOD three times. The *Christians* will easily believe, that there is in these words an intimation of the *trinity*: For this bears a great conformity to what we read in the *new Testament*; whence we are obliged to be baptized into the name of the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, Matth. xxviii. And the apostolical blessing runs in this form. *The grace of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the love of GOD, and the communion of the HOLY GHOST be with you all*, 2 Cor. xiii. 14. To which I must add the words of St. *John*: *Grace be unto you and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come*, Rev. i. 4. This latter place I name the rather upon the account of what *R. Bechai* observes[†] upon the words before recited from the book of *Numbers*. He observes the name *JEHOVAH* repeated three times, with respect to the three several times, the *present, past, and future*, which the divine being hath a power over. Of him it may be said, that *he is, he was, and is to come*, or will for ever be. But it will be more material to my present purpose to take notice of what the *Jewish* writers observe in the very ancient and celebrated book called *Bahir*, on this occasion. He saith[‡] that the repeating *JEHOVAH* three times in this place teacheth us, *that these names of the blessed GOD are three powers, and adds, וכל חיל וחיל חמה לחברו ושמו כשמו* i. e. *Every distinct power is like to each other, and hath the same name with it*. That is to say, as it is evident from the[§] words of that author, *Every one is, and is called JEHOVAH*. The same author adds, that in the words of the *Psalmist*, where it is said, *The LORD reigneth*, that *the words bear witness of the three* הויות (the word signifies *existencies* or *subsistencies*) *which are in the blessed creator*. And what is said, that *all is closed with JEHOVAH*, the peculiar name of *GOD*, intimates that *he is the fountain of all, and from him are the emanations of all*: He adds, that it is said in the book *Zohar*, that in those words, *The LORD reigneth*, there is a great mystery. But I will not pursue this matter any farther in this place: they who are curious may see more in the authors, which are quoted in the margin. I do not think, that I need to insist particularly on the words of *Isaiah*, xxxiii. 22. which is parallel to what I mentioned last, at least as to my present occasion. And for the same reason I pass by *Dan*. ix. 19.

I SHALL proceed to the famous place, *Deut*. vi. 4. *Hear, O Israel, the LORD our GOD is one LORD*. This is recited daily by the *Jews*, and they think it bears very hard upon the *Christian's* belief of the *holy trinity*. And indeed so it would, if the *Christians* did believe a plurality of *GODS*. But they need not fear this, or any other place of the *old Testament*, which the *Jews* are able to produce. We believe the doctrine contained in this scripture as sincerely as the *Jews* do; and appeal in this matter to the ancient *Jews* themselves, who have given such an account of these words, as is so far from destroying and subverting their belief of the *holy trinity*, that it mightily promotes and advances it. And whatever the *Jews* may conceit, I doubt not but to make it appear, that if the *Jews* will but admit the interpretation of the ancient doctors upon this place, they will soon find the *Christian* doctrine confirmed greatly, and themselves confuted by their own writers.

[†] R. Bechai. in *Pentat*. fol. 169. col. 2. Edit. Cracov. fol. 173. col. 1. Edit. Venet.

[§] Ibid. col. 3.

[‡] Bechai ib. & R. M. Markanti in *Leg*.

THOSE words which we translate thus, *The LORD our GOD is one LORD*, may be translated thus, *The LORD, our GOD, the LORD, are one*. This agrees perfectly with the *Hebrew* text יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד, and the *Pesik* between the the two last words requires some pause or stop. So that this version is exactly agreeable to the *Hebrew* words and to the accent, and (as will appear more afterwards) to the interpretation of the ancient *Jewish* doctors. This version agrees perfectly with that explication of the *Zohar* mentioned above, where that author speaking of these words saith expressly, that these *three* are *one*. I shall add to what I have observed before, another testimony out of *Zohar* from * a *Jew*: So that the *Jews* ought not to suspect a writer of their own in this matter, how prone soever they are to suspect the quotations of *Christians*. That author gives an account of these words, and explains them in that order in which they lie before us in the text. He begins with JEHOVAH first mentioned. And thus he saith, יהוה יבור, That is, JEHOVAH is the *head* (or beginning) of *all things*, in splendor, antiquity and holiness; and he is called the FATHER. Elohenu, i. e. Our GOD, is the *profundity of rivers and springs, which go forth and flow unto all things*. And then he adds of the JEHOVAH last mentioned, that he is the *tree*, &c. I presume he speaks of † the *Kabbalistical tree*, which is another of the divine *Sephiroth*, by whom the world was *created*, the בנה or חבנה by which the world was made. See *Prov.* iii. 19. My author goes on, *And all is one, one is knit to the other, and there is not found any separation, but all are one*. He tells us afterwards, that this *mystery* was to be revealed in the days of the MESSIAS.

BEFORE I proceed any farther in this argument, I shall take off some objections, that are laid in my way against some particulars above-mentioned; which are such, that as some pretend, will not bear the weight and stress, which I have laid upon them.

Obj. 1. THE first objection, which I shall mention, shall be what I find in *Abravenel*, who † after he hath refuted (as he thought) an opinion of *Nachman*, endeavours to prove that *Elohim* is not a *plural*, but that it is a *singular*, as much as *El* is. He tells us, that to *El* two letters of the *Tetragrammaton* are added, according to a saying among their wise-men; That GOD created the world *with two letters*. And that for the termination of the word, that is no proof that it is of the plural number, because there are several words of that termination, which are *singular*, and denote individual persons, as *Mizraim*, and *Ephraim*. I answer,

1. THAT though the termination of *Elohim* do very frequently denote a plural; yet no wise *Christian* lays the whole stress upon that. I have shewed, that *Elohim*, besides its plural termination, is joined with verbs and adjectives in the plural number. When he contends, that *Elohim* is of the singular number, he knows that the nation of the *Jews* is against him. 'Tis very well if he believed otherwise himself. I am sure, that after all his pains to prove this a singular word, he betakes himself to a new method to get himself clear of this difficulty, which is so much the more surprizing, because this his opinion, that *Elohim* is a singular, and

* Markanti in *Legem*, fol. 194. col. 3.
in *Legem*, fol. 6. cap. 3.

† V. Buxtorf, *Lexic. Talmud.* 178

‡ Abravenel

made up of *El*, and his additional letters of the *Tetragrammaton*, he says a little before, is the truth of the matter *בלי ספק*, That is, *without doubt*. If he really believed it himself, he needed not to have sought out another method.

2. WHEREAS he would have his reader believe, that *Elohim* is made up of *El*, and his two other letters, we have nothing but his word, no manner of proof of it. I know that *Jew* too well to take this from him upon trust. But besides this, it is very well known, that the singular number of *Elohim* is not *El*, but *Eloha*, from which 'tis probable 'tis taken, as *Jah*, from *JEHOVAH*. As for his names of *Mizraim* and *Ephraim*, he might have spared his pains, till any *Christian* had laid a greater stress upon the bare termination.

Obj. 2. It is objected farther (not by a *Jew*; I speak it with trouble when I say, by a *Christian*) that the using of a plural to express the name of *GOD* is derived from *Polytheists*, who used this way of speaking. The *Hebrews* lived in *Palestine* among the idolatrous *Canaanites*, who worshipped *false gods*, and accordingly spoke of them in a word of the plural number; and thence it was, with compliance with that usage of these idolaters, that the word *Elohim* is used in the *holy Scripture*, of the *true GOD*. The *Hebrews* used a verb in the singular number in conjunction with *Elohim*, and by that method disowned *Polytheism* themselves; and when they joined it with a plural in compliance with the usage of the idolaters, yet they were no *Polytheists* themselves. I answer,

1. THIS is indeed said, but not proved, nor so much as probable. For is it probable, that the *Holy Ghost* (by whom the holy writers were inspired) should use this method? That he should imitate the way of speaking used by these idolatrous *Canaanites*? That he should do it, when it could not but be very dangerous to the souls of men! 'Tis certain, that the *Hebrews* did not want words enough to express the name of *GOD* by, which were of the singular number, and which they many times use. We well know, that great care was taken to warn the *Hebrews* not to imitate the usages and practices of the *Canaanites*: And do we think, that they were left at liberty to speak of the true *GOD* in those terms, which were used of idols? The word *Baal* was forbid the *Israelites*, because it was a word that hath been applied to an idol. *Thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baali. For I will take away the names of Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name*, *Hos. ii. 16, 17*. And yet the word *Baal* did not always import an idol; it was indeed frequently applied that way. According to the objector's opinion, the true *GOD* is often meant by *Elohim*; which was the very word by which the filthy *Canaanites* ordinarily called their idols and false gods. Here are great presumptions against this this novel and upstart opinion.

2. IF it be said, that^a the *HOLY GHOST* did not choose words for the holy and inspired writers, I will not in this present question debate that matter: I will suppose it so to be. Yet still it cannot be supposed, that the holy writers, when they spake of *GOD*, would do it in a manner that was so scandalous and dangerous; that they would speak of him in

^a V. S. Edzardi *Dissertation. de nomine Elohim.*

such terms, as the idolaters were wont to apply to their idols. Much less is it to be supposed, that GOD himself should use such terms in that law, which he himself wrote; and that this should be written by the finger of GOD, is incredible: And yet we know, that GOD styles himself *Elohim*, *Exod. xx. 6* *Deut. v.*

3. I WOULD fain know of these objectors, When and where the patriarchs changed their own language? Was it when they (few in number) sojourned in the land of *Canaan*? Or was it in *Egypt* that they did it; where they were 215 years, or at least 210? They will not, I suppose; pretend that they changed it in *Egypt*; notwithstanding their long stay there. *Moses* was born there, and bred up at court, and was learned in all the *Egyptian* learning; yet he did not write his law in the *Egyptian* language. The objectors do not so much as affirm this. But was it done when they were sojourners in *Canaan*? How doth this appear? For it is not enough to suppose it. It is a matter of greater weight than to be taken upon trust. It cannot be denied but GOD spake to *Abraham*, when he sent him out of his own country towards the land of *Canaan*: And it must be allowed, that he spake to him in his own language, which *Abraham* understood. *Abraham* had those about him in *Canaan*, which understood this language. *Abraham* had that abhorrence of the idolatrous *Canaanites*, that he would not be buried with them, but bought a separate place for the burial of himself and family. He would not enter into affinities with them, but sends his servant for a wife for his son into his own country. His son *Isaac* trod in his father's steps in this matter, and his wife sufficiently declared her abhorrence of such an affinity. *Jacob*, we know, went into *Abraham's* country for a wife. After all, can we think that they were so fond of the language of *Canaan*, that for the sake of that they did forego and forget their own? Supposing they understood that language when they sojourned there, doth it follow, that they retained it in *Egypt* also, for above two hundred years together? Must *Moses* be supposed to write his books in the language of *Canaan*, who was never there? He useth the word *Elohim*; but whence did he learn it? Sure not from the *Canaanites*, with whom he had no conversation. To learn the language of *Ashdod*; and to forget their own, was a reproach to the *Hebrews* in after-times; *Neh. xiii. 25.*

4. I ADD, that this opinion is novel and singular, and directly contrary to the sense of the fathers of the primitive-church. For this I dare appeal to all those who are conversant in their writings. They argued as we do; and believed the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* to be at least intimated in the *old Testament*: And laid a great stress upon the words used in the beginning of *Genesis*, which relates the history of the creation. And we ought to have that deference for them, as not to depart from them without very good reason.

Obj. 3. IT is farther objected, that this plural way of speaking is כִּמְנוּהוּ מַלְכִּים, according to the manner of kings, who speak of themselves in the plural number. I answer,

1. THAT we have no sufficient proof of this: I do not find any thing offered to this purpose. And if a bare affirmation was enough, we shall never fail of enough of that from the Jewish writers.

M

2. THAT

2. THAT the matter of fact is not true, when 'tis said to be the manner of kings to speak in the plural number. I grant, that so it is now; but 'twas not so, when *Moses* wrote his law. We have plenty of instances to the contrary. *Pharaoh, David, Nebuchadnezzar* speak of themselves in the singular, not plural number. And 'tis a very extravagant fanſie to ſuppoſe, that *Moses* alludes to a cuſtom, that was not (for what appears) in being at that time, nor a great while after. This puts me in mind of a like extravagant conceit of a *German* divine^b, that hath commented upon *Genesis*. On *Genesis* ii. 7. *He breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life*, he tells us, That it is not inelegantly by ſome obſerved, that this is a metaphor drawn from glaſs-makers, who by their breath make their cups and glaſſes into their ſeveral forms. That divine ſhould have been ſure, that this art of blowing glaſſes had been as old as that expreſſion of *Moses*, before he had commended a metaphor, which he fancies might be drawn from thence. The like might be ſaid of this conceit here, in the laſt named objection.

Obj. 4. *Aben Ezra*^c mentions an objection, in his comment on *Gen.* i. 26. where it is ſaid, *Let us make man*. He ſays, that it is pretended, that the word נַעֲשֶׂה is not a future of the active voice; but that it is in *Niphal*, and ſignifies as much as *Is made*; but then what follows, *In our image*, which bears againſt that ſenſe of the word, muſt be the word of *Moses*, and imply only *humane* likenefs, that is, ſuch as that of *Moses* was. I anſwer,

As *Aben Ezra* doth, and it deſerves no better, that this is פְּרוֹשׁ חָסֵר לֵב, That is, *a fooliſh interpretation*. The context it ſelf will not admit it. For man was not then made, but we have an account of his creation after this, v. 27. So *GOD created man* (not in the image of *Moses*, but) in his own image.

I FIND the *Jews* at a great ſtand when they mention *Gen.* i. 26. They blunder at a ſtrange rate, and know not how to extricate themſelves out of the difficulty. This may appear from what we find in the ^d *Bereſhith Rabba*. On thoſe words, *Let us make man*: It is ſaid, *With whom did he adviſe?* *R. Joſhua* in the name of *R. Levi* ſays, *With his works of heaven and earth, like a king that hath two counſellors, and would do nothing without them*. *R. Samuel the ſon of Nachman* ſays, *that he adviſed with every day's work*. Another Rabbi ſays, *That he adviſed בלבו with his own heart*. *R. Chaninah* ſays, *With his miniſtring angels*.

THUS diverſly and extravagantly do the *Jews* deliver themſelves on this occaſion. They fooliſhly ſuppoſe *GOD* to adviſe with his creatures, and even with the earth it ſelf. The angels ſhall be brought into counſel, who are not ſo much as mentioned in the hiſtory of the creation. But theſe men do not ſeem to conſider what follows, *In our image*. Do they ſuppoſe man made in the image of any of the creatures? If they do, they may ſoon be confuted from the next words, where it is ſaid, he created man in *his own image*.

BUT it is now time to return to my argument. I ſhall therefore in the next place conſider ſome paſſages in the apocryphal books, to prove that the ancient *Jews* had among them ſome notion of ſome plurality in the

^b Paræus in *Gen.* ii. 7.

^c *Aben Ezra* in *Gen.* i. 26.

^d *Fol.* 10. c. 1. Edit. Amſtelod.

divine

divine nature, and of the *holy Trinity*. Though these *Apocryphal* books be not received into the canon of scripture; yet they must be owned to be written by the *Jews*, and to contain the sense of that nation in this matter; and to have at least as good authority as the *Targums*, and other celebrated authors among the ancient *Hebrews*: And though we may not expect such clear testimonies for the *holy Trinity* as we have in the *new Testament*, where this doctrine is explicitly revealed; yet will it be of great moment, if we find such expressions, as intimate that there was a *Jewish Kabbala* concerning this doctrine, and so confirm that more express revelation, which we have of it in the *new Testament*.

AND here I will be very brief. A late^e very learned writer, and my very worthy friend, hath very happily prevented me in this matter; and to him I refer the learned and curious reader for a larger account and more ample satisfaction.

HE very well observes, that the *Jews* from *Gen. i. 26.* were sensible of some kind of plurality in the divine nature; and that he doth from the prayer of young *Tobias* thus expressed, *Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for an helper and stay; of them came mankind: Thou hast said, It is not good, that man should be alone. Let us make unto him an aid like unto himself.* *Tobit viii. 6.* It is *Ποιήσωμεν*, the very same word that is used by the *LXXII. Gen. i. 26.* And that also tho' the word used *Gen. ii. 18.* be of the singular number. The author of the book of *Wisdom* ascribes the creation of the world to the *Word*, *ch. ix. 1.* And distinguisheth between *Wisdom* (or the *Word*) *v. 2.* and the *Holy Spirit*, *v. 17.* This *Wisdom* he elsewhere calls the *worker of all things*, *ch. vii. 22.* having *all power*, *v. 23.* *The brightness of the everlasting light, and image of God's goodness.* We find a distinct acknowledgment of *Father* and *Son*, *Ecclus. i. 10.* We have an account that the *Word* and *Binah* were before all things; and those in the *Jewish* books are put for the divine *λόγος* and *Spirit*. *Wisdom hath been created before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting. The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom, and her ways are everlasting commandments,* *Ecclus. i. 4, 5.* The *Spirit* of the *LORD* is said to fill the world. *Wisd. i. 7.* There is another passage still, which I find mentioned by the very learned author above-named, which I take to be a very clear testimony of the incarnation of the deity. The words are to be found in *Baruch*, *iii. 35, 36, 37.* *This is our God: And there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterward did he shew himself upon earth, and conversed with men.* This is a passage so very full and pertinent to my purpose; that I think it of mighty force in my present argument against the *Jews*.

IF these things be put all together, and the whole evidence summed up, they must be of great force in the present question, and enough to convince us, that the ancient *Jews* did believe some plurality in *God*, and had great reason so to do: And that there is in the *old Testament* ground to believe this, and some obscure intimation at least of the *holy Trinity*.

^e Judgment of the *Jewish* church against the *Unitarians*, *ch. viii.*

But for a fuller proof of this against the *Jews*, I must refer the reader to the following chapter.

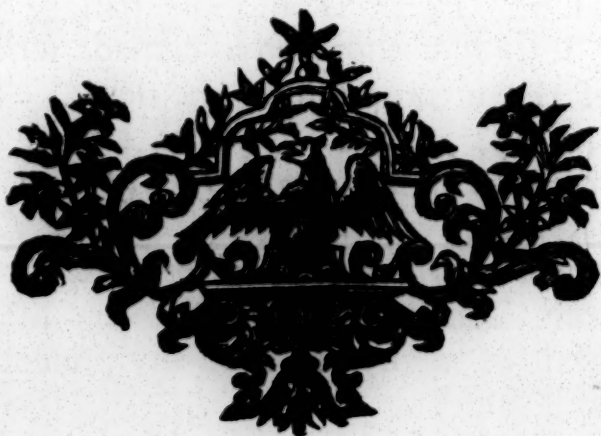
MEAN while as to what has been said already, I find that ^f *Jacob Aben Amram* the *Jew* reflects upon the *Kabbalistical* way of proving the *Trinity*, he says, that some *Christians* use this method: But he says, that this theology is above the vulgar; that it contains, indeed, abstruse mysteries, but under such cortical coverings, that the vulgar cannot come at the kernel. He adds, that the most skilful *Hebrew* divines of this sort do teach the most simple unity of GOD, clothed with many supreme attributes; and therefore thinks the very ignorant can never prove the *Trinity* from them.

I AM something surprized with this weak reflection from so subtle and learned a *Jew*. I think it much below him: I cannot but take notice of this reflection.

First, HE says, that this learning is above the vulgar and most ignorant: And doubtless so it is. But then we are not to think, that they are the men, that use these sort of arguments. We do not reckon this among the popular ways of arguing. The most learned men in the world, and most conversant in the *Jewish* learning, have produced such pregnant proofs of this kind, that no *Jew* will be able to answer them. However he might have attempted it, and tried what he could have answered to those passages produced out of *Zohar*, and other *Kabbalistical* books, in behalf of this *Christian* doctrine.

Secondly, HE says, the *Kabbalistical* divines own the *Unity* of GOD I believe this also, but this is nothing to his purpose; for so do the *Christians* too, who yet believe the doctrine of the *Trinity*. We are agreed, that there is but *one* GOD. And it doth not thence follow that what the *Christians* teach from the *new Testament*, concerning the *Trinity*, was not agreeable to what the *Jews* taught also.

^f Jacob Aben Amram num. 141.



C H A P. V.

The testimony of Philo the Jew, concerning the Holy Trinity, and the λόγος. A fragment of his out of Eusebius, with a reflection upon it. His account of the cherubims and flaming sword. Its agreeableness to the sacred writers. A passage of Origen to the same purpose. His account of the three persons mentioned, Gen. xviii. Some reflections upon that account with relation to the Christian's account of the Holy Trinity. Some other places out of Philo the Jew to the same purpose, with reflections upon them. The account which Philo gives of the λόγος. He makes the Manna a symbol of the λόγος. He speaks in this agreeably to the other Jewish writers, and to what we read in the new Testament. Philo owns the λόγος to be the governour of the world, the Son of GOD, and that he was begotten eternally, and that he is necessarily immortal. The rows of precious stones on Aaron's breastplate a symbol of the λόγος. A very remarkable place of Philo to that purpose. The λόγος considered by Philo as an advocate. That the λόγος cannot be a creature is shewn from another passage in Philo. He calls the λόγος the Angel mentioned, Exod. xxiii. 23. And the true high-priest. He affirms the Levitical high priest to be a type or symbol of the λόγος. He expounds these words. Zech. vi. 12. Behold the man whose name is the branch, of the λόγος. He affirms him to be the mediator between GOD and man; To be not unbegotten as the Father, and not begotten as men. The substance of Philo's evidence summed up. The Chaldee Paraphrasts considered in this matter. They speak of the λόγος as of a divine person. Several testimonies to this purpose out of Onkelos, and from the paraphrase of Jonathan, and that of Jerusalem. An objection of an Anti-trinitarian: An answer to that Objection. Of the Shechinah.

I SHALL now proceed to lay before the Jews, what their countryman Philo hath said in confirmation of the Christian doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity, the Son of GOD, and the divine λόγος.

I SHALL begin with a fragment of Philo's mentioned by ^a Eusebius, who cites Philo speaking of GOD's creation of man, in the following words.

ΔΙΑ ΤΙ, ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου θεοῦ φησὶ τὸ, Ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἐχὼ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ; παγκράτως καὶ σφῶς ταυτὶ κεχρησμάδιον· διηκτὸν γὰρ ἔδειν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα τῷ ὅλῳ ἐδυάτο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δευτέρου θεοῦ, ὅς

^a Euseb. Prepar. Evangel. l. 7. cap. 13. Paris. 1628.

ὅτιν ἐκείνῃ Λόγῳ· ἔδει γὰρ ἢ λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῇ τύπον, ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου χαράχθῃναι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ περὶ τοῦ Λόγου θεός, κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις· τῷ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου, ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ τινὶ ὑπερέτα κατεστῶτι ἰδέα, ἔδειν θεῷ ὑποκινητὴν ὑπομοιῶναι· i. e. *Why doth GOD say, In the image of GOD made I man, and not in his own image? This Scripture-expression is for wise and good reasons; for nothing mortal can be fashioned after the image of the supreme GOD and Father of all things, but of his word or λόγῳ, who is the second GOD. For the rational part of man's soul ought to receive its impression from the Word or reason of GOD; because GOD himself, who is superior to his λόγῳ, is beyond the nature of all rational beings; and consequently it was not fit, that any created being should be made after his likeness, whose nature doth subsist in the highest degree of excellence.*

I COULD not justify a *Christian*, that should say, that the λόγῳ is the second GOD, because this might insinuate that there were more gods than one: But this doth not render the testimony of *Philo* useless. His words are of great use in the present question: For first, he doth distinguish between the person of the *Father*, and the λόγῳ, whom he elsewhere calls the *Son*: And secondly, He doth expressly affirm this λόγῳ or *Son* to be GOD. And consequently that he did acknowledge some kind of plurality in the divine nature, which can be nothing more or less than a plurality of persons; -as, I presume, will appear before I have done with this matter.

THE next place which I shall take notice of is, ^b where he discourseth of the *Cherubims* and *flaming sword* mentioned, *Gen.* iii. 24. He gives his allegorical interpretation of the *Cherubims* and *flaming sword*; the former he makes a representation of the two hemispheres, the latter a symbol of the sun: But after all he proceeds, and adds, Ἡκεῖνα δὲ ποτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ λόγου ὡς ψυχῆς ἐμῆς ἐκείνης ταῖς πολλὰς θεοληπῆσθαι, καὶ ὡς ὅν ἐκ οὐδὲ μαν- πύεσθαι, ὅν ἐάν δύνωμαι ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐρῶ· ἔλεγε δὲ μοι, καὶ τὸν ἕνα ὅντας ὅντας δὲ δύο ταῖς ἀνωτάτω εἶ) καὶ πρώτας διωάμεις, ἀγαθότητα καὶ ἡσυχίαν· ἀγα- θότητι μὲν τὸ πᾶν γεληνκέσθαι· ἡσυχία δὲ, τὸ ἡσυχνέειν· ἀρχὴν· τρίτον δὲ σωματικὴν ἀμφοῖν μέσσην εἶ) λόγον· λόγῳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶ) τὸν θεόν· ἀρχῆς μὲν ὅν καὶ ἀγαθότητι· καὶ δυνάμει διωάμειν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶ) σύμβολα· λόγῳ δὲ ἢ φλο- γίνῳ ῥομφαίαν· ὅςτιν ἡσυχνέειν καὶ ἀρχὴν λόγῳ, καὶ μέγιστα τὸ αὐτὸς, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ πάντα φασίσαν παρημεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ πάντων νοεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσι φανόμενον, i. e. *But my own soul, which sometimes is divinely transported, and delivers oracles not known to it self, hath given me a more exact account, which I will endeavour to recollect and report. It said unto me, That to the truly one GOD there were two supreme and primary powers belong- ing, Goodness and Power. And by Goodness all things were made, and were governed by Power. That there was still a third as a conciliator in the midst of the two former, viz. c the Word. That by this Word, GOD is both a governor and good, and that the cherubims are symbols of these two powers of government and goodness, and the flaming sword of the Word. For the λόγῳ or word, was very swift and fervent, especially that of the first cause; it being in time before all things understood, and appearing above all. After this manner of speaking doth he in the foregoing words, as also in those which follow, give an account of the*

^b Philo Allegor. l. 2. pag. 86. F.^c λόγῳ.

divine being : and plainly asserts at the same time the unity of the divine essence. To what *Philo* says here of the λόγος or word, of which he makes the flaming sword a symbol, he speaks conformably in another place ; where speaking of GOD's cutting and dividing the united natures of things, he adds, that he doth it τῷ τομῇ τῷ συμπάντων αὐτῷ λόγῳ, i. e. by his λόγος or word, cutting or dividing all things. This is very agreeable to what we read, *Heb. iii. 12.* *The word of GOD is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.*

It appears from what hath been said before, how agreeable what *Philo* says of the λόγος, is to what the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* speaks of the same. I may add, that it agrees also with what we read *Wisdom xviii. 15, 16.* *Thine almighty word leapt down from heaven, out of thy royal throne, as a fierce man of war, into the midst of a land of destruction ; and brought thine unfeigned commandment as a sharp sword, &c.* And as *Philo* agrees with this Jewish writer ; so they both agree with the author of the *Apocalypse*, *Rev. xix. 13, 15, 21.* compared with *Chap. i. 16.* and *Ch. ii. 16.* where the Word of GOD is described with a sharp sword going out of his mouth. And how agreeable all this is with the prophecy of *Isaiah* concerning the MESSIAS, hath been observed by ^d one of the ancient *Christians*. I shall not think much to transcribe his words upon this occasion, and they are these ; Ἐν ᾧ τῷ Ἡσαΐα ἔρασκεν ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τειθεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν, καὶ κεκρύβηται ὑπὸ τῷ σκέπῳ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, βέλει ἐκλεκτῷ ὡμοιωμένῳ, καὶ ὃν τῇ φαρέτρᾳ τῷ πατρὶ κεκρυμμένῳ, δῶλῳ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ καλέμενῳ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ὡς ἐθνῶν μάχαιρα μὴ ἵκῃ ὀξεῖα ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἵεῖ τῷ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ ζῶν τυγχάνει ὁ λόγος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐνεργῆς, καὶ τομώτερος ἢ ὅτι πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίσκομον, καὶ δικνέμενῳ ἄχει μερισμῷ ψυχῆς καὶ πνέματι, ἀρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, καὶ κερπήτος ἐνδυμῆσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐκ εἰρήνης ὅτι τῷ γλῶττι, τῷ ἔστιν ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ καὶ αἰδητὰ, βαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν, καὶ διανόπτῳ τῷ, ἵν' ἔτις ἔπω, ἐπιβλαβῇ φιλίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἵν' ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπιδιδῶσαι ἑαυτῷ τῷ στρατοδύμῳ καὶ τῷ σαρκὶ πνέματι, φιλιωθῇ τῷ θεῷ. That is, *It is said in Isaiah, that the Father made his mouth like a sharp sword, and that he was hidden in the shadow of his hand, and likened to a polished shaft, and hidden in his quiver, and was called the servant of GOD, and Israel, and a light to the Gentiles. Therefore is the mouth of the Son of GOD a sharp sword. The Word of GOD is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart ; he coming not to send peace upon the earth, that is upon corporeal and sensible things, but a sword ; cutting asunder the hurtful friendship between the soul and body, that the soul permitting it self to the spirit, that wars against the flesh, might be at friendship with GOD.* By this it appears, that *Philo* speaks of the λόγος in the same terms, and under the same Idea and character, that the holy writers made use of both *Jews* and *Christians*. I very well know, that *Abravanel* (as well as some of the *Jews*) understands the words above cited to be meant not of the MESSIAS, but of the pro-

^d *Origen in Joannem. Colonia, 1685. pag. 34. Isa. xlix. Heb. iv. 12.*

phet *Isaiab*. It would be too great a digression in this place to enter into that debate. There is no indifferent person, who can make any doubt of that matter, that considers the context with due application of mind.

Philo hath another passage in his second book of allegories, something to the same purpose with that first above named, which I will not now insist upon.

BUT elsewhere^e he hath a passage more clearly relating to the same purpose. He tells us, that the *soul fully enlightned* Τρίτην φαντασίαν ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει, i. e. *Receives as it were a three-fold image of one subject*. He goes on and tells us, that there is one *Father of all things*, who in the scripture is called Ὁ ὢν, or *he who is*. But he who is, is attended with his most ancient and nearest powers; of which one is creative, the other kingly or governing, The first is called GOD, by which he made and disposed all things: The other LORD; it being fit that the creature should be governed by its maker. And that being thus attended with these powers, παρέχει τῇ ὁρατικῇ διανοίᾳ, τότε μὲν ἐνός, τότε δὲ τῶν τριῶν φαντασίαν, i. e. *He exhibits to the discerning mind some time the representation of one, some times of three*.

I THINK fit, that the reader may make the better judgment, to transcribe that whole passage out of *Philo*. I shall premise, that he is discoursing in that place of *Abraham's* entertaining the three persons mentioned, *Gen. xviii.* who came to him in the heat of the day, which he, following the LXXII, understands of the noon, or mid-day. His words are these; Ἐπειδὴν οὖν ψυχὴ καθαύπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ δεῶν ὤχλησθαι, καὶ ὅλην δὲ ὅλων νοητῶν φωτὸς ἀναπληθεῖσα ταῖς ἐν κύκλῳ κεκυρμέναις αὐγαῖς ἄσκηται, τριτὶν φαντασίαν ἐνὸς ὑποκειμένου καταλαμβάνει· τὸ μὲν ὡς ὄντα, τοῖν δ' ἄλλοις δυοῖν, ὡς ἂν ἀπαυραζομένων ἀπὸ τέττε σκιῶν, ὁποῖόν τι συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀσθητῇ φωτὶ διατρίβουσιν· ἢ γὰρ ἐσώτων ἢ κυρμένων διττῶν σκιῶν πολλάκις συμπίπτει· μὴ μὲν τοι νομοσάτω τις ὅτι δεῶν τὰς σκιάς κυριολογεῖται· κατὰ χρησὶς ὀνόματι αὐτὸ μόνον ὅτι πρὸς ἐναργετέραν ἔμφαντον τῷ διλημένῳ πρᾶγματι· ὥστε τότε ἀληθεῖς ἐχέτωσ' ἔχει· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὡς ἂν τις τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγγύτατα ἰσάμεναι· εἰποι, πατήρ μὲν τῶν ὅλων ὁ μέσος, ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γεγραμῖς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται ὁ ὢν· αἱ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερα πρεσβύταται καὶ ἐγγύταται τῷ ὄντι· δυνάμεις· ὧν ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ, ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ πρῶτα γινώσκεται· καὶ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ δεῖς· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔδηκε τε καὶ διενόσμησε τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος· δέμους γὰρ ἄρχην καὶ κρατεῖν τὸ πεποιηκὸς τῷ γινόμενῳ· δορυφορέμεναι οὖν ὁ μέσος ὑφ' ἐκάτερας τῶν δυνάμεων παρέχει τῇ ὁρατικῇ διανοίᾳ, τότε μὲν ἐνός, τότε δὲ τριῶν φαντασίαν· ἐνός μὲν, ὅταν ἄκρως καθαρθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ μὴ μόνον τὰ πλήρη τῶν ἀειδμήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γείτονα μονάδα· δυάδα ὡς ἂν, πρὸς τὴν ἀμύνην καὶ ἐσύμπλοκον καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐδεῖν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ὅρασαν ἰδεῖν ἐπείγειται τριῶν δὲ, ὅταν μήπω τὰς μεγάλας τελεθεῖας πελεπῇ, ἐπὶ ἐν τῇ βραχυτέρῃ ὀργαζέται καὶ μὴ δυνάται τὸ ὅν ἀνὰ ἑτέρῃ πινὸς ὅτι αὐτὴ μόνον καταλαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δρυμένων, ἢ κτίζον ἢ ἄρχον. That is, *When therefore the soul, as at noon-day, is enlightned by GOD, and is intirely filled with intelligible light, being surrounded with the beams of it, then it becomes without any shadow, and it receives a three-fold image of one subject: Of one as of a being, of the other two as of shadows enlightned from that being, as it happens to them that continue in a sensible light; to whom often two shadows happen, whether they stand or move. But let no man think, that shadows can*

properly be attributed to GOD. This is catachrestically to be understood, in order to the better and more clear apprehending this matter; the truth of the thing being otherwise. But to come as near to the truth as may be, the Father of all things is the middle, who in the holy Scriptures is properly called *Ὁ ὢν*, i. e. He who is. But then he who is, is on each side attended by his most ancient and nearest powers, of which one is creative, the other kingly. The creative is GOD, by which he founded and adorned the universe. The kingly is LORD. It is fit that the creature should be governed by its maker. He that is in the middle, being thus attended by both his powers, doth exhibit to the discerning mind sometime the representation of one, sometime of three: Of One, when the soul being thoroughly purified, and not only having got beyond a multitude of numbers, but also the Dual that stands next to the Unite, is carried on to the simple and unmingled Idea that wants nothing; of Three when the soul not being initiated into the greater mysteries, but detained under the lesser, is not able to comprehend him Who Is, without some other, either his *Acts* of creation or government.

THE same author, in the very next page, pursues the same argument, and farther explains himself. I will lay before the reader the substance of what he says upon this occasion. He says, there are three orders of men, and they are distinguished according to their several apprehensions of the divine being. The best of the three are such, as apprehend the divinity under the representation of *Him Who Is*. The second are such as apprehend *τὴν ἀεργίαν, ἢ θεὸς ὄνομα*, i. e. The creative or beneficent power, which is called GOD; the third the kingly or governing power, which is called LORD. The first rank he reckons the best, but doth not exclude those, who are known to the Father by those Powers. He explains himself thus. Men are shy of those who court their friendship for *By ends*: But GOD admits all men who worship him. But then he will bestow the *prime* rewards on them, that worship him for his own sake; and in the next place he will reward them that worship him for the sake of some other good things, or the avoiding of some evils, i. e. that worship him as a *benefactor*, or a *king*; for they all agree in a good work, *viz.* the worship of GOD. That there is a three-fold representation of one subject, is plain, not only from the *allegorical* but *literal* sense. For when *Abraham* desired the three persons to receive his hospitality, he doth not address to them as to *Three*, but as to *One*, saying, *My Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away*. And he treats them afterwards as *One*.

I CANNOT but make some reflection upon this noble testimony of *Philo*, before I proceed any farther. It comes up to the purpose for which it is produced, *viz.* It shews that there was among the *Jews* a belief of some kind of plurality in GOD, and that that plurality exceeded not the number of three; and farther still, that the two Powers, which attended upon the *Ὁ ὢν*, were not *creatures*, or *attributes* only, but divine persons. And tho' this last cited passage of *Philo* doth alone bid fair for the proof of all this; yet I shall not only reflect on this passage, but shall confirm this from other places of the same writer.

First, I WILL reflect upon the last recited passage of *Philo*. And here I observe a plurality in the divine nature observed by *Philo*. It is

certain that he was no *Polytheist*. He sufficiently declares his belief of one GOD on all occasions; he doth it particularly^f in a place, where he takes notice at the same time of some kind of plurality in the divine nature: As on those words, *Gen. i. 26. Let us make man in our image, after our likeness*; where, says he, *Let us make*, doth declare *πλῆθος*, a plurality. He observes the like on *Gen. iii. 22. Behold the man is become like one of us*. His words on these last words are these, τὸ γὰρ ὡς εἰς ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλειόνων τίθεται. That is, *those words, as one of us*, are not put for *One*, but for more than *One*. Soon after these words he adds. Ἐάν τις ἀρχὴν, καὶ βασιλείαν, ἢ πρυτανεύειν καὶ διοικεῖν μόνῳ δέμῳ τὰ σύμπαντα· τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκιστανίην, εἰς κοίραν ἐστὶν, Εἰς βασιλείαν, ἐκ ἐπὶ πόλεων καὶ αἰθρῶν λεγόντων ἅν ἐνδίκην μάλλον, ἢ ἐπὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ δεξιᾶς ἐνός γὰρ ἐνα πᾶσι τε καὶ πατέρα πάλιν, καὶ δεσπότην ἀναγκάσιον ἔστι. i. e. GOD is one governour, prince, king, by whom alone it is fit that all things should be administered and disposed of. For what is commonly said, That the government of many is not good, and there must be one head, one king, doth not more belong to cities and people, than to the world and GOD. That it is necessary, that there should be only One maker, and father, and governour of the one world.

Philo sufficiently clears himself in these words from any just imputation of *Polytheism*: And yet doth he believe some plurality, and indeed a trinity. He mentions the Ὁ ὢν, i. e. *He who is*, and whom he calls the *Father* of all things (of whose divinity there is no dispute.) But then he mentions the *Two Powers*: One which is called (he says) GOD, the other LORD: One making the world, the other governing it; and therefore they cannot be creatures, but divine persons.

I SHALL next consider some other places of *Philo* to the same purpose. For what he delivers concerning this matter, he repeats upon all occasions, as that which was his constant and settled judgment in the case. I will not name all the places, that I could; it shall suffice, that I produce some of them; and that with this intention, that the reader may see, that this was the constant doctrine of this *Jew*. I will lay^g his own words before the reader, and they are these: Ἡ ἐκ ὁρᾶς, ὅτι ὡς τὸ ὄν αἱ πρῶται καὶ μέγισται τῶν δυνάμεων εἰσιν, ἥτε δυνάμεις καὶ κραταίως; καὶ προσαγορεύεται, ἡ μὲν δυνάμις θεός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πᾶσι τὸ ἐκτελεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δὲ κραταίως, καὶ ἡν ἀνῆπται τῶν ἔλων τὸ κρατεῖν; θεός ἐκ ἀνθρώπων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ὅτι θεός, μέγας τε ὅτι, ὢν ὄντως, καὶ ἰσχυρός, καὶ κραταίως. i. e. *Dost thou not see that about him who is, are his first and greatest powers, his beneficent and his punishing? The beneficent is called GOD; for according to this he founded and adorned the Universe: The other is called LORD, to whom belongs the Government of all things, GOD is not the GOD of men only, but of gods. He who Truly Is, is great and strong, and mighty. Elsewhere the^h same author making mention of Κύριος, ὁ θεὸς αἰώνιος, That is, the LORD, the Eternal GOD, he immediately adds these words; Αἱ πόλιν λεχθεῖσαι προσήσεις τὰς περὶ τὸ ὄν ἐμφαίνουσι δυνάμεις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κύριος, καὶ ἡν ἀρχή, ἡ δὲ θεός, καὶ ἡν δυνάμις. That is, *These words, (i. e. The LORD the eternal GOD) declare the Powers which are about him who is: the one of them is the**

^f Philo de confus. ling. pag. 270. A. 1st. Noe pag. 176.

^g Philo de vict. offer. pag. 661. B. C.

^h Philo de plan.

LORD, by which he governs ; the other is GOD, by which he is beneficent.

THE same Philo mentioning Gen. xviii. 6. where Abraham commands Sarah to make ready three measures of fine meal, and to make cakes for the entertainment of his three strangers, adds : these words ; Ἡνίκα δ' αὖτος δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ δουρὶν τῷ ἀνωτάτῳ δυνάμει, ἀρχῆς τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαθότητι, εἰς ὧν ὁ μέσος τριτλίας φαντασίας ἐνεργάζετο τῇ θεατικῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν ἐκείνη μεμέτρηται μὴ ἐδαμῶς· ἀπερίγραφοι γὰρ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῷ μεμέτρηκε ὅτι τὰ ὅλα· ἢ μὴ οὐκ ἀγαθότης αὐτῷ μέτρον ἀγαθῶν ὅτι· ἢ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς μέτρον ὑποκρίων· ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν ἀπάντων καὶ σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων· διὸ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις καλῶν καὶ κακῶν λαβῆσαι λόγον, τὰ μὲν ταύτας ἐσαθμήσαντο· τὰ μὲν δὲ τρία μέτρα πάντα καλὸν ἐν ψυχῇ ὡς περ φεραδίῳαί τε καὶ σωενεχθῆναι, ἵνα παιδεία ἢ ἀνωτάτῳ εἴῃ δυνάμει, ὅς ὑποκρίνεται τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῷ, καὶ χάρις αὐτῷ ὁρμήσει καὶ ἐν ταύταις ἐμφανήσεται, δέξεται χαρακτῆρας ὁθεσίαις τε καὶ δεργείας αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ τελείῳ μῶσι γλυκομένη τελετῇ, μηδενὶ προχείρως ἐκλαλῇ τὰ δειὰ μυστήρια, ταμιευμένη δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐχεμύθεια ἐν ἀπορήτῳ φυλάτῃ· γεγραπταὶ γὰρ ἐγκρυφίας ποιεῖν ὅτι κεκρύφθαι δεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγνόν τε καὶ τῷ δυνάμει αὐτῷ μῶσι λόγον· ἐπεὶ δειῶν καὶ ἀκαταθέτων ὁργῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὅτι φυλάξαι, i. e. *When GOD is attended with his two supreme powers, government and goodness, being One in the middle, he exhibits to the discerning soul a three-fold Idea, each of which are not to be measured ; for his powers are not to be circumscribed. He gives measure to all things. His goodness is the measure of Good Things ; His Power of things subject ; but he himself is governour of all things corporeal and incorporeal. Therefore these powers sustain the notion of rules and precepts, and set a weight on other things. It is good that these three measures should, as it were, be fermented and mingled in the soul, that being persuaded that there is a supreme GOD, eminent over his powers, seen without them, and appearing in them, it may receive the characters of his power and goodness ; and being initiated into the holy mysteries, it may not easily discover them, but silently keep them hidden. It is written, And made Cakes ; because it is fit that the mystical account of him, who is unbegotten, and of his powers should be hidden ; for every one is not fit to be keeper of these divine mysteries.*

IN another place the same Philo puts his reader upon approving himself to the supreme being, laying aside all lower familiarities : But then he adds these following words ; Ἐάν δ' ἀεὶ ἀδυνατῇς, ὑποβάλλον γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀξιώματι μέγαν· ἰδοὺ ἀμετασφραγίστως πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τέτων ἰκέτις γλυκὺς μέχρ' ἂν ἀποδεξάμεθα τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ γνήσιον τῆς θεωρίας, ἐν τῇ τῷ διαρεσπασίῳ αὐταῖς κατατάξωσι χώρα, καὶ δόξα καὶ τῷ Νῶε, ὅτι τῷ ἔργῳ θαυμαστότατον καὶ καμνοτάτον πεποιήται τὸ κατὰ λόγον· φησὶ γὰρ, Αὐταὶ αἱ γλυκείαι Νῶε· Νῶε ἀνδρῶπι δίκαιος, τέλει ὧν ἐν τῇ γλυκείᾳ αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπρέσβησε Νῶε. *That is, But if thou art not able (viz. to arise to this highest pitch of perfection) for this is a very high flight, forthwith apply thy self to his powers, and be a supplicant to them, that being prevailed on by thy constant and sincere worship, thou mayst be received into the order or rank of them that walk with or please GOD ; as it was with Noah, of whose works*

ⁱ Philo de Sacrif. Abel & Caini, pag. 108. B.

^k Ἐγκρυφίας is the Word used by the LXXII. and by Philo ; which we render Cakes on the hearth, viz. Such cakes as are hidden with embers.

ⁱ Philo, quod Deus sit immutabilis, pag. 244. B.

the scripture gives this marvellous account, that he was righteous and perfect in his generation, and that he pleased GOD.

I MIGHT add more to these places which I have produced ; but these are sufficient to my purpose. These powers are ranked with him *who is* ; are said to have made and to govern the world ; to be GOD and LORD ; to be ἀπερίγραφοι, that is, not to be circumscribed, as well as *he who is* ; We are directed to pray to them, and worship them ; they are distinguished from the *Father* ; and *Philo*, who says all this, must believe them to be divine persons, and so must every man do, that believes him.

I SHALL now proceed to consider, what *Philo* says of the λόγος, or *Word*, and the son of GOD ; which are the titles, which the sacred writers of the *new Testament* bestow upon the MESSIAS, and apply to JESUS : In which we shall plainly see, how conformably he speaks to the style of our holy writers.

Philo speaking of the *Manna*, which the *Israelites* did eat in the wilderness, hath^m these words : Καλεῖται γὰρ τὸ μάννα τι, or as it ought to be read (as appears from a parallel place ; *Leg. Allegor. Lib. 2.*) Καλεῖται γὰρ τοι μάννα τι δὲ πάντων ὅτι γένος· τὸ δὲ ὑμνωτάτων ὅτιν ὁ θεὸς καὶ δούτερος ὁ θεὸς λόγος, i. e. *The Manna is called τι, which is the Genus of all things. But that which is most general is GOD ; and the second is the λόγος, or the Word of GOD.* For the explication of which it is to be remembered, that when the people of *Israel* first saw the *Manna*, they were surprised, not knowing what it was : They said, as the LXXII have it, *Exod. xvi. 15. Τι ὅτι τὸτο ;* i. e. *What is this ?* The text says, that *they wist not what it was.* This translation *Philo*ⁿ follows, as appears from another of his books. And it being a thing strange to them, and which they did not explicitly understand, he calls it πάντων γένος, the *Genus* of all things, whose particular name and nature they did not comprehend. Such (says he) is GOD ; and the second, the λόγος, or *Word of GOD*. We are to know, that *Philo* makes the *Manna* to be a symbol of the divine λόγος, or *Word*, the food and nourishment of our immortal souls. He tells us, that^o this λόγος is the bread, which GOD gives us to eat, and is above all the world, more ancient and general than all the creatures. To this purpose he applies *Deut. viii. 3. Man doth not live by bread only ; but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of GOD.* He affirms, that στόμα, or *Mouth*, in those words is σύμβολον τῷ λόγῳ, i. e. A symbol of this λόγος, or *Word of GOD*. To the same purpose doth *Philo* discourse elsewhere^p. He tells us, that the *Israelites*, upon their first finding of *Manna*, did not indeed understand what it was ; but that being instructed they found that it was θεῖος λόγος, i. e. the *divine Word*, which was the ἐράνιος τροφή, or *heavenly food* ; which, as he says afterwards, affords *light* and *sweetness* to the soul. He elsewhere^q calls *Manna* the *divine Word*, and the heavenly and immortal food of the soul. The reader will easily discern, how conformable these words of *Philo* are to the words of the gospel of St. *John*. Our JESUS, who is called the λόγος, or word, *John i.* speaks very agreeable to this notion of *Philo* concerning the *Manna*, which the *Israelites* found, and did eat in the wilderness. He commands the *Jews*, who followed him for the loaves, in these words, *Labour not*

^m *Leg. Allegor. lib. 3.*
Quis rer. Divin. hares.

ⁿ *Allegor. lib. 2.*

^o *Ibid.*

^p *Philo de profugis.*

^q *Philo,*

for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the son of man shall give unto you, John vi. 27. Upon this the Jews enquire of him farther, what they should do, and what sign he would shew them; and add, *Our fathers did eat Manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat, Verſ. 31.* Then ſaid JESUS unto them, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, Moſes gave you not that bread from heaven; but my father giveth you that true bread from heaven. For the bread of GOD is he, which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.* Upon this the Jews ſaid, LORD, evermore give us this bread. And JESUS ſaid unto them, *I am the bread of life. He that cometh to me ſhall never hunger, and he that believeth on me ſhall never thirſt: Verſe. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.* Upon theſe words the Jews murmured at him: But JESUS repeats the ſame words again, *I am the bread of life; Your fathers did eat Manna in the wilderneſs, and are dead: This is the bread, which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die; I am the living bread, which came down from heaven, Verſe. 48, 49, 50, 51.*

It is farther obſervable, that our SAVIOUR, who was the anti-type of the Manna, met with ſuch an entertainment from the Jews, as the Manna is obſerved by Philo to have met with from the Iſraelites. When the Iſraelites firſt ſaw the Manna, they ſaid, *Τί τὸτο; i. e. What is this?* The text tells us, that they *wiſt not what it was*; And after that they deſpiſed and loathed it. This was what JESUS met with alſo. His own knew him not, and rejected him. *We know* (ſay they) *that GOD ſpoke by Moſes: As for this fellow we know not whence he is.* John ix. 29.

I ADD, that what Philo ſays concerning the Manna is very agreeable, not only to what we read in the *new Teſtament*, as hath in ſome meaſure been obſerved before; but to what the other *Jewiſh* writers ſay concerning it. If he makes it a ſymbol, and puts a ſpiritual meaning upon it, ſo do they alſo. *Know* (ſays^r a *Jewiſh* author) *that there is in the Manna, סוד גדול, i. e. a great mystery.* This was a bread from heaven, and the food of angels. The light is ſweet, ſays Solomon; This Manna (ſay the Jews) *is of the cognation of light, and this light is from above, and was incorporated by the will of the bleſſed creator: So that they, who did eat Manna, were nourished with the ſame food with angels, viz. the ſplendor of the Shechinah.* Of this Manna (they ſay) *the juſt ſhall eat in the world to come.* GOD gave Manna (ſays^r R. Bechai) *to them who received the law, to puriſe their minds, and to prepare them for the knowledge of the bleſſed GOD.* The author of the book of *Wiſdom* calls Manna, *angel's food, and bread prepared from heaven without man's labour; able to content every man's delight, and agreeing to every taſte.* — And a while after he adds, *That thy children, O LORD, whom thou loveſt, might know, that it is not the growing of fruits that nourisheth man, but that it is thy WORD, &c. Wiſdom xvi. 20, 26.* Theſe will juſtify the *Chriſtian* writers to all intents and purpoſes. If the Jew calls it *the heavenly food, and the food of the ſoul*, no wonder that St. Paul ſhould call it *ſpiritual meat*, 1 Cor. x. 3. If it was the bread of angels, or that glory, which they partake of in heaven, no wonder that

^r R. M. Markanti in Leg. fol. 34. col. 2. & 4. R. Bechai in Leg. fol. 88. col. 4. Exod.

^r R. Bechai in

St. *John* should express the heavenly reward by eating of hidden *Manna*, Apoc. ii. 17. If the *Jews* say, that it was the heavenly splendor incorporated, nothing can be a fitter type of the λόγος, that was made flesh. If the *Jews* make it a symbol of the divine *Word*, no wonder that *JESUS* (who professed himself to be that *Word*) should apply it to himself, *John* vi. If according to the *Jews*, the just were to eat of this *Manna* in the world to come, it cannot seem strange, that *Christians* should express the spiritual blessings of the days of *MESSIAS*, and the bliss of a future state after the same manner. And if *Philo* affirms the *rock in the wilderness* to be synonymous to the *Manna*, which he styles τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν ὄντων, λόγον θεῶν, i. e. *Of beings the most ancient, divine word*, we need not wonder, that St. *Paul* should say of the *Israelites*, that they did all drink of the same spiritual drink : *For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them ; and that rock was CHRIST*, 2 Cor. x. 4.

THE same^u author tells us, that this divine λόγος is the governor of this lower world, that he is ὁ πηδαλιεὺς καὶ κυβερνήτης τῶ παντός : He sits at the helm and disposeth of all things. This he lays down as a principle, which ought to quiet our minds under all contingencies or events. And^x elsewhere, more particularly, he tells us, That *GOD*, *As a king, and as a shepherd*, doth according to right and law govern the creatures as a flock ; the earth and water, the air and fire, all plants and living creatures, perishing things, and things more divine, the nature of the heaven, the periods of the sun and moon, the motions of the stars and their harmonious dances ; Περαισάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτῷ λόγον πρωτόγονον υἱόν, &c. *Settling over them the right Word, the first begotten Son, who takes upon him the care of his holy flock, as the vicegerent of this great king, as 'tis written* (Exod. xxiii. 23.) *I will send mine angel before thee, &c,* And then he goes on, *Now* (says he) *let all the world say, that great and most perfect flock of the true GOD, The LORD is my shepherd, and I shall want nothing.* He goes on to stir up the particular creatures after the most hearty manner to praise *GOD* upon this account, as being now secure, that they shall want nothing, that is needful for them ὀπισθατύνονται θεῷ, *GOD now presiding over them*, who will not fail to supply the necessities of his creatures. I will set down the words of the author, Καθάπερ γάρ πινει ποιμὴν, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ αἶρα καὶ πῦρ· καὶ ὅσα ἐν τέτοις φυτὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ζῶα, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἐπὶ δὲ βραχὺ φύσιν, καὶ ἡλίε καὶ σελιεύς, ὠκυπόδες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀέρων τροπὰς τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρεῖας ἐναρμονίης, ὡς ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς δεὸς ἄγει καὶ δίκην καὶ νόμον, περαισάμενος τὸ ὀρθὸν αὐτῷ λόγον πρωτόγονον υἱόν, ὃς τῷ ὀπισθιμένῳ τῆς ἱεράς παύτης ἀγέλης, οἷα τι μεγάλης βασιλείας ὑπαρχῶν διαδέχεται· καὶ γὰρ εἰρητὰς πε· Ἰδὲ ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἀποσελῶν ἀγγελὸν με εἰς πρὸςωπὸν σε τῷ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· λεγέτω ποίνω καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ αἶψα, ἡ μέγιστη καὶ τελειωτάτη τῶ ὄντων· δεῦ ποιμὴν, Κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ ἐδὲν με ὑπερήσει· λεγέτω ἕκαστος τῶ ἐν μέρει τὸ αὐτὸ τῷτο, μὴ τῇ διὰ γλώττης καὶ σώματος ῥέσση φωνῇ, πρὸς βραχέαν αἶρῶν· ὅτι κινεμένη μοῖραν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τὴ διανοίᾳ ὀρυωμένη, καὶ τῶν τῶ παντός ἀπλομένη περάτων· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τῶν ὀπισθαλλόντων ἐνδείαν εἶναι πινος, ὀπισθατύνονται· δεῦ πλήρη καὶ τέλεια τὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἐσὼν ἀπαλιν ἐωδότης χαρίζεται.

THUS like a *Christian* doth this great man deliver himself. Any man may soon discern, that he speaks what is very conformable to what is said

^u Philo pag. 137. *G. Kabbala Denudat.* Tom, 2. pag. 393.
de Agricultur. pag. 157. B.

^x Lib. 2. Alleg. pag. 88. B.

^x Philo

in the *new Testament*; where we shall find the same doctrine delivered, and the same power and dominion attributed to the MESSIAS; and claimed by JESUS, which *Philo* owns to belong to the λόγος. *All things* (says JESUS) *are delivered unto me of the Father*, Matth. xi. 27. *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth*, Ch. xxviii. 18. *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand*, John iii. 35. *And hath given him authority to execute judgment also*: Ch. v. 27. He is said, *to uphold all things by the word of his power*, Heb. i. 2. φέρων, which we render *upholding*, signifies *governing or ruling*, in that place; as the word κων is observed to do, from which comes κων, which signifies a *prince*. Our SAVIOUR is called ἀρχων, and *prince of the kings of the earth*. Apoc. i. 5.

WE see, that he calls the λόγος the Son of GOD, and his first begotten Son. It will be fit here, for the farther clearing of this whole matter, to shew, that *Philo* believed that this Son of GOD was begotten from all eternity, as we *Christians* do believe and teach. I will lay his words before the reader: His words are these, Καὶ μὴδέπω μὲν τοι τυγχάνη τις ἀξιοχρεως ὧν ἡδὲ δεῖ προσαγορεύεσθαι, ἀποδιδέξαι καὶ ὑπομείδω καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ λόγον, τὸν ἀγγελὸν πρεσβύτατον, ὡς ἀρχάγγελον πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἔνομα δεῖ, καὶ λόγος, καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὁρῶν Ἰσραὴλ προσαγορεύεται· διὸ προήχθην ὀλίγω πρότερον ἐπαινεῖσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν φασγόντων, ὅτι πάντες εἰμεν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴπω ἱκανοὶ δεῖ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γενόναυ, ἀλλὰ τοὶ τ' αἰδὶς εἰκόνος αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἱερῷτάτῃ· θεὸς γὰρ εἰκὼν λόγος ὁ πρεσβύτατος. That is, *If it be so, that as yet a man may not be worthy to be called the Son of GOD, however do thy endeavour to be adorned like unto his first-begotten Word, the most ancient angel, and archangel, that hath several appellations or names, viz. The beginning, the name of GOD, the Word, and the man according to his image, and the seeing Israel; for thus is he called: And therefore I was induced a little before to commend those, who mention their original, saying, that we are all the sons of one man. For if we are not fit to be esteemed the children of GOD; yet we may be of him, who is his ETERNAL Image, and most holy WORD. For the most ancient WORD is the image of GOD. The same Philo* (pag. 255, D.) in the same Book, speaking of the same matter, hath these words, Ἐπεὶ καὶ πῶς ἐν ἐμέμετε, φησὶμ' ἂν, ὧ γυναικοί, πολέμου μὲν δυσχεραίνω, εἰρῆνῃ δὲ ἀγαπᾶν, ἕνα καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῷ ὀνόματι πατέρα εἶ θνητὸν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατον, ἀνθρώπον δεῖ, ὅς τ' αἰδὶς λόγος ὧν ἔξ ἀνάγκης καὶ αὐτὸς ὅστις ἀφθάρτος. *O excellent men, how can it be otherwise, but that you should hate war and love peace, when you do profess to have the same father, and be not mortal but immortal? The man of GOD, who being the WORD of the eternal, is of necessity himself also immortal.*

Philo in these two passages seems to refer to Gen. xlii. 11. But that, which I think of greatest moment, is what he affirms of the λόγος, whom he frequently calls the Son of GOD, and GOD's image: And two things I cannot but observe, viz. (1) That he owns this Son of GOD to be his eternal image; and if so, he was not born or made in time; which is what we *Christians* believe and teach. (2) That he affirms, that this λόγος is not only immortal, but that he is of necessity, or necessarily so, which can be affirmed of no creature whatsoever. For though we believe

‡ *Philo de Confus. linguar.* pag. 267.

the souls of men to be *immortal*; yet we cannot truly affirm of them, that they are of *necessity*, or *necessarily* so. I shall in this place observe farther, that *Philo* doth² affirm, that the *wisdom* and the *Word* of *GOD* are one and the same: Of which confession of his I may have an occasion to make use afterwards.

THE same author in another place, speaking of the several rows of the precious stones upon *Aaron's* breast, tells us, that they^a were a representation. Τὸ συνέχον τὸ καὶ διοικῶν τὸ λόγος τὸ σύμπαν, i. e. *Of the λόγος that upholdeth and governeth all things.* To which the author adds, Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τῷ κόσμῳ πατρὶ ὑπακλήτω χρηστῷ τελειοτάτῳ τῷ ἀρετῷ ὑφ', ὡς τε ἀμνηστὴν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἢ χρηστὰς ἀρδονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν. That is, *For it was necessary, that the priest of the father of the universe should make use of the most perfect advocate his Son, to procure an amnesty of sins, and a supply of grace, or good things.* I take the substance of what he says last to be this: The high-priest had upon his breast a breast-plate, which was called the λόγιον, or λογιῶν (as the LXXII render it, *Exod.* xxviii. 15.) several rows of precious stones; This was a type of the divine λόγος, or *Word*; and this therefore implied the necessity of a more perfect advocate with the Father than the *Jewish* high-priest could be; viz. The *Son* of *GOD* himself, the great anti-type of that breast-plate, the θεῖος λόγος, or divine word. And, thanks be to *GOD*, such an advocate we have, 1 *John* ii. 1. *Heb.* ix. 24.

I CANNOT but in this place add another^b very remarkable passage of the same author; and I will do it in his own words. They are these; Ἐμπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἑταιρίαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμῳ δευδίοις, ἐρίεσθαι μὴ τὸν ἰδῆν· εἰ δὲ μὴ διώκοντο, τῷ γὰρ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ, τὸ ἱερώτατον λόγον, μεθ' ὃν καὶ τὸ ἐν αἰαθητοῖς τελειότατον ἔργον· τὸν δὲ τὸν κόσμον· τὸ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐστὶν ἡ αἰαθητοῦ ἢ ταῦτα σκεδάζειν ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν· τὸν δὲ αἰαθητὸν κόσμον ὡς ἂν ὑποπόδιον δεῦ φησιν εἶ) Ἀλλ' ἰαδὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ ὅτι ἐκ ἐν τῷ γεγονότι τὸ πεποιητὸς αἶπρον· ἐπεὶ δ', ὡς τὸ ὡραῖον, ὅτι ἐδ' ὁ κόσμος ἀπὸς ἀρέτω καὶ ἀπελευθερίας ἐστὶν κτήνηται, ἀλλ' ἐπιβέβηκεν ὁ κυβερνήτης δεὸς τῷ ὅλῳ· οἰκονομῶν καὶ πηδαλιεχὼν σωτηρίως τὰ σύμπαντα, ἔτε ποῖν, ἔτε χερσὶν, ἔτε ἄλλῳ τῷ ἐν γέλωτι κεκρημμένῳ μέρει τοῦ ὡραίου ἐδενί, καὶ τὸν ἀληθινὸν λόγον. That is, *It is very becoming the friends of knowledge, that they should be desirous to see GOD: (or to contemplate the place of his residence, and the world his footstool.) If they cannot attain to that, yet at least to contemplate his holy Word; and then the most perfect of sensible things, this world: For to philosophize is nothing else, but diligently to endeavour to contemplate these things. This sensible world is said to be GOD's footstool for these reasons. First, That it might appear, that a creature is not the efficient cause. Secondly, To make it appear, that the world is not moved from it self, but that GOD governs the whole, and savingly sits at the helm, not with feet, or hands, or other members, but according to his true Word.* The use, which I make of this passage, is to prove the divinity of the λόγος, against the *Jews*, from one of their most celebrated writers. For if the λόγος made the world, as this author in many places before named owns, then is he no creature himself, as we find he affirms here.

² Philo leg. Allegor. lib. 1. pag. 39. C. confus. linguar. pag. 161. F.

^a Philo de vita Mosi, lib. 3. pag. 521.

^b Philo de

THE same author ^c in fundry other places speaking of this λόγος, calls him *divine*, stiles him the *light*, the *high-priest*, the *image* of GOD, whom we ought to *imitate*: In which he speaks very conformably to the style of the *new Testament*. Heb. i. 3. & ch. v. 5. John i. 4, 5, 9. Sometimes he calls him the archetypal seal, the archetypal paradigm, the intellectual world, GOD, and the δεσμος τῆς ἀπάντων; the *bond* or *ligament* of the *Universe*.

WHEN he speaks upon those words, Lev. iv. 3. *If the priest that is anointed do sin, according to the sin of the people*, He adds ^d these words; Ὅτι ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ μὴ ψευδάνυμος ἀμέτοχος ἀμαρτημάτων ἔστιν. That is, *The true high-priest, and he who is not falsely so called, is free from sins. Such an high-priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, &c. And who needs not to offer up sacrifice for his own sins*, Heb. vii. 26, 27. He supposes the true high-priest to be without sin; and this agrees with the character given him by the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews*. He speaks in ^e another place to the same purpose; Λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα ἐκ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῶν ἔχει, πάντων ἐκ ἐκουσίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. That is, *We affirm that the high priest is not a man but the divine Word; free from all sins, both voluntary and involuntary*. Philo elsewhere ^f mentioning these words, Zech. vi. 12. *Behold the man whose name is the Branch*, hath a very remarkable passage to my present purpose. I only premise, that what is rendered *Branch*, is in the Greek Ἀνατολή; and so it is in *Philo*; and signifies as much as the latin word *Oriens*, and imports the rising of the sun; but of it self it signifies indefinitely any rising; A *branch* riseth, indeed, from the stock of the tree. But *Philo* (not to say others) understands the words in the former sense. His words are to this purpose. *This would be a new sort of appellation, if the words were to be understood of a man consisting of body and soul. But if we understand it of that incorporeal being, who bears the image of GOD, that appellation doth fitly belong to him: For the Father of beings was for the rising of this his most ancient Son, whom he otherwise calls his first-born: And he being born, imitating his father's ways, he formed such species as were agreeable to the archetypal exemplars of his father's, which he had seen*. But I shall choose to lay the words before the reader, as they are in the author. The words are these; Κατατάττει γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγομαι νομίσῃς· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἀσώματον ἐκείνον θεῖας ἀδιαφορεῖντα εἰκόνος, ὁμολογήσῃς ὅτι οὐδυσχολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίᾳ τὸ ἀνατολῆς αὐτῷ· τὸτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ὁ τῆς ἐν τῶν ἀνέτειλε πατὴρ, ὃν ἐτέρωδι πρωτόγονον ἀνόμασε, καὶ ὁ γυννηθεὶς μὲν τοῖς μιμνήσκουσιν τὰς τῶ πατρὸς ὁδοὺς, πρὸς ἀποδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνους βλέπων, ἐμάρτυρε εἶδεν. These words are quoted by ^g Eusebius, who followed a truer copy, than what we now have: But that quotation agrees for the substance, with what we now read in *Philo*. What in *Philo* is now ἀδιαφορεῖντα εἰκόνος is θεῖαν ἰδέαν φορεῖντα in *Eusebius*, which is doubtless the truest reading of the place. The reader may compare this with what is to be found, John v. 19, 20.

BEFORE I conclude this head, I shall consider what *Philo* says concerning the Mediatorship and intercession of this λόγος, which is a parti-

^c Pag. 4, 5, 463, 465, 364. *confus. linguar.* pag. 258. A.

^d De Victimis pag. 652. E. ^e Euseb. prepar. pag. 533.

^f De profug. pag. 364. B.

^g De

cular that *Christians* are much concerned in : And we shall find, that even^h here he speaks very conformably to the style of the *new Testament*. He tells us that the λόγος, or *Word*, had this granted him by his father, that he should stand the μεθέξας, in *the mids*, between GOD and his creatures : That is, A suppliant intercessor for mortals with the immortal, a *legate* of the ruler to his subjects. That he is neither begotten as mortals, nor unbegotten as GOD ; That he intercedes with GOD, that he will not destroy his creature ; and assures the creature, that GOD will not lay aside the care of his own work. This agrees with what we read, *Heb. viii. 6.* The reader may take what he says in his own words. Τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ πρεσβυτάτω λόγῳ δωρεὰν ἑξάρετον ἔδωκεν ὁ παὶς ὅλα χυνήσαι πατὴρ, ἵνα μετέξεας, τὸ χυμῶνον διακρίνη τῷ πεποιημένῳ. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἰκέτης μὲν ἔστι τῷ θνητῷ κηράνοντι. αἰεὶ πρὸς ἄρδαρτον, πρεσβυτῆς δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνῳ πρὸς τὸ ὑψηλόν. ἀγάλλεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ, καὶ σεμινύμενος αὐτῷ ἐκδιγῆται φάσκων, καὶ εἰσάγειν ἀνά μέσον κυρίως καὶ ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ ἀγλίνῃ. ὡς ὁ δεὸς ἄν, ἐπεὶ χυμητὸς ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ μέσος τῷ ἄκρων, ἀμφοτέρους ὑμῶν. ὥρα μὲν τῷ φυλάσσοντι, πρὸς πᾶσι τῷ μὴ σύμπαν ἀφανίσαι ποτὲ καὶ ἀποστῆναι τὸ χυμῶν, ἀνοσμίαν ἀντὶ κόσμου ἐλόμενον. ὥρα δὲ τῷ φωτί, πρὸς ἐνελπίσαν τῷ μήποτε τὴν ἰλασθῆναι δεῖν τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον.

To sum up at once what this excellent writer says to our present purpose, thus it is in short. He plainly enough insinuates the *Holy Trinity* under the titles of him *who is*, and his *two powers*. He gives a representation of the divine nature under the ideas of *three* and *one*. He gives to the *two powers* of him who is, the title of GOD and LORD. To *one* he attributes the *creation*, to the *other* the *government* of the *universe*. He puts men upon making supplication to these *powers*, and affirms that they are no more circumscribed than *he who is*. And for the λόγος, he makes him to be the anti-type of the *Manna*, or bread from heaven ; and affirms, that he is the *Son of GOD*, *eternally* begotten, and *necessarily immortal*, The *true high-priest*, the *prince* of the *universe*, the *branch*, the *image* of GOD, the intellectual world, the archetypal *seal* and *paradigm* ; and lastly, that he is the *advocate*, and the *mediator* between GOD and men : Not unbegotten as the father is. nor yet begotten as men are begotten. This is the sum of the evidence, which is given us by *Philo* the *Jew*, whom *Amram* calls the divine *Philo*.

HAVING shewn what account *Philo* the *Jew* hath given of the λόγος or *Word*, I shall now proceed to consider the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts, who are authors of great esteem among the *Jews*.

I WILL begin with *Onkelos*, whom *Maimonides* greatly commends in several places ; and doubtless very justly. He is the most ancient of them ; and his *Chaldee* style, which is very terse and biblical, speaks him so to be. *Maimonides* doth justly commend him for his singular care, in turning those places very cautiously and wisely, which are spoken of GOD after the manner of men ; and the particulars which he produceth to this purpose are well worth the observing. But that is not my present purpose : I shall shew, that the word which he uses as answerable to the λόγος, he so useth, that it plainly appears, that he represents by it a divine person, or GOD himself. I begin with *Gen. ix. 12.* And GOD said, This is the token of the covenant, which I make between me and you. Between me and you,

^h Pag. 397. & 398.ⁱ Maimon. more nevochim.

is rendred by Onkelos, *Between my word and you*, Again, Chap. xv. 1. GOD says to Abraham, *I am thy shield*, Onkelos renders it, *My word is thy strength*. And verse 6. where it is said, *He believed in the LORD*. Onkelos renders it, *He believed in the word of the LORD*. Again, Chap. xvii. 2. *Between me and thee* is rendred by Onkelos, *Between my Word and thee*. And so 'tis by Onkelos rendered again, vers. 7. I say, 'tis so rendered again by Onkelos, though the *Latin* version of that *Paraphrast* doth take no notice of it. But the *Latin* version is not to be relied upon; especially in the first part of it. So it is rendered again, vers. 10. Lev. xxvi. 9. GOD says, *I will have respect unto you*; Onkelos renders it. *I will look upon you in my Word*.

THE other *Paraphrasts* on the *Pentateuch* speak agreeably to Onkelos in this matter. I will give an instance or two Gen. xix. 24 'Tis said, *The LORD rained upon Sodom*. But both *Jonathan* and the *Jerusalem Targum* render it, *The Word of the LORD sent rain*, &c. Again Levit. xxvi. 12. GOD makes a promise to the *Israelites* upon their obedience, and faith, *I will walk among you, and will be your GOD, and ye shall be my people*. Thus doth *Jonathan* paraphrase upon those words *I will be your GOD*, וידוי מימרי לכו לאלהא פרוק, i. e. *And my Word shall be unto you GOD the Redeemer*. It will be worth our while to consider this place with its context with care and farther application. I observed before how Onkelos turns the words, verse 9. *I will have respect unto you*, i. e. *I will look upon you in my Word*. It follows v. 11. *I will set my tabernacle amongst you, and my soul shall not abhor you*. 'Tis very observable that *my soul*, is turned by Onkelos מימרי *my Word*, which must be understood of the essential and θεος λόγος, or *divine Word*. This is manifestly the meaning of that *Paraphrast*: And then those words, *I will set my tabernacle amongst you*, are perfectly agreeable to what is related by St. John of the eternal λόγος, or Word; *The word was made flesh, and ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*, *And he tabernacled among us*: and it follows, *and we beheld his glory*, John i. 14. This agrees exactly with what is ^k promised θεσω τιω σκηνήν με ἐν ὑμῖν, as the LXXII have it. 'Tis very well known that σκηνήν, *to tabernacle*, hath a great affinity as well in sense as sound to the Hebrew שכן, which signifies *to tabernacle*; from whence comes the *Shechinah*, which signifies the divine presence, glory, or majesty. To which sense Onkelos turns the word in this place: from whence it is easie to see how agreeably St. John speaks; who after he had told us that the *Word* was made flesh, and *tabernacled* among us, adds, *and we beheld his glory*. How agreeably these words, *we beheld his glory*, follow, the Jew will easily see, if he will take the pains to compare what *Aben Ezra* hath said on Levit. xxvi. 11. Several of the *Jews* allow of a farther sense of the words in *Leviticus* than what ariseth from the first view of the letter; and *Rabbi Solomon*, and the author of the *Pesikta* expound the covenant, v. 9. of the new covenant, which the prophet *Jeremy* (Ch. xxxi. 31.) foretells, and which the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* (Chap. viii.) applies to the evangelical dispensation: But I need not enter into that Matter.

AGAIN, *Isaiah* xlviii. 15. I, even *I have spoken*; The *Chaldee Paraphrast* hath it, *I by my Word have made a covenant with Abraham your*

^k Levit. xxvi. 11.

father. Again, v. 13. *Mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth*; the Chaldee hath it, *I have founded the earth by my word*. Again, v. xvi. *Come ye near unto me*; the Chaldee thus, *Come near unto my Word*. Again, Ps. cx. 1. *The LORD said unto my LORD*. The Chaldee Paraphrast hath it, *The LORD said by his word*.

BUT to return to Onkelos; he doth in many places turn the word יְהוָה, which we render LORD, by מִמְרָא דִּי, *the Word of the LORD*. I shall name some of them, Gen. xxviii. 21. *Then shall the LORD be my GOD*; Onk. *Then shall the Word of the LORD, &c.* ch. xxxi. 49. *The LORD watch between me and thee*; Onk. *The Word of the LORD watch, &c.* Exod. xvi. 8. *Your murmurings are not against us, but against the LORD*; Onk. *Your murmurings are not against us, but against the word of the LORD*. Levit. xxvi. 46. *Between him and the children of Israel*; Onk. *Between his word, &c.* Numb. xi. 20. *Ye have despised the LORD*; Onk. *Ye have despised the Word of the LORD*. Deut. xx. 1. *The LORD thy GOD*; Onk. *The Word of the LORD thy GOD*. Deut. v. 5. *Between the LORD and you*; Onk. *Between the Word of the LORD, &c.* I shall afterward have occasion to return to the place last quoted.

CONFORMABLE to Onkelos is the Targum of Jerusalem; v. 9. Gen. i. 27. *GOD created man*; Targ. Hieros. *The Word of the LORD created Man*. Ch. iii. 9. *The LORD called*; T. H. *The Word of the LORD called*. V. 23. *The LORD GOD*; T. H. *The Word of the LORD GOD*. Ch. xxx. 22. *GOD remembred*; T. H. *The Word of the LORD*. I forbear to quote more places: These are sufficient to my purpose; and if they were not, a greater number would not suffice. By what hath been produced it doth appear abundantly, that the Chaldee Paraphrasts speak of the *Word* in the same manner that Philo doth, and conformably to what we read in St. John.

Obj. I VERY well know, that it hath been objected by an *Anti-trinitarian*, that these expressions are not to be understood of the *substantial λόγος* or *Word*, but of the command or speech of GOD or man, which is in the *Hebrew* expressed by דָּבָר, to which he supposeth the Chaldee מִמְרָא, to answer. This is indeed a plausible pretext and worth our consideration.

Ans. 1. 'TIS very certain, that these words of the Paraphrasts cannot be understood in the sense pretended. Let any man living, that is in his sound mind, go over the places above-named, and he must confess that this can never consist. Can any man suppose this agreeable with what hath been observed before from Gen. xxviii. 21? or with the words, ch. xxxi. 41? No man can deny, but the Targumists had an higher meaning than this. I only desire the reader to reflect on the forecited places, and he will not make any doubt of this matter.

2. To pretend that מִמְרָא, which is the word used by the Targumists, doth answer to the *Hebrew* דָּבָר, which signifies *speech, command* or *decree*, is indeed something, if any shadow of *proof* were produced. But here is no offer of any such thing. 'Tis easie to *suppose* or to *affirm* any thing, to get loose from the pressure of an argument; but this is to trifle, and not to argue.

3. A¹ LEARNED man hath observed, that the supposition in the objection is in fact absolutely false; viz. that the Hebrew דבר, which signifies a speech, a commandment, a decree or order, is turned by the Chaldee word מִמְרָא, which is the word used by the Targumists in the places above-quoted. He affirms, that this can never be proved from the text. And we have reason to believe him, till we find any Arian or Socinian, or any other person whatsoever, produce any one text to that purpose.

4. IT is very certain, that the Chaldees had another word, by which they turned the Hebrew word דבר, and that was the word פתגם or פתומא. Elias Levita, who very well understood this matter, makes^m that the Chaldee word into which the Hebrew דבר is turn'd, and produceth several instances to that purpose: But he makes no mention of מִמְרָא upon that occasion; which he would not have failed (in all probabillity) to have done, had he been able to have done it. I shall here reflect upon a very remarkable place, which I had occasion to mention before. It is Deut. v. 5. *I stood between the LORD and you at that time, to shew you the Word of the LORD.* The Chaldee Paraphrasts turn the words thus: *I stood between the Word of the LORD and you at that time, to shew you the Word of the LORD.* In this version Word occurs twice, but in different senses: In the former part of the verse it is put instead of LORD, and must signifie the essential λόγος, and is accordingly expressed by מִמְרָא; but in the latter part of the verse it signifies commandment, or the revealed will of GOD, which דבר signifies; which is the word used in the Hebrew text of the place, and is by the Chaldee Paraphrast expressed by the word פתגם, which is the Chaldee word that answers it.

FROM the particulars mentioned before it evidently appears, that the ancient Jews did by the Word mean a divine person: And whosoever will diligently consider the places above mentioned (and many more might be produced) must needs confess it. Myⁿ author, whom I named before, tells us, that he urged this argument so closely upon his Anti-trinitarian, (who had skill in this sort of learning) that after all his shifts and evasions, he was forced formally to declare, that if this were the sense of these words, *Actum est de nobis; vestrae enim fidei firmissima propugnacula inde suppeditari videntur*, i. e. *That their cause was lost; for that there seem'd to arise from thence very strong arguments in defence of our belief.*

THE last named author proceeds, and attempts to prove from many testimonies out of Onkelos, that the third person, or Holy Spirit, is very often expressed by שכינתא, or the Divine Majesty. I shall not follow him in the enumeration of these places, nor lay a greater stress upon it, than it will bear. Yet certain it is (as Elias Levita^o informs us) that the Rabbins did call the Holy Spirit שכינה. And to this purpose they say, that the Shechinah (i. e. the Divine Spirit) doth not rest, but upon a man that is valiant, &c. He tell us elsewhere, that tho' ordinarily the word שכן be rendred by another word; Yet when it is applied to the blessed GOD, that the Targumist adds the word שכינתא, which signifies the majesty or divinity.

¹ Rittangel. in Jetzira.

• Thisbi in שכן

^m El. Levit. Methurg. in voce. פתגם

ⁿ Rittangel. pag. 112.



C H A P. VI.

Some objections against what hath been said before. (1) It is objected against Philo, that he was a Platonist, and that he learned what he said on this argument from Plato. An answer to this objection. It doth not appear, that Philo learnt his doctrine from Plato. That it is very credible, that Plato received his doctrine in these matters from the Jewish books, or Jewish Kabbala. Testimonies of many of the ancients to this purpose. It will be hard to give any other account of the principles of Plato. The other Jewish writers agree with Philo. Objection (2) That this is a novel doctrine. An answer to this objection. A very remarkable passage out of Theodorit to this purpose. Some reflections on that passage. The Heathens had some knowledge of the trinity, and λόγος. That they received many things from the Jews. The original of several people best known from Moses. Hence the fables of the heathen had their ground. The story of Saturn was derived from that account, which Moses gives of Noah; This appears from a great many correspondences. A more particular account of them. The sons of Saturn in the Heathen mythology the same with those of Noah. Jupiter answered to Ham. He was Ammon: Of Ammon-*No.* Jerem. xlv. 25. explained; Neptune the same with Japhet. The congruity between the history of Moses and the heathen mythology considered. Pluto the same with Shem. Plato is observed to borrow from Moses, or the Jewish Kabbala: A clear proof of this from his *Convivium*, or the speech of Aristophanes; Its conformity to the text of Moses, and the Jewish Kabbala. What the ancient heathen have said concerning the λόγος and trinity. Of the Mithras τετραλάσι among the Persians. Some passages from the Chaldee oracles; The testimony of Orpheus, and Epicharmus, concerning the λόγος. Footsteps of the trinity in the Egyptian theology. Of Plato's doctrine of the Trinity. The great usefulness of these testimonies from the heathens to our common Christianity shewed in sundry particulars.

HAVING given this account of *Philo*, and the *Targumists*, I should next proceed to shew, that the doctrine of the *trinity*, as it was at first insinuated by *Moses*, and was a *Kabbala* among the *Jews*; so it was not altogether unknown to the wiser part of the *Gentiles*.

BUT before I proceed to that matter, I shall endeavour to remove some pretences against what hath been said in the foregoing chapter.

Except. 1. It is or may be excepted, that *Philo* was a *Platonist*, and that what he says in this argument, being received from *Plato* a *Heathen* Writer can have no great weight in this matter. I answer,

Ans. 1. It doth by no means appear, that *Philo* ever borrowed from *Plato*, what he hath said before upon this occasion. Let him that makes this objection produce (if he can) any proof to this purpose out of any part of the works of *Philo*. I must add on the other hand, that he doth all along fetch his proofs from the law and the prophets. We find that what he says of him who is, and of his two powers, of the *one* and of the *three*, he fetcheth from the words of *Moses*. What he affirms of the λόγος, he draws from the text of the *old Testament*, or from some symbol and type, which he finds there. Those noble testimonies of the *advocation* and *priesthood* and *mediatorship* of the *Son of God*, he takes from the law and the prophets. He neither takes any thing out of *Plato*, nor doth he so much as quote him by way of confirmation of what he affirms. So that what is pretended in this exception is altogether groundless and defenceless. This is indeed a common exception made against *Philo*, to invalidate his testimony; and we run away with it as very considerable: But after all if we look for the grounds, on which it is built, we may look long enough: For it hath no kind of foundation to support it.

2. ON the other hand we have sufficient cause to believe, that *Plato* might, and actually did receive what he writes of these matters, from the *Jewish* books. That *Plato* went into *Egypt*, is agreed on all hands. *Apuleius*,^a one of his disciples and an *heathen* affirms that he went thither, *Ut inde prophetarum ritus addisceret*, That is, *That he might learn the rites of the prophets*: *Valerius Maximus* another^b *heathen* writer affirms, that he went into *Egypt*, and learnt of the priests. *Aristobulus* a^c *Jew* says, that it is plain, that *Plato* followed our law, and that he diligently studied the several parts of it. *Josephus* the *Jew*^d affirms the same. Μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων μεμίμηται τὴν ἡμετέραν νομοθεσίαν, That is, *That Plato did much imitate Moses*. *Numenius* the *Pythagorean*^e is supposed to mean no less; by whom *Plato* is called Μωϋσῆς Ἀττικίζων. *Moses Atticizing*, After these testimonies of *heathens* and *Jews*, I may fitly enough cite those of the ancient *Christians*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*^f says, that *Plato* was Περὶ φηταῶν γνωρίζων, i. e. *Acquainted with prophecy*. This he says of him, when he speaks of his being in *Egypt*. He^g says elsewhere of him, that he kindled or revived, τὸ ἐναυσμα τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας. That is, *The light of the Hebrew philosophy*. *Plato* is^h by the same author called, ἐξ Ἑβραίων φιλόσοφος, i. e. *A philosopher of the Hebrews*. *Justin* the *Martyr*ⁱ affirms, that *Plato* borrowed from the writings of *Moses*. And^k that he, as well as *Pythagoras* and others, went into *Egypt*; ἐκ τῆς Μωϋσέως ἱστορίας ὠφεληθέντες, i. e. *Being profited by the history of Moses*. *Theodorit*^l and *St. Augustin*^m speak to the same purpose. There can be

^a Apuleius de dogmate Platonis.

^b V. Maxim. lib. 8. cap. 7.

^c Euseb. Prepar. lib. 13. cap. 12.

^d Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2.

^e Theodorit. Curat. Grac. affect. lib. 2.

^f Clem. Alexandr.

^g Strom. 1.

^h Padagog. lib. 2. cap. 1.

ⁱ Stromat. lib. 1.

^j Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.

^k Ad Gracos exhortat.

^l Curat. Grac. affect. lib. 2.

^m De Civitat. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 11.

no doubt left, but that *Plato* learnt his theology in these matters from the *Hebrews*, or from those who derived it from thence. We have the testimonies of all sorts of men; but have none at all that *Philo* the Jew learnt his from *Plato*. That is nothing but surmise, it is destitute of all proof; whereas the former is attested by most unexceptionable witnesses.

ONE of the ⁿ ancient writers of the church doth not only affirm, that *Plato* borrowed from *Moses*, as the ancient *Jews* as well as *Christians* affirm, but he tells you whence his materials were borrowed. Thus from *Exod.* iii, 14. where GOD calls himself $\delta \delta \nu$, *Plato* borrowed his $\tau \omega \delta \nu \alpha \iota \epsilon \iota$. And from *Deut.* vi. 4. *The LORD our GOD is one LORD*, *Plato* affirms $\epsilon \nu \alpha \theta \epsilon \acute{\omega} \nu$ i. e. *One GOD*. My author goes on, and says, that *Moses* did $\delta \nu \circ \delta \epsilon \omega \lambda \omicron \gamma \epsilon \acute{\iota} \nu \kappa \upsilon \rho \epsilon \acute{\iota} \varsigma$, i. e. *Speak ° of two lords*, in those words, *the LORD rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven*. And so doth *David* in ^p those words, *The LORD said unto my LORD*. Here the $\lambda \omicron \gamma \omega$, or *Word* is to be understood. It is expressly said by the ^q *Psalmist* in another place; *By the word of the LORD were the heavens made, &c.* And that *Word*, which created them, is the saving word mentioned elsewhere, *viz.* *Pf.* cvii. 20. who is elsewhere called *Wisdom*, *Prov.* viii. This is that word called by *Philo* $\delta \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon \rho \omega \delta \epsilon \acute{\omega} \varsigma$. To this *Plato* speaks ^r very conformably, when he says, speaking of the world, $\delta \nu \epsilon \tau \alpha \xi \epsilon \lambda \omicron \gamma \omega \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \nu \theta \epsilon \acute{\omega} \tau \alpha \iota \omega$, i. e. *Which the most divine Word established*. And *Plotinus* speaking of him who begets, adds, $\epsilon \kappa \omicron \nu \alpha \circ \delta \epsilon \acute{\kappa} \epsilon \iota \nu \varsigma \epsilon \acute{\iota} \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omicron \mu \upsilon \tau \omega \nu \text{N}\acute{\epsilon} \nu$, That is, *But the image of him (who begets) we call the intellect or mind*.

3. EITHER *Plato* did teach the same doctrine which *Philo* taught, or he did not. If he did not, he cannot be said to have received it from *Plato*: If he did teach the same (as is implied in the exception) then another difficulty will arise, which our adversaries will be obliged to remove. And it is this, *viz.* Whence *Plato* received this theology? To say that he received it from some philosophers, which were before him, is to say nothing; Because the question will return, *viz.* Whence those ancients received it? To say that the *holy Trinity* is knowable by the light of nature, is more than we can believe, and much more than our adversaries will allow. Nor will they say, that *Plato* or these ancients were divinely inspired: This would be to give up their whole cause. They must then either devise it and forge it out of their own brains; which is hard to conceive; because they could serve no end in that, nor can we conceive that *Plato* and other great wits should easily embrace such a groundless belief: Or else they must receive it by tradition from the *Jews*. And if this be granted, we have gained our point intirely.

4. THAT which weakens this exception is this farther, that what *Philo* hath said in this matter agrees with what is said by the other *Jewish* authors mentioned before; who cannot reasonably be supposed to have borrowed it either from *Philo*, or *Plato*, or any *Heathen* philosopher whatsoever. Such as the *Targumists* I mean, and the author of *Zohar*, and the *Midrash Tehillim*, &c. which I have mentioned before. They cannot with any shadow of reason be supposed to have borrowed from *Plato*. 'Tis well known (to those who are acquainted with the *Jewish* writers)

ⁿ Euseb. preparat. lib. 11. cap. 9.
^r Euseb. Ibid. cap. 16.

^q Gen. xix. 24.

^p Psal. cx. 1.

^q Psal. xxxiii. 6.

how much the *Jews* neglected and despised the *Greek* language and learning : And therefore it cannot be thought, that they ever learned their language, much less their theology : And though what *Philo* says be of great weight and value ; yet that which renders it the more so is this, that others of his nation have said the same things, who lived in different times and places, and who very probably had no knowledge of the writings of *Plato* and *Philo*.

Except. 2. Some few others perhaps may except against what hath been before said concerning this matter, That it is a novel doctrine, and not the doctrine of the ancient and catholick church.

Ans. I AM very sure, that none can pretend this but novices, who are not competently acquainted with the ancient writers of the church. I do appeal to those who are conversant in them in this matter : Nor do I intend to be at the pains to transcribe passages out of the fathers to this purpose. I shall however take notice of one, which comes fully up to this matter : And though the passage be somewhat long, I shall not think much to transcribe it, because it is a very remarkable one. It is from *Theodorit*, in a Sermon of his against the *Gentiles*. He tells them, what *Moses* had writ concerning the false gods of the *Gentiles*, and that he required in his law the worship of the *one* true God. This belief of *one* God *Moses* taught in his law, and recommended the worship of him only. Upon which he brings in the *Gentiles* objecting against the *Christians* thus : *Perhaps* (says he) *ye will say, ye Christians have not kept this law inviolably ; for ye preach not an Unity, but a Trinity : whereas the Jews, being brought up in the writings of Moses and the prophets, worship one only, and reprehend your Trinity.* To whom he replies in the following words : Ἐγὼ δὲ, ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, ὑμεῖς μὲν ἑσθλῶν ἀξίως ἐπὶ ὑπεύληφα, τὴν θείαν ἐκ ὁπισθομένων γραφῶν Ἰσδαίων ὅτι τὴν ἐξάτην ἀμαρτίαν ὁδύρομαι· ἐπὶ δὲ ἀερόμυροι, καὶ τὸ φορητὴν, ἐκ κυλίας, καὶ παιδύομυροι ἐκ παιδὸς μέχει γήρως τὰ θεία, τὴν τῆς θεολογίας ἀγνοῶσαν ἀλήθειαν· ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ γὰρ αὐτοὶς πλείστον διατείλαντας χρόνον, καὶ τὴν πολυθεὶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μεγαδικότας θρησκείαν, ὁ πάνσοφος κύριος, ἐκ ἐναργῶς ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τῆς τριάδος ὀξεπαῖδδου δόγματα, ἵνα μὴ πείρασαν πολυθείας λάβωσιν, εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ὁπίρρεποντες πλάνον· ἐ μὲν παντάπασιν τὰ περὶ τῆς τριάδος ἀπέκρυψε δόγματα τοῖς ὕστερον ἐσομένοις, τῆς ἐντελέσεως θεολογίας κατὰσείρων τὰς ἀφορμὰς· Ἀλλὰ τοὶ τότε μοναδικῶς μὲν νομοθετοῦν, ἀνιγματοδῶς δὲ τὴν τριάδα μὲνουν· τὸ γὰρ Ἄκσι Ισραήλ, κύριος ὁ θεός σου, κύριος εἰς ὅτι, καὶ τὴν μονάδα διδάσκει, καὶ τὴν τριάδα δηλοῖ· ἅπαξ γὰρ εἰπὼν τὸ Θεός, καὶ δις τὸ Κύριος ἐπειπὼν, τὴν τριάδα τὴν ἀριθμὸν παρεδήλωσεν· ἐπαράγων δὲ τὸ, εἰς ὅτι, καὶ τὴν τρισφορὸν Ἰσδαίοις διδασκαλίαν προσήνεγκε, καὶ τὸ ταῦτόν τῆς θείας ἐσῆς ἐμήνυσε· μία γὰρ τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος καὶ ἐσῆα καὶ δυναμις, καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ βέλησις· ταύτη τοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων δυνάμεων οἱ χοροὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸ ὕμνον προσφέροντες, τρεῖς μὲν τὸ Ἄγιος, ἅπαξ δὲ τὸ Κύριος λέγουσι· τὰ μὲν τῶν ιδιοτήτων δηλοῦντες τὸ ἀριθμὸν· τῶν δὲ τὸ κρινόν τῆς δεσποτείας μὲνουντες· ἀλλ' ἐν τέτοις μὲν δι' ἀνιγμάτων τὰ τῆς θείας τριάδος δεδῶλωται· ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ σαφέστερον ταῦτα διδάσκουσιν οἱ δεσπῆσαι ἄνδρες· Μωϋσῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁ θεότατος, τὴν κοσμογένειαν ἐξέγραψεν, ἔτα τὴν τῆς ἀνθρώπου διάπλασιν ἐξηγέμενος, ἔρη τὴν τῆς παντὸς ἐρηκέναι θεὸν τε καὶ δημιουργόν, Ποιῶντος ἀνθρώπων

Theodorit. Cnr. Græcar. affect. lib. 2. περὶ ἀρχῆς.

κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· εἶτα ἐπήγαγεν, ὡς ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· καὶ δεὺν ὠνόμασε τὸν τε πεποινηκότα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸν ἔως πρὸς μίμησιν ὀξετύπως ἐν διέπλασεν· ἐκ ἐπειδὴ ἄλλο τέτις καὶ ἄλλο γε ἐκείνους τὸ εἶδ'· μία γὰρ δὴ τῆς τριάδος· ἡ φύσις· τέτις γὰρ δὴ χεῖρ, καὶ τὸν δεὺν ἔφησεν εἰρηκέναι, Ποιῶντος ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἐπήγαγε, Κατ' εἰκόνα θεὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ τῷ πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν διάφορον· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Νῶε περὶ κρεωφαγίας νομοθετῶν, καὶ τῷ αἵματι ἀπαγορεύων τὴν ἐδωδὴν, ἔφη τὸν τῷ ἔλῳ εἰρηκέναι δεὺν, Ἐδεδε πάντα ὡς λείψανον χόρτης· πλὴν κρέας ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς ἐκ ἔδεδε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἷμα ἐκζητήσω· ἐκ πάντων τῶν θηρίων ἐκζητήσω αὐτό, καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀδελφεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήσω αὐτό· ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου, ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι θεὸς ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον· Οὐκ ἔφη, ἐν εἰκόνι ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ, τῷ πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν πάλιν δεικνύς τὸ διάφορον· καὶ ἦνιχα ὅτι καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ συλλεγόμενοι οἱ καὶ τῷ πεποινητό· λυτῆσαντες, τὴν πύργον ἐκείνον ἀνυπόδομον τὸν μέγιστον, τῆς τῷ γλωττῶν συλγύσεως τὴν ἐπώρυγην, φάναγ τὸν δεὺν εἰρηκεν ὁ νομοθετής, Δοῦτε, καὶ καταβαίνετε συλγέμενοι αὐτῶν τὰς γλώσσας· καὶ τὸ μὲν καταβαίνετε συλγέμενοι, δηλοῖ τὸ ὁμοίωσιν· ἔτι γὰρ εἶπεν Κατάβηθι ἢ καταβήτω, ἔπερ δὴ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις καὶ πρὸς αἰσθητοῖς ἀρμόττει· ἀλλὰ, καταβαίνετε συλγέμενοι, ὁ σαφῶς δηλοῖ τὴν ἰσότητά· τὸ ὅτι Δοῦτε, τὸν ἦν καὶ τὸ πνέμα σημαίνει, τῆς θνητικῆς τῆς κοινωνίας· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ διαπλάττων τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔφη, Ποιῶντος ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, εἰκότως ἀρα καὶ μερίζων εἰς πλάγας τὴν μίαν φωνὴν, συνεργεῖ λαμβάνει τὸν ἦν καὶ τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα· χεῖρ ὅτι ὕψον, πρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἀναλῶσαι τὰ Σόδομα βελιδεῖς, καὶ τὰς ἀγαθήμενας πόλεις, τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ παρνομίας τὰς κοινωνίας, δυνάδα κυρίων ἡμῶν ἐπέδειξε, καὶ φησὶ Μαυῦνς ὁ ταῦτα ἐξέγεγραφε, Καὶ ἔβρεξε κύριος· ὡς κύριος ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα πῦρ καὶ θείον ἐκ τῶν ἐρανῶν· Καὶ ἵνα μή τις ὑπολάβῃ τῶν μόνον τὸν πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν τὰ περὶ τῆς θείας εἰρηκέναι τριάδος, ἀκούσατε, ὡ φιλότις καὶ τῷ δεσποσίνῃ βοώντι· Δαβίδ· Τῷ λόγῳ κύριος οἱ ἐρανοὶ ἐσερείωσαν, καὶ τῷ πνέματι τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ πάντα ἡ δυνάμις αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν, Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, Κάθε ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν δῶ τὰς ἐχθρὰς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου· καὶ μὴ βραχία ὅτι, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον ὁ τῷ κυρίῳ λέγει πάλιν, Ἐκ χειρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγγίγησά σε· καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ψαλμῷ, Ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῷ αἰῶνι, ῥάβδος δίδυμη· ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου· ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τῶτο ἔχεις σε ὁ θεὸς σε ἔλαμον ἀγαλλιάσεως ὡς τὰς μετόχους σου· τὴν αὐτὴν ὅτι ἡμῶν διδασκαλίαν καὶ Ἡσαίας ὁ πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ Ἰερεμίας, καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ, καὶ Δανιήλ, καὶ Ζαχαρίας, καὶ Μιχαίας, καὶ ἅπας ὁ τέτων προσφέρει χεῖρ. That is, O friends, I think you to be fit to be pardoned, being ignorant of the holy scripture; but I cannot but lament the extreame ignorance of the Jews, because they being carried from the womb, as the prophet speaks, and instructed in divine things from their childhood to old-age, are ignorant of the true theology, For they continuing a long time in Egypt, and learning polytheism there, the all-wise GOD did not think fit plainly to reveal to them the mystery of the Trinity, that they might not under that pretext fall into the polytheism of Egypt. And yet did he not altogether conceal the doctrine of the Trinity from those, who were to come, sowing some of the seeds of the more perfect theology. And therefore he gave the law under the representation of One, but did ænigmatically insinuate the Trinity. For those words, 'Hear, O Israel, the LORD our GOD is One LORD, teach plainly both the Unity, and the Trini-

ty. For GOD being once, the LORD twice named, declare the Trinity: For adding, is One, he delivered a doctrine agreeable to the Jews, and expressed the Unity of the divine nature: For One is the essence, power and will of the Trinity. And therefore the company of the invisible powers singing an hymn to GOD, say ^u Holy thrice, but LORD but once: By the first declaring the number of [personal] properties; by the other signifying the common dominion: But hereby the Trinity was enigmatically declared. But elsewhere holy men taught it more plainly: For the most divine Moses, writing the history of the creator of the world, and relating the creation of man, affirms that GOD, the creator of all things, said, ^x Let us make man according to our image; and adds, that GOD created man, according to the image of GOD made he him: Relating that GOD made man, and according to whose image he made him: Not that the one and the other were of a different kind; for the nature of the Trinity is one and the same. And there he saith, ^y that GOD said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: And he adds, In the image of GOD created he him, that he might shew the difference of persons. And when GOD commanded Noah concerning the eating of flesh, and forbad him the eating of blood, he affirms, that the GOD of the universe said, ^z Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things: But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat. And surely your blood of your lives will I require: At the hand of every beast will I require it; and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; For in the image of GOD made he man. He doth not say, In my image, but In the image of GOD, shewing the distinction of persons. And when these men met together, who were incensed against their maker, to build the tower, that great tower which had its name from confusion, Moses affirms, ^a that GOD said, Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language: Let us go down and confound shews a parity of honour. But the word *דעו*, i. e. Go to, signifies the Son and Spirit, who were joined in the creation. For seeing that when he made man, he said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; Agreeably hereunto, now he is dividing one language into many, he takes to him his fellow-workers, the Son and most Holy Spirit. In after-time, being about to destroy Sodom, and its neighbouring cities, partners of her profaneness and wickedness, with thunder and fire from heaven, he mentions to us two Lords. Thus Moses writes, ^b Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven. But lest any should think, that this prophet, viz. Moses, only speaks of the Trinity, Hear, O my Friends, what divine David says: ^c By the word of the LORD were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth, And again. ^d The LORD said unto my LORD, Sit thou at my right-hand, until I make thine enemies thy foot-stool. And soon after, the same LORD, the father of that LORD, saith, ^e From the womb of the morning, &c. And in another psalm, ^f Thy throne, O GOD, is for ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou

^u Isai. vi. 3.^x Gen. i. 26, 27.^y Gen. i. 26.^z Gen. ix. v. 3, 4, 5, 6.^a Gen. xi. 7.^b Gen. xix. 24.^c Psal. xxxiii. 6.^d Psal. cx. 1.^e ver. 3.^f Psal. xlv. 6, 7.

lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness : therefore GOD, thy GOD hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladness above thy fellows. *The same doctrine is delivered to us by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, Zechariah, and Michah, and all the company of prophets.*

It is easie to quote many other passages to the same purpose if it was needful : but I will not swell the book with them, nor give the reader that needless trouble. What I have produced is of great moment, and very much to the purpose.

HE gives an account of *Deut.* vi. 4. agreeably to what hath been given before from the *Zohar*. He makes the same use of *Isa.* vi. 3. that hath been mentioned in the foregoing chapter. What hath been observed from *Gen.* i. 26, 27. we see was the sense of the ancient *Christians*. And as for *Gen.* xix. 24. he interprets it as the *Targumist*, and as *Philo* doth.

HAVING premised these things, I shall now proceed to shew, that the *Jewish Kabbala* concerning the *Word*, and *Holy Trinity*, was not unknown to the *Gentiles*. Some of the wisest and most celebrated philosophers had some knowledge of these mysteries. I will not say, that the *Hebrews Kabbala* was preserved among the *gentiles* sincere and unblended ; and that it received no adulteration, in passing through many hands : But this I may affirm, that the tradition, as to the substance of it, was preserved. And as this doctrine among the *gentiles* must be derived from the books of the *old Testament*, and the *Kabbala* among the *Jews* ; so this doctrine, as it is taught by the *gentiles*, is a very great confirmation of the truth, and is very serviceable to our common *Christianity* ; as I shall have occasion more particularly to observe afterwards. And for my more orderly proceeding in this matter I shall shew,

First, THAT the *Heathens* did receive from the *Jews* many of those things, which we now read in their books.

Secondly, THAT this doth more particularly appear from the writings of *Plato*.

Thirdly, I SHALL shew the reader what the *heathens* have delivered concerning the λόγος, and the *Holy Trinity*.

Fourthly, I SHALL represent to the reader the serviceableness of this to our common *Christianity*.

I. THAT the *Heathens* did receive from the *Jews* many of those things, which we now read in their Books.

THE names of places and countries, and persons, which we find among the ancient *Heathen* writers, are confessedly derived from the words made use of by *Moses*. And here, I believe, we have no dispute with any learned men. A ^s very learned man affirms, *Ex uno capite Moses, &c.* That is, *That from one chapter of Moses, rightly understood, may be collected both a greater number, and more certain proofs of the original of people, than from all the most ancient monuments of antiquity, which we have.*

BUT then it is also very clear, that the mythologies of the ancient *heathens* were grounded upon some relations in *Moses*, or in some other writings of the *old Testament*. This is very often true, and sometimes so

^s S. Bocharti *Prefat.* in *Phaleg*.

apparently and evidently so, that no man can with any colour deny it. It is not credible, that it can in several cases be otherwise; so very remarkable are the correspondencies between the first ground and account of things, which the scripture gives, and that account given by the *heathen* mythogolists, who have turned the first relation into fable.

NOR can it seem strange, that the truth should be disguised, and the original *Kabbala* corrupted, considering the decay of knowledge, the increase of idolatry, the confusion of languages, the general corruption of mankind, and fabulousness of the poets. Hence it came to pass, that *Noah's* flood was represented sometimes under the names of *Deucalion* and *Ogyges*; and that the original names of persons, and relation of things was disguised, by substituting other names, and putting the relation into other characters.

I SHALL not enlarge upon this subject, it having been handled by several learned men, upon one occasion or other. I shall content my self with some instances, which are more remarkable and pregnant proofs of what I have inserted.

AND the first, which I shall mention, is the history of *Noah*, and his three sons. This is by the *mythologists*, who were *Heathens*, represented under the name of *Saturn* and his sons, in such a manner that it is very easie to discern, from whence all that mythology was derived.

I BEGIN with *Saturn*, and shall shew, what these *mythologists* have reported of him; and afterwards shew, whence these fabulous reports were taken, and how fitly they belong to *Noah*. First, ^h *Saturn*, hath been observed to be called in the hymns of *Orpheus* Πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων and Γενεάρχης, That is, *The father or origin of at least humane race*: And his wife expressly called the *mother of mortal men*: Upon which account, I suppose, it was, that it hath been believed, that he was substituted in the room of *Adam*, but without sufficient ground. Secondly, ⁱ *Saturn* is much cried up for his justice, and his times for the golden age, free from oppression, and from property; which latter is the occasion of the former. Thirdly, It is said, that in those times men had conversation by a common language with beasts. Fourthly, *Saturn* is said to be married to the earth: And his wife *Rhea* is taken for the earth. Fifthly, husbandry, and the skill in planting vines, and making wine, is by the *heathens* attributed to *Saturn*. Sixthly, *Saturn* is said to preside over drunkenness; and the *Saturnalia*, dedicated to him, were feasts of excess in that kind, and of great liberty to servants. Lastly, *Saturn* made a law, that none should be permitted to see the gods naked. I might proceed farther: I shall not do it, but instead thereof,

I SHALL shew, how these particulars agree to the story of *Noah*.

AND as to the First, where it is said that *Saturn* was the *father or origin of humane race*, and his wife *Rhea* the *mother of mortal men*; this may with great congruity be applied to *Noah*, and his wife; for there are no persons after the general flood, and destruction of humane race, to whom this can be truly applied but to them only: And hence it was, that some learned men have applied this to *Adam*, and to *Eve*. But there is no need of going up so far; and what I shall have occasion to add af-

^h Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1.

ⁱ V. Vossii de Theolog. Gent. lib. 1. cap. 18.

terwards will determine this to *Noah*, and his wife ; who after the flood must be allowed to be the common parents of mankind.

As to the *Second*, the congruity is no less. If *Saturn* be cried up for his justice and righteousness, so is *Noah* likewise. Of him it is said, that he was a ^k *just man and perfect in his generation* ; and that he *walked with God*. And not only that he was *righteous*, but also ^l a *preacher of righteousness*. He was ^m *righteous in the time of wrath*, says the son of *Sirach*. That which adds to his character is this, that he was so, when all flesh was corrupted, and ⁿ *the wickedness of man was great in the earth*. And this I take to be intimated in those words, where God said to him, ^o *Thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation* : To be righteous in a depraved and corrupt age, as *Noah* was, adds much to his character : And what the scripture says of him in this respect is very emphatical. To all which the author of the epistle to the *Hebrews* adds, that he became the ^p *heir of righteousness*. In his time was that golden age of which the *heathens* speak so frequently, when there was neither claim of property, or oppression, or violence. To this time the poets words are to be referred ;

^q *Antiqui rex magne poli, mundique prioris ;
Sub quo pigra quies, nec labor ullus erat,
Nec regale nimis fulmen, nec fulmine digna :
Scissa nec ad manes ; sed sita dives humus.*

AND all this admirably agrees with the prediction of *Lamech*, the father of *Noah* ; who called his name *Noah*, saying, ^r *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and toil of our hands, because of the ground, which the LORD hath cursed*.

Thirdly, WHEREAS it is said, that in the times of *Saturn* men had conversation by a common language not only with one another, but with the beasts also ; this seems to be drawn from those words, *Gen. xi. 1. And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech*.

Fourthly, *Saturn* is said by the *mythologists* to be married to the earth. And his wife *Rhea* is by them taken for the earth. This is most exactly agreeable to the text of *Moses*, and there can hardly be any doubt, but it was taken from thence. It is said that *Noah* ^s *began to be an husbandman*. So we render the words ; and, the context considered, that rendering is not blameable. But what we render *husbandman* is in the *Hebrew* איש האדמה, which words do signify the *husband of the earth*, and might easily give ground to the *mythologists* for their fable.

Fifthly, HUSBANDRY, and the skill in planting vines, and making wine, is by the *heathens* attributed to *Saturn*. And of *Noah* it is said, that he was an ^t *husbandman*, and *planted a vineyard*.

Sixthly, *Saturn* is said to preside over drunkenness ; and the *Saturnalia*, which were dedicated to him, were festivals of great excess of that kind, and of great licentiousness. 'Tis certain, that *Noah* did not only plant a vineyard, ^u *but he drank of the wine and was drunken*.

^k Gen. vi. 9.
^p Heb. xi. 7.
ix. 20.

^l 2 Pet. ii. 5.
^q *Martial*, lib. 12. *Epigr.* 62.
^u Gen. ix. 21.

^m *Ecclus.* xlv. 17.

^r Gen. v. 29.

ⁿ Gen. vi. 5.

^o Gen. ix. 20.

^s Gen. vii. 1.
^t Gen.

And upon that account the practice began, and the relation of *Saturn* was grounded.

Lastly, THE poets affirm, that *Saturn* made a law, that no man should under a penalty see the gods naked. We know that it is said, that *Noah* was not only drunken, but also that he was uncovered in his tent: That his son saw his nakedness, and his posterity was cursed upon that account: Nay, we are assured from our holy writers, that this curse did light on them, and the effects of it were direful.

I PROCEED to the sons of *Noah*, and of *Saturn* also. It is by the *heathen* poets said, that *Saturn* devoured all his children, excepting the three which were famous among the ancients, *viz.* *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; and that these surviving sons divided among them the whole earth. This is very applicable to *Noah*, who might be said to destroy the rest of mankind, as he was a prophet, and predicted their destruction. For it is very common, in the scripture-language, to impute the event to the prophet, which the prophet doth only foretel. Thus the chief butler tells *Pharaoh*, how truly *Joseph* had predicted the fate of him, and the chief baker: * *And it came to pass* (says he) *as he interpreted to us, so it was: me he restored unto mine office, and him he hanged.* Thus the *dividing them in Jacob, and scattering them in Israel*, can import no more, but the foretelling such a dividing, &c. And *Noah* is expressly said to have *condemned the world*. And in this sense *Noah* might truly be said to have destroyed the world.

AND as for his three sons, *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*, who were saved with him in the ark, they are the very same with the three sons of *Saturn*; as, I believe, will sufficiently appear upon farther consideration of the matter.

I WILL begin with *Ham*, who saw his father's nakedness, and was the younger son of *Noah*, and was the occasion of the curse, which *Noah* pronounced, and was that very person, whom the *heathen mythologists* must be understood of, when they speak of *Jove*, or *Jupiter*: His portion or lot fell in the barren and *naked* sands of *Africa*, where he was for many ages worshipped under the title of *Jupiter Ham*, or *Jupiter Hammon*. *Herodotus* ^a says expressly *Ἀμμέν' Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία*: i. e. *The Egyptians call Jupiter by the name of Ammon*; and thence he affirms, that a neighbouring people are called *Ammonians*. The scripture mentions him under the title of *Amon*, or *Hamon*, as a ^b very learned man hath well observed, *v. g.* *Jer.* xlv. 25. We render it, indeed, *Behold, I will punish the multitude of No*: But what we render, the *multitude of No*, is in the *Hebrew* אֱלֹהֵי אֲמֹן, i. e. *Amon of No*, i. e. the god *Amon* in honour of whom a temple was dedicated in the city of *No*. And hence ^c it is observed, that the city *No* is sometimes called by a compound name, *Amon No*, and *No Amon*. Thus *Ezek.* xxx. 15. I will cut off *Amon No*: We render it indeed *the multitude of No*, without sufficient ground. We find *No* mentioned again, *v.* 16. *No shall be rent asunder*; where the *Seventy* render those words thus; *Ἐν Διοσπόλει ἔσται ἑκρηγμα*: That is, *there shall be a rent in the city of Jupiter, sc. Hamon*. Again, ^d *Art thou better*

* Gen. xli. 13.
Sacr. lib. 1. cap. 1. Jer. xlv. 25.

^y Ch. xlix. 7.

^z Heb. xi. 7.

^a Herodot. *Enterpe*.

^c V. Dr. Cudworth's *Intellect. System*, pag. 340.

^b Bochart. *Geogr.*

^d Nahu. iii. 8.

than *No Amon*? We render it indeed *populous No*; but our marginal reading, from the *Hebrew* text, lets us know, that it is *No Amon* in the original. And to suppose that by *No Amon* in that place is meant *Alexandria*, is to suppose, that the prophet borrows a comparison or similitude from a place not in being: For it is not to be believed, that *Alexandria* was before *Alexander* who built it, and from whom it had its name. He that will see more of this argument, may consult *Bochartus*

THIS name of *Ham* or *Amon*, as it is thought, obtained in *Africa* and *Arabia* so far, that it gave a denomination to a *river* of that name, to a *promontory*, a *people* (as I have observed from *Herodotus*) a *city*, a *province*, as well as to a famous *temple*. *Egypt* it self from *Ham* is called the land of *Ham*.

BESIDES, *Ham* and *Zed* signify alike, and denote heat. *Ham* was of *Noah*, *Jupiter* or *Saturn*, the youngest son.

I PROCEED next to *Japhet*, the same with the *heathen's Neptune*: He is said to preside over the sea. As *Africa* was the lot of *Ham*; so *Shem* had vast territories in *Asia*; but *Japhet* had in his share many islands, and such places as were in a great measure encompassed with the sea's. I will not insist upon the testimony produced out of *Lactantius* by the learned *Bochart*. It is acknowledged by an ^e *heathen* author of much greater antiquity; I mean *Plato*. He tells us, that when the gods took their several lots in the distribution of the earth, some more and some less, and appointed their worship and their temples, *Neptune* took the *Atlantick* island for his share, and that he placed his children, begotten of a mortal woman, in a part of that island. It is ^f agreed on all hands, that *Japhet* had his lot in the islands of the *Mediterranean sea*, and went from thence into *Europe*: And from him it is, that men are called by *Horace*, *Iapeti genus*. It is said, *GOD shall enlarge Japheth*, Gen. ix. 27. And 'tis observed by *Bochart*, that both *Neptune* and the *Greek* word *Παρθένος* comes from a word, that denotes enlargement or latitude.

I PROCEED to *Shem*, whose family *GOD* chose for his peculiar people, and out of whose family *JESUS CHRIST* proceeded according to the flesh. He is thought to be the same, which the *heathen* meant by *Pluto*; who was allowed to be a god; but the idolatrous *heathens* out of their hatred to piety detruded him, and allowed him only to be an inferior one.

I WILL not pursue this matter to the grand-children of *Noah*, nor to after-times. That hath been done ^g by divers learned men with great success, whom the curious may consult. It would be too great a digression in this place to enlarge upon this matter. I have produced a few instances out of a vast number, which might have been insisted on. I shall therefore now proceed to shew,

II. THAT this doth more particularly appear from the writings of *Plato*. I have in some measure observed this above: I shall now proceed in this matter. Thus much, I doubt not, will appear, that *Plato* had read the writings of *Moses*; or at least had been informed in the

^e *Platonis Critias.*
de Idololatr. Dickenfoni Delphi Phœniciz.

^f *Vossius de Theol. Gentili.* lib. 1. cap. 15.

^g *Bocharti Phaleg.* *Vossius*

Jewish Kabbala, and in the doctrine of the sacred books of the *old Testament*.

THE first place, which I shall mention is a ^h passage in his *Convivium*. That book is a dialogue concerning *love* and the praises of it. When others had delivered their opinions, it came to the turn of *Aristophanes* to deliver his; which he also did. And thus he begins his speech: Δὲ ὅτι πρῶτον, &c. That is, *But we must first understand humane nature and the affections of it. For our humane nature was not of old what it is now, but diverse from it. For at the first there were three sorts of humane race; not, as now it is, two only, male and female, but there was a third, being common and made up of both these; the name whereof now remains only, the thing is destroyed. For man and woman were then one kind, and had one name in common, being made up of the male and female; but now there is nothing left of that sort, but the reproachful name only.* He goes on, and tells us, that mankind in that first and primitive state, before the male and female were divided, was round, encompassed with back and sides, had four hands and feet καὶ πρόσωπα δύο, i. e. and two faces. That after, upon an occasion which he mentions, he says *Jupiter* resolved to divide this creature into two, and so he did, Ἐπεινε τὰς ἀνθρώπων δίχα, i. e. *He did divide mankind in two*; and after this the one did desire and imbrace τὸ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτῆς, i. e. *its other part*. And hence it comes to pass, that these two (which were at first but one) do naturally desire their other part; this natural love ἐπιχειρῶν ποιῆσαι ἐν ἐκ δυῶν, καὶ ἰσχυρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, i. e. *endeavouring to make one of two (again) and to heal humane nature*. Thus doth he express himself, and adds soon after, Ζητεῖ ὁ αἰὲν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἕνασιν ζύμβολον. That is, *That each part now seeks its fellow*. I shall now shew, how exactly all this agrees with the text of *Moses*, and with the *Jewish Kabbala*.

WITH the text of *Moses* nothing can be more agreeable than this account is. It is expressly said, ⁱ GOD created man in his own image, in the image of GOD created he him, male and female created he them. The very least that can be concluded from these words is, that the woman was at least virtually and potentially created in the same body. And not only the text above cited, but what follows afterwards (*ch. ii. 21, 22.*) doth sufficiently teach us no less. GOD is said to have created *Man*, to have created *him*, and to have created *them*. What he created at first was certainly the original and source of all humane kind. The very text of *Moses* gave a fair ground for what *Aristophanes* affirms.

BUT still his words are more agreeable to the *Jewish Kabbala*. For it was the opinion of *R. Nachman* (as ^k *Menasseh Ben-Israel* tells us) that *Adam* and *Eve* were at first made together, and that *Eve* was joined to him, in such manner, that *Adam* was in the front and *Eve* behind him. And the author of the ^l *Rabbath* affirms, that *Nachman* was of a belief, that this body was *Adrogynous*, and that GOD made the first man, as *Aristophanes* reports it, with פְּרָצוּפִין two faces. This was the opinion, as *M. B. Israel* affirms, of *R. Solomon*, *Ab. Ezra*, *R. Babye*, *R. Eliezer*, and *R. Isaac Karus*. And what is said of GOD's taking a *rib*, they understand of a side or moiety of the body. This is certain, that the word, which

^h *Platon. Convivium*, pag. 189.
both. fol. 9. col. 3. Edit. *Amstelod.*

ⁱ *Gen. i. 27.*

^k *Men. Ben. Israel Concil.* pag. 14.

^l *Rab-*

we render *rib* doth elsewhere signifie a *side*, in the law of *Moses*. And according to this opinion, GOD divided this first body into two parts, as it is expressly said in *Plato*. My author (who was also of this opinion himself) adds, that because those parts were full of blood, it is said, ^m *that GOD closed up the flesh instead thereof*. And that because in all this here was no creation, therefore the words *Bara* and *Jatzar* are not here made use of. And that, where it is said, *It is not good, that man should be alone, I will make him an help meet for him, or, as before him*, the meaning is not, that man was at any time without a wife, but that GOD thought it fit to divide his body, and place that part which was *behind* him, *before* him. And to this ⁿ purpose he applies the words of the *Psalmist*; *Thou hast beset me behind and before*. I will not concern my self in this matter, nor determine in this controversie among the *Jews*. I must say however, that this account is not to be contemned, as it hath sometimes been by some *Christians* of great name. It is enough, at present, that the *Jew*, whom I quoted before, owns that *Plato* took his fable (as he calls it) from the history of *Moses*. And this account, which I last gave of the creation of man, from the *Jewish* writers, is no new opinion, but both very ancient, and a *catholick* doctrine among the *Jewish* doctors.

THIS particular alone doth sufficiently, and irrefragably prove, what it is produced for; *viz.* that *Plato* was acquainted with the writings of *Moses*; or at least that he was not a stranger to the doctrine, and the *Kabbala* of that people.

IT would be too great a digression in this place to enlarge much more upon this subject: 'Tis an argument well worth the pains and labour of learned men; but I am obliged to touch upon it only so far, as my present argument doth require. But the curious reader that would have farther proofs of this kind, may consult ^o one of the ancient writers of the church, who will give him out of *Plato* many instances to the same purpose: Such as these; the paradise spoken of by *Moses* is represented by *Plato* under the *idea* of the garden of *Jupiter*, and the fraud of the serpent by the insidious practice of *Penia*: He teacheth conformably to the holy Scripture, that things inferior are the symbols of heavenly things; and very many other things, that are very agreeable to what we read in the *old Testament*. I proceed:

III. I SHALL shew the reader, what the ancient *heathens* have delivered concerning the *λόγος*, and the *holy trinity*.

AND under this head I shall have a fair occasion of considering what *Plato* hath taught in this matter: And by that time I hope it will appear, that our doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* is not a novelty, or devised by *Justin Martyr*, whatever some men insinuate or averr upon this occasion.

IT is well known, that the ancient *Persians* worshipped the sun under the name of *Mithras*; and it is commonly known, that that *Mithras* was frequently called *τρεπλάσιος*, i. e. *threefold* or *triplicated*: The reason whereof hath been inquired into by several learned men. It hath been ^p thought, that it was so called with *respect* to the *light*, *heat* and *distinction* of times caused by the sun. And by another, that it was so called

^m Gen. ii. 21.
de Idol. lib. 2. cap. 9.

ⁿ Psal. cxxxix. 5.

^o Euseb. *Præpar.* lib. 12. cap. 11. 19, &c.

^p Vossius

with

with regard to the *wisdom, goodness, and power* of GOD. It was rather an indication of a *Trinity* in the *Persian* theology, as a very ^a learned writer of our own observes.

THE fragments, which we have of the *Chaldean* oracles, are by no means to be despised. They cannot with any reason be supposed to be forged by *Christians*, because there are some things in them that are magical, and abhorring from the *Christian* principles. We may from those fragments learn, that this doctrine was admitted into the theology of the ancient *Chaldees*. I shall mention some of these fragments.

Ὅπερ πατρικὴ μονὰς ἔστι,
 Ταναή ἔστι μόνας, ἢ δύο γεννᾷ.
 Δυὲς γὰρ ὡρᾷ τῷ ᾧ κἀθιηται, καὶ νοεραῖς ἀεράπτει τομαῖς.
 Καὶ τὸ κυβερνᾷν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τάττειν ἕκαστον ἐπαχθέν.
 Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς ἥς μονὰς ἄρχει.
 Ἀρχὴ πάσης τμήσεως ἢ ᾧ ἢ τάξις.
 Ἐἰς τρία γὰρ νῦν εἶπε παῖρὸς τέμνεσθαι ἅπαντα,
 Ὅν τὸ θέλειν κατένευσε, καὶ ἤδη πάντα ἐτέτμητο.
 Ἐἰς τρία γὰρ νῦν εἶπε παῖρὸς αἰδῆς,
 Νῶ πάντα κυβερνᾷν.
 Καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ τ' ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ σοφία,
 Καὶ ἡ πολυφρων ἀτρέκεια.
 Τῇ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδ' ὅδε μέγας πρὸ τ' ἔσης,
 Οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' ἔτι μετρείται.
 Ἀρχαῖς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖς ᾧ λάβοις δαλδύειν ἅπαντα.

THESE words I found thus translated to my hand :

*Where the paternal Monad is,
 The Monad is enlarged, which generates two.
 For the Duad sits by him, and glitters with intellectual sections.
 And to govern all things, and to order every thing not ordered.
 For in the whole world shineth the Triad, over which the Monad
 rules.
 This order is the beginning of all section.
 For the mind of the Father said, that all things be cut into three,
 Whose will assented, and then all things were divided.
 For the mind of the eternal Father said into three, governing all
 things by mind.
 And there appeared in it [the Triad] virtue and wisdom,
 And multiscient verity.
 This way floweth the shape of the Triad, being præ-existent.
 Not the first [Essence] but where they are measured.
 For thou must conceive, that all things serve these three principles.*

AND immediately after these words, we find the following.

Ἱερός πρῶτος δρόμος, ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσῳ
 Ἡεῖ, τρίτῳ ἄλλῳ. —

^a Dr. Cudworth

Q 2

THESE

THESE words are also translated into *English* by the same hand, but I conceive not duly, and especially as that translation is pointed; The false pointing perhaps was the fault of the printer, not of the learned author. I would translate them thus:

*The first course is sacred, but in the middle
The Aerial, Another a third——*

AND soon after the foregoing words, we find another passage, under the title of Γ Α Τ Η Ρ Κ Α Ι Ν Ο Υ Σ,

Πάντα γὰρ ἐξέτελεσεν πατήρ,
Καὶ νῦν παρέδωκε δδύτερον.
Ὁν πρῶτον κληίζεται πᾶν γένος ἀνδρῶν.

Thus in *English*:

For the Father perfected all things, and delivered them over to the second mind; whom the whole race of men calls the first.

As for *Orpheus*, though he asserted *one supreme deity*, as is owned; yet he hath been observed to make use of *three names*, viz. *light, counsel, and life*; and that by these three names of one deity he affirms all things to be made. [†] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (and [†] *Eusebius*, I presume from him) relates a verse of his, relating to the λόγος: And it is thus,

Ἐἰς τὸν λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τέτρω προσέειπεν.

IN which he adviseth to a fixed adherence to this Divine word.

AND that there was in the *Egyptian* theology some kind of *Trinity* acknowledged, is not only probable from hence, that *Plato* seems to have learned his doctrine thereof from thence; but is proved from a testimony of *Jamblicus*, by a very [†] learned countryman of our own, who hath given us the same account of *Parmenides*.

AND as to the λόγος, *Clemens Alexandrinus* cites a passage of *Epicharmus*, that doth perfectly agree, not only with what I have observed before out of *Philo* the Jew, but with the *new Testament* also. 'Tis this: Ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπων κυβερνᾷ, That is, *The Word governs the world*.

BUT I shall next proceed to *Plato*, and consider what he hath said to my present purpose: And I make no doubt but it will appear, that the *Platonic Trinity* is not any figment of the followers of *Plato*, by them falsely ascribed to him, whatever some men have advanced to serve their purpose.

THIS doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* was plainly revealed to the *Jews*; and therefore it cannot be expected, that the *Pagans*, who received some intimations of it from the *Jewish Kabbala*, should speak of this doctrine with that accuracy and wariness, which may be expected from a *Christian*. I hope however to prove, that *Plato* hath made great advances towards the *Christian* verity in this doctrine: And that the *Trinity*

[†] Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 5. pag. 414. Strom. V.

[†] Euseb. Prepar. lib. 13.

[†] Dr. Cudworths Intellect. system.

which *Plato* teacheth, is not a *Trinity* of bare names, nor a *Trinity* of creatures, but of persons, who are necessarily subsisting, undestroyable, and one GOD.

THE three *Hypostases* which ^u *Plato* mentions are τ'αγαθόν, νῆς (elsewhere by him called λόγος) and ψυχή.

As for the first of these, the τ'αγαθόν, who answers to GOD the *Father* in the *Christian Trinity*, this is *Plato's* highest *Hypostasis*; of whose divinity there is no dispute even among the greatest adversaries of the *holy Trinity*. 'Tis he (says ^x *Plato*) who gives truth, and the power to know it. He is the author of science and truth. He is the great author and parent of all things; even τῶν θείων, of the most divine, as he tells us ^y elsewhere. He is GOD who is, the τὸ ὂν αἰεί, and the τὸ ὄντως ὂν. He who ever and truly is: For thus he elsewhere speaks of GOD.

THE second *Hypostasis* is Νῆς, intellect or understanding, elsewhere expressed by ^z *Plato* by λόγος or Word, of whose divinity there can be no dispute from the principles of *Plato*. *Anaxagoras* ascribed to this Νῆς or intellect, the making of the world; which *Socrates* approved of. The same is said of the λόγος (as we have seen before) by *Philo* and by the *New Testament*. And indeed *Plato* ^a elsewhere owns the λόγος the efficient of the world. For speaking of the world, he adds, ὃν ἔταξε λόγος ὁ πάντων θεϊότητος ὁρατός, i. e. Which the most divine Word of all rendered visible.

As for the ψυχή or third *Hypostasis* of *Plato*, none can doubt of his belief of the divinity of that person. In his ^b book of *laws* he undertakes to prove three things, viz. The being of a *Numen* (in his phrase of gods) or a deity; that there is a providence; and that GOD is not to be drawn from what is right, by sacrifices. Under the first head he proves this *Hypostasis* of ψυχή: And among other things says, that this ψυχή is τῶν πάντων πρεσβυτάτη and ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, i. e. More ancient than all things, and the beginning of motion. And presently afterwards he affirms, that this ψυχή doth ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῷ κόσμῳ παντός, καὶ ἄγειν αὐτόν, i. e. Take care of the world and conduct it.

AND after all, in ^c his epistle to *Dionysius*, he mentions the *Trinity* at once; which I leave to the reader to consult.

THIS *Trinity* of persons could never be devised by humane wit; and it could serve no temporal interest. Besides, it cannot be said to be the device of *Plato*: It was older than he; and there were in sundry times and countries and religions (as appears from what hath been said before) several intimations of it. As the promise of the MESSIAS was contained in the *Jewish* books, and yet there was, about that time when he appeared, a mighty expectation of the birth of some extraordinary person, in the *Eastern* part of the world at least, (as appears from *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* and *Josephus*, not to say *Virgil*) so the *Trinity*, which was revealed (and that but obscurely) to the *Jews*; yet was in some measure from them imparted to the *Gentile* world also: From which it is very natural to conclude, that it was θεοῦ ἀποδότου θεολογία, a doctrine delivered by GOD himself.

^u *Platonis opera* per H. Stephan. 1578. cum Serran. pag. 69. C. ^b *Ibid.* pag. 27. D. ^c *Phædrus* 247. D. ^d *De leg.* lib. 10.

^x *De Repub.* lib. 6. pag. 508.

^y *Timæus*

^z *Phædo.* pag. 97. C.

^a *Epinom.* pag. 986. C.

^e *Ad Dionysium Ep.* 2.

IV. I SHALL represent to the reader the serviceableness of what hath been said upon this occasion to our common *Christianity*.

I. IT takes off the pretence of novelty, with which our doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* is charged by the late *Socinians*: According to this account this doctrine is older than *Christianity* it self. And to charge it with being introduced by *Justin Martyr*, is against all reason. If the doctrine was novel, I confess it might be a very just plea against it; and I do not see, how we could be obliged to receive it. Yet was it but as old as *Christianity* it self, or as the *new Testament*, this would oblige us to receive this doctrine, who profess the *Christian* religion, and own the books of the *new Testament*. But if it appears to be as old as *Moses*, and to have been owned by the ancient *Jews*, and the wisest and most inquisitive of the *heathen* writers, this doth render it more venerable at least, and more unexceptionable. And this doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* being a great bar to the *Jews* receiving the *Christian* religion (for so it is, at least, pretended to be by themselves) nothing can conduce more to their conversion, than to shew that it was the belief their forefathers; and that it is proveable from their own law: And this was the inducement, which prevailed with me to insist so largely on this matter. Had it not been for *that*, these last chapters might have been censured as too great a digression.

II. I ADD, that this doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* did make way for the reception of the *Christian* religion; especially among those *gentiles*, who were most inquisitive, and of the most elevated understandings. I shall express my self in the words of a ^d very learned man, which are these: *Wherefore we cannot but take notice here of a wonderful providence of almighty GOD, that this doctrine of a Trinity of divine Hypostases, should find such admittance and entertainment in the pagan world, and be received by the wisest of all their philosophers, before the times of Christianity amongst the learned Pagans; which that it proved successful accordingly, is undeniably evident from the monuments of antiquity.* That learned author observes farther, that the junior *Platonists*, who continued in their enmity to *Christianity*, were so sensible of this, that they adulterated the *Kabbala*, and the genuine doctrine of their master *Plato*; and in all probability did so for this very reason; of which that excellent person gives a fuller account afterwards.

IT may perhaps be said, that whatever effect this doctrine might have upon the more learned *Gentiles*; yet that it was doubtless a stumbling-block to the *Jews* at that time, and a great bar to their embracing the *Christian* faith.

I CANNOT see, why it should be said to be a stumbling-block to the *Jews* in the first times of *Christianity*: I do not find any proof of this. I have elsewhere laid before the reader the causes and occasions of the *Jewish* infidelity. We are not to judge of the *Jews* of *that* time by the *Jews* of *this*. The present *Jews* are departed from the ancient belief of their forefathers. It doth not follow, that because the present *Jews* pretend, that our doctrine of the *Trinity* is a bar to their embracing *Christian-*

^d Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*. pag. 625.

ity, that their forefathers in the very beginning of *Christianity* laboured under the same prejudice. Besides, if the doctrine of the *Trinity* had not been taught by the *Christian* religion, the *Jews* would not have become *Christians*. They pretend that to be a bar ; but after all, if that doctrine was not in the *new Testament*, and was disclaimed by all *Christians*, the *Jews* would not however embrace the *Christian* faith. I find^e *R. Isaac* (one of their greatest champions) disputing against the *Trinity* ; and this *Jew* denies this doctrine to be taught in our gospels. But though he was of that opinion ; yet we do not find him ever the nearer to the embracing of the *Christian* religion. The *Socinians* are very vain, if they fancy, that our doctrine of the *Trinity* is the only obstacle, that hinders the conversion of the *Jews*. If it was, yet they, who deny this doctrine to be taught in the gospel, would still be without plea. Indeed this is one of their pretences ; nor do I know any better way to deal with the *Jews*, than what hath been attempted before, viz. to make it appear, that this doctrine was insinuated in the *old Testament*, and taught by their forefathers.

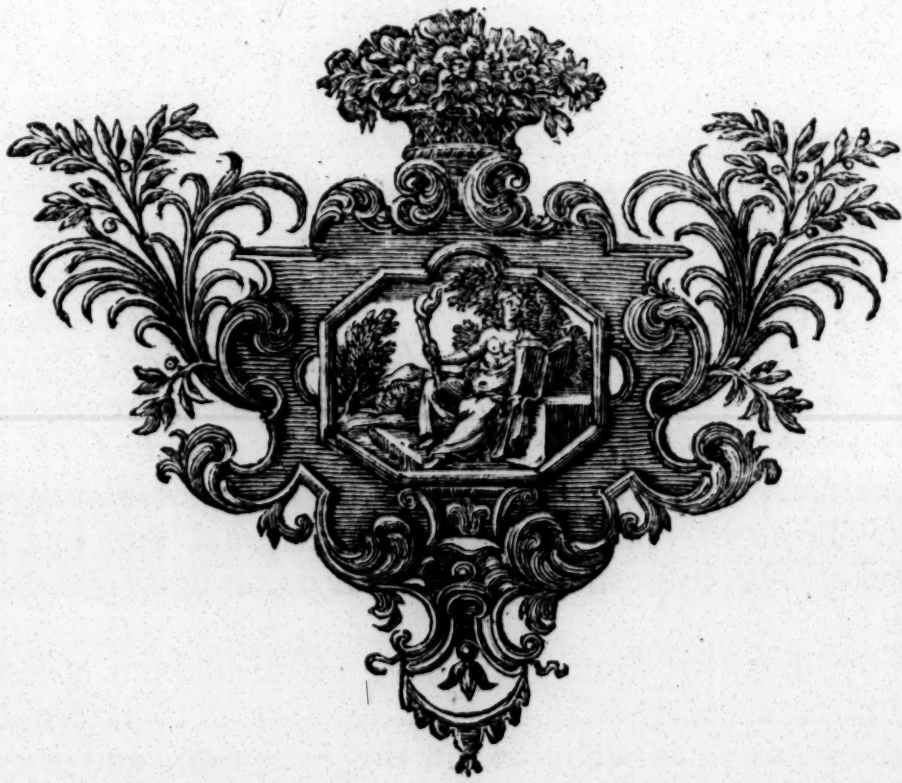
III. ANOTHER advantage, (and a very considerable one it is) is this ; that the account given above is of great use, towards the repressing the vanity of those men, who insolently charge the doctrine of the *Holy Trinity* with non-sense and contradiction, and a mere imposition upon our wiser faculties. I choose to express my sense in the words of the learned author, whom I have had occasion to mention before ; and his words are these : *But besides this advantage from the ancient Pagan Platonists and Pythagoreans, admitting a Trinity into their theology, in like manner as Christianity doth (whereby Christianity was the more recommended to the Philosophick Pagans) there is another advantage of the same, extending even to this present time, probably not unintended also, by divine providence : That whereas bold and conceited wits, precipitantly condemning the doctrine of the Trinity for non-sense, absolute repugnancy to humane faculties, and impossibility, have thereupon some of them quite shaken off Christianity, and all revealed religion, professing only Theism, others have frustrated the design thereof by paganizing it into creature-worship or idolatry ; this ignorant and conceited confidence of both may be retunded and confuted from hence, because the most ingenious and acute of all the Pagan philosophers, the Platonists and Pythagoreans, who had no byass at all upon them, nor any scripture revelation (which might seem to impose upon their faculties) but followed the free Sentiments, and dictates of their own minds, did notwithstanding not only entertain this Trinity of divine hypostases eternal and uncreated, but were also fond of the hypothesis, and made it a main fundamental of their theology.*

I DO not deny, but that some men have given such an account of the *Trinity*, as implies a contradiction ; but this is not therefore chargeable upon the doctrine, as it is delivered in the Scripture, and by the wiser *Christians*. I do also very well know, that the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, as taught in the *Roman* church, is full of contradiction : Upon which account, as^f *Lyra* observes, many converted *Jews* have relapsed

^e R. Isaac Chizuk *Emun.* pag. 117.

^f De probat. advent. Christi ; apud Hieron. de sancta fide.

and returned to their vomit. But then that doctrine is not the doctrine of *Christianity*. It is an easie thing for men to declaim against this doctrine; but to shew the contradiction is impossible. Men of the greatest wit and learning, both *Jews* and *Christians* and *heathens* also, have not been able to see the inconsistency of this doctrine with sound reason. I shall end this particular in the words of the fore-cited author. His words are these: *We shall conclude here with confidence, that the Christian Trinity, though there be very much of mystery in it; yet is there nothing at all of plain contradiction to the undoubted principles of humane reason, that is, of impossibility to be found therein, as the atheists would pretend; who cry down all for non-sense and absolute impossibility, which their dull stupidity cannot reach to, or their infatuated minds cannot easily comprehend; and therefore, even the deity it self. And it is to be wished, that some Religionists and Trinitarians did not here symbolize too much with them, in affecting to represent the mystery of the Christian Trinity as a thing directly contradicting all humane reason and understanding; and that perhaps out of design to make men surrender up themselves and consciences, in a blind and implicit faith, wholly to their guidance: As also to debase their understandings by this means, to the swallowing down of other opinions of theirs, plainly repugnant to humane faculties. As who should say, He that believes the Trinity, (as we all must do, if we will be Christians) should boggle at nothing in religion ever after, nor scrupulously chew or examine any thing: As if there could be nothing more contradicting or impossible to humane understanding propounded, than this article of the Christian faith.*



C H A P. VII.

Of the time within which the MESSIAS was to come. The Jews are uneasy in this controversy. That the time is past. This is proved from Gen. xlix. 10. The ancient Jews own that place to relate to the MESSIAS. That it is very agreeably expounded to that purpose. The great care to keep the tribe of Juda distinct. They were numbred by themselves. Juda gave denomination to the Jews. A testimony from Abravenel. Benjamin an accessory to this tribe. The true religion and worship of GOD preserved in it. Priests and Levites preserved in it. They had also teachers of the law, and some rulers in our SAVIOUR'S time. A testimony from R. David Gantz: Another from Josephus. Out of this tribe the MESSIAS was to arise. That by scepter Jacob doth not mean kingly power. We do not produce Gen. xlix. 10. as a direct proof, that JESUS is the CHRIST. The later Jews pretensions against the Christians interpretation. M. Ben. Israel's attempts. The reason why I do not think fit to consider them particularly. J. Aben Amram considered fully. His reflections on the Latin version considered. His first considerable exposition examined. and shewed to be inconsistent. His second considerable opinion, being that of Abravenel. The Jews have no Jurisdiction or dominion at this time. Testimonies from Abravenel and M. Ben-Israel to this purpose. That the MESSIAS was not to be a temporal prince. The vain attempts of the Jew upon כִּי עַד Gen. xlix. 10. That those particles are not to be separated. The authority of Onkelos considered in this matter. That the exposition of Onkelos doth neither hurt the Christians, nor help the Jews. The pretence that JESUS was not born in the latter days, as it was foretold of the MESSIAS. The reader referred for an answer to that pretence to its proper place. The Jew leaves his reader to believe R. Sueb and Abravenel also, if he think fit.

THE *Jews* are never more uneasy in their controversies with the *Christians*, than when they are pressed by them with arguments to convince them, that the time of the coming of the MESSIAS is already passed. They are in this matter so hardly put to it, that they are forced to their shifts, to get themselves clear from those straits into which they are driven. For as there was a general expectation of some great person, and particularly of the MESSIAS, in the *Jewish* nation, about that time when JESUS did appear; so it is evident from the writings of the *old Testament*, and from the other very ancient writers of the *Jewish* nation, that the time, when CHRIST was to come, is long

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since elapsed. The *Jews* have been made so sensible of this, that they have been put to this miserable shift, to own, ^a that the MESSIAS was really born about that time when *Christianity* was first preached, or about the time of the destruction of the temple by the *Romans*. This is so lewd an affirmation, that to name it is confutation enough. And to do the *Jews* right, it is no *Catholick* opinion amongst them. The wisest among them will not adhere to it. The *Jews* indeed have something to say in this matter, which better deserves to be considered: Their pretences, which are most considerable, are these two:

First, They pretend, that the time of the coming of the MESSIAS is not *fixed* and *certain*, but conditional, and therefore *alterable*. They say, that the ^b time of his coming depends upon their repentance: For repentance, they say, is necessary to prepare men for the receiving of the MESSIAS; and this hath always been the sense of their wise men: Hence ^c we find it said amongst them, that if *Israel* would *repent one day*, *their redeemer would forthwith come*. And again, *That the MESSIAS shall come if they deserve well; if they do not, he shall not come*.

Secondly, THE *Jews* affirm (and we cannot deny the truth of that assertion) that the MESSIAS was to come in the *last days*. By the *last days*, in the style of the *old Testament*, is meant the *days* of the MESSIAS. *Menasseh Ben-Israel* ^d tells us, that *R. Moses Gerundensis* affirms, that wherever it is said *in the last days*, those words are to be understood of the *days* of the MESSIAS. Hereupon the *Jews* take the liberty to put off the coming of the MESSIAS till the end of the world: And they do ^e affirm, that JESUS cannot be the MESSIAS, because he did not come in those days, which by the prophets had been called *the last days*; by which they will needs understand the end of the world: Whereas it is almost 1700 years since our JESUS appeared; which is too great a distance from the end of the world to be called *the last days*.

FOR the more orderly proceeding in this weighty matter, I shall,

First, PROVE, that the MESSIAS is already come; or which amounts to it, that the time, in which GOD promised to send the MESSIAS, is past; and this I shall prove from the text of the *holy Scripture*.

Secondly, I SHALL prove, that the promise of the MESSIAS was an absolute, and not a conditional promise.

Thirdly, THAT allowing *the last days* to denote the days of the MESSIAS; yet that this is no objection against JESUS, whose coming was in *these last days*.

I. THAT the MESSIAS is already come; or which amounts to it, that the time, within which GOD promised to send the MESSIAS, is past. This I shall prove from several places of *Scripture*.

First, FROM the words of *Jacob*; *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be*, Gen. xlix. 10. That these

^a V. Munsteri *Disputat. de Messia cum Judæo*. Basil. A. D. 1639.

^c Menafs. B. *Israel de Resur.* lib. 3. cap. 3.

^e R. Isaac Chizuk *Emun.* cap. 1.

^b Bechai in *Legem*, fol. 160.

^d Menafs. B. *Israel de resur.* lib. 3. cap. 3.

words do contain a promise of the MESSIAS, all *Christians* affirm; and so do very many *Jews*. The *Jews*, that are most ancient, especially acknowledge this; they having not learned the many arts, which the latter *Jews* have found out to elude the force of these words, and reporting truly the sense of their ancient wise men in this matter. For the better apprehending the sense of these words, it is to be remembred, that the first promise of the MESSIAS was made to *Adam*, as ^f the seed of the woman that should break the serpent's head. Thence it was derived to ^g *Shem* the son of *Noah*; *Japhet* and *Ham* being passed by. Hence it was deduced to ^h *Abraham*; the other sons of *Terah* not being considered. From *Abraham*, his son *Ishmael* being passed by, it is transmitted unto ⁱ *Isaac*. This blessing of *Abraham*, as 'tis called, is from *Isaac*, *Esau* being passed by, conveyed to ^k *Jacob*: Here it now rests; and we find *Jacob* near his death, and calling his sons together, and telling them what should happen to them in the last days. And here he predicts the coming of the MESSIAS, and tells us, within what space of time he should come, and what should follow upon his coming; and this *Jacob* doth, when he comes to foretel what should happen to the posterity of *Judah*, from whom the MESSIAS was to be born. The ^l scepter — i. e. The posterity of *Judah*, (from whom the *Jews*, especially after the captivity of *Babylon*, were denominated) shall not cease to be a distinct tribe and polity, professing their own laws and enjoying the teachers of it, till *Shiloh* (who is MESSIAS, according to the ancient *Jews* themselves) shall come; and to him the gentiles shall be obedient. So that the MESSIAS was to come before the destruction and dispersion of that people. From whence it is evident, that he is come already.

ALL things do admirably agree, both for the confirming of that sense, which I have given of these words, and the applying them also to our JESUS. I shall not however touch upon the many particulars, which might upon this occasion be insisted upon.

THUS much is evident, that in the words of *Jacob*, which relate to *Judah*, something that is very peculiar and very great is predicted concerning his posterity or tribe. Indeed *Philo* the Jew ^m lays a great stress upon all the words of *Jacob* which we find in this chapter. He tells us, that these words speak him to be a prophet and divinely inspired. He says, that ⁿ it doth from other things appear, that *Jacob* was a prophet; but more especially from these words of his in this chapter. He says, that those words of his, *Gather your selves together, that I may tell you, that which shall befall you in the last days* ἐν τοῖς ἔσχατοις ἡμέραις, i. e. They were an oracle of a person divinely inspired. But his words of *Judah* do more particularly speak this inspiration, and the divine benediction also: For these words contain this benediction, v. 28. And whereas *Reuben* and *Siméon* and *Levi* have something said of them, that insinuates their fault and their diminution; *Judah* hath nothing of this; but instead of it many things, which imply the privilege of that tribe.

AND indeed there was something peculiar to that tribe: I say peculiar, not only with respect to those mentioned before, but also with respect to

^f Gen. iii. 15.
^k Gen. xxviii. 4.
hares?

^g Chap. ix. 26. 27.
^l Gen. xlix. 10.

^h Gen. xii. 3.
^m V. Philo pag. 404. E.

ⁱ Gen. xxii. 18. with chap. xvii. 19.
ⁿ Philo *Quis rerum divin.*

them who follow. This appears from the history of aftertimes. For when the other ten tribes, after the death of *Solomon*, departed from the appointed worship of GOD, this tribe continued therein. And whereas the ⁹ ten tribes were carried away captives in the days of *Hosea* king of *Israel*, *Judah* remained in his own land. The other tribes were carried away, the distinction of their tribes and families was lost, and they return'd no more to their own country. On the other hand, *Judah* did not lose his tribe, but continued a *separate* and distinct people, both *before* and *under*, and *after* the captivity of *Babylon*. The *sceptre* or ^p *tribe* (for so the *Hebrew* word signifies in this chapter especially) did not depart from *Judah*: It was so far from it, that there was special care taken to preserve *Judah* distinct in its *tribe* and families; the conservation whereof is predicted in those words of *Jacob*.

WE find even in the time of *Saul*, that the men of *Judah* were numbred apart, and not put into the gross number of the men of *Israel*. When ^a he numbred them in *Besek*, the children of *Israel* were three hundred thousand, and the men of *Judah* thirty thousand. Again in *David's* time it was so; *Joab* ^r gave up the sum of the number of the people unto the king: and there were in *Israel* eight hundred thousand valiant men, that drew the sword; and the men of *Judah* were five hundred thousand men. Such care was taken to preserve this tribe distinct, that when the kingdom was settled in the family of *David*, there was a prophet also to take care of the genealogies of that tribe. Thus ^t we read of the book of *Iddo* the seer concerning genealogies, in the story of *Rehoboam*; and of his story or commentary in that of *Abijah*. That this care was not wanting during the captivity of *Babylon*, appears abundantly from the first book of *Chronicles*, the book of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and from ^t *Josephus*. For tho' there was a doubt of the genealogy of some others (*Neh.* vii. 64. with *Ezra* ii. 62.) yet 'tis evident, that the tribe of *Judah* preserved it self distinct: And indeed this care was not wanting to the days of *Augustus*, in whose time *JESUS* was born. *Augustus* set forth a decree for the enrolling those, which were subjected to the *Roman* power. Upon that ^u occasion *Joseph* comes to *Bethlehem*, because he was of the house and lineage of *David*. And this enrolling or taxing ^x *Josephus* also mentions, as that which happened in the time of *Cyrenius*, as *St. Luke* relates it. And therefore well might *Justin Martyr* ^y appeal to the *Romans* for the truth of what he affirmed, when he tells them, that *JESUS* was born in *Bethlehem*, Ως καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῆς ὑπομένουσας ἐν Κυρηνίᾳ, ἣ ὁμοτίμης ἐν Ἰσδαὶα πρώτης ὑπομένης ἐπιτρόπης, i. e. As (says he) ye may learn from the rolls, which ^z were made under *Cyrenius*, your first procurator in *Judea*.

I CANNOT but take notice of ^a a passage in *Abravenel*, that comes up to my present purpose. That *Jew* is discoursing of the excellencies of this tribe of *Judah* above the rest. As proofs of this, he mentions the order of *Judah's* encampment, and that he was chosen to go first to battel: He adds, that when the people were numbred, *Judah* was always numbred by it self, and not as an accessory to the other tribes, of which matter I

^a 2 King. xviii. 9. ^p שִׁבְטָא Gen. xlix. 10, 16, 28. ^q 1 Sam. xi. 8. ^r 2 Sam. xxiv.
^t 2 Chro. xii. 15. with ch. xiii. 22. ^x Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 11. chap. 4. ^u Luke ii. 1, 2, 3, 4.
^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. chap. 1. ^y Justin Martyr. Apol. 11. ^z V. Tertulian. contra Marcionem
lib. 4. ^a Abravenel in Prophetas priores. Lips. fol. 95. & fol. 100.

have spoken before: He reckons up the places, where this is mentioned in the *old Testament*. He says, that whereas the other tribes were conjoined and numbred in the gross, this tribe was for its excellency numbred distinctly 'וְיָסֹד לֹא יִסָּד: וְיָסֹד. And this is the meaning of those words (*Gen. xlix. 10.*) The *scepter* (or tribe) *shall not depart from Judah*, &c. He adds, that whereas the other tribes were carried away out of their land, their tribe continued there; and that even when it was in captivity, it retained some sovereignty, and a lawgiver or teacher of righteousness; and *that* it would do so to the coming of our MESSIAS. We find him also discoursing in another place to my present purpose, very agreeably to what I have said before.

THUS were the posterity of *Judah* preserved distinct and separate, when the other tribes were almost lost: As for *Benjamin*, who adhered to *Judah* in the true worship of GOD, when the other tribes fell off, and continued with that tribe also, it is to be considered, that it was reputed but an accession or *appendix* to *Judah*; and whatever privilege it preserved, it was upon that account; *viz.* as it adhered to *Judah*. And we find ^b *Judah* and *Benjamin* together called *one tribe*, three several times in one chapter. And afterwards, when mention ^c is made of the captivity of the *ten tribes*, it is said, *The LORD was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight: There was none left but the tribe of Judah only*. And we find, that after the schism, the very cities of *Benjamin* are called the cities of *Judah*. And not only so, but the ^d men of *Benjamin* were reputed, after the schism, the men of *Judah*. So that this tribe of *Benjamin* was but an accession to that of *Judah*; And *Judah* gave denomination to all the *Jews*, after the captivity of *Babylon*. And this ^e *Justin Martyr* takes notice of; Ἰσθὰς ὃς προπάτωρ Ἰσθαιων, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ Ἰσθαιὸν καλεῖσθαι ἐξήρξατο. i. e. *Judah was the ancestor of the Jews; and from him it was that they were called Jews*. And to this purpose we have a remarkable ^f place in the book of *Esther*: The words are these. *In Shushan the palace there was a certain Jew, whose name was Mordecai, the son of Jair, the son of Shimei, the son of Kish a Benjamite*. The same man is said to be ^g a *Judite* or one belonging to *Judah*, and a *Benjamite*.

BUT as the *tribe* continued after the *ten tribes* were dispersed; so did the doctors and teachers of the law (which is meant by what we render *lawgiver*) continue in this tribe of *Judah*, when they were not among the other tribes. And this is another remarkable privilege of *Judah*, which *Jacob* predicts in these words; *Nor a law-giver from between his feet*. 'Tis very well known, that GOD appointed an order of men to minister in holy things, and instruct his people; namely, the sons of *Aaron* and the *Levites*. The *Levites* were dispersed about the tribes for this end: This benefit was common to all the tribes, till the schism in the time of *Jeroboam*; after that it was peculiar to *Judah*, and continued so till the destruction of the second temple. To this purpose we ^h read in the days of *Rehoboam*, that *the Priests and the Levites, that were in all Israel, resorted to him out of all their coasts. For the Levites left*

^b 1 King. xi. 13, 32, 36.

^c 2 King. xvii. 18.

^d 2 Chro. xi. 5, 10. with ch. xvii. 9. 2 Chro.

xiv. 4, 8, 12. ch. xx. 3, 4, 5, 13, 15.

^e *Apol.* 11.

^f *Esth.* ii. 5.

^g אִשׁ יְהוּדִי אִשׁ יְמִינִי

^h 2 Chro. xi. 13, 14.

their suburbs and their possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: For Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest's office unto the LORD. And to this purpose Abijahⁱ speaks to Jeroboam and all Israel. Have ye not (says he) cast out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the nations of other lands? So that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock, and seven rams, the same may be a priest of them that are no gods. But as for us, the LORD is our GOD, and we have not forsaken him; and the priests which minister unto the LORD are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business. Nor did this law-giver or teacher of the law depart from Judah, till the final destruction of the Jews by the Romans. The religious kings of Judah took care for the instruction of that people. Thus^k did Jehoshaphat; He sent to his princes to teach in the cities of Judah, and with them he sent Levites—And they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the LORD with them, and went about through all the cities of Judah, and taught the people. Hezekiah also^l calls the Levites to their duty; and^m Josiah takes care for the instruction of all the men of Judah. Thus it was to the captivity; Judah had the instructors and teachers of the law, and that tribe, upon that consideration, was prone to be puffed up. How do ye say, We are wise (says Jeremiah to them) and the law of the LORD is with us? Thus it was also in the captivity of Babylon; the doctors of the law did not depart from this tribe: Ezekiel, bothⁿ a priest and a prophet, was there with them; there was Daniel; there were both priests and Levites: There^o they continued during this captivity; and we have a particular account of their return from thence. So that the law-giver, even during that captivity, did not depart from the feet of Judah. After this, we have^p abundant evidence, that they continued in Judah, and had upon them the charge of instructing the people in the law of Moses. And in our SAVIOUR's time we have in the gospels frequent mention of^q priests and Levites, of scribes or doctors of the law. The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses's chair, says JESUS, And St. Paul tells us, he^r was brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel. This Gamaliel was a famous doctor of the law, the son of that Simeon, who took JESUS into his arms; and that Simeon was the son of Hillel, a most eminent doctor of the law, and a great founder of a school in Judah.

By a law-giver, in the words of Jacob, is not meant any person or persons who have a legislative power, or a power of making laws, but only those who were the doctors and teachers of those statutes and ordinances, which were made to their hand. These men had not power to make new laws; they only expounded them that were made. And the Jews ought not to refuse this interpretation of the word, both because it is in it self unexceptionable, and besides that, it is their own. Onkelos renders it by^s Scribe; and as for the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan, they do expressly expound it by doctors and teachers of the law. And we have very frequent mention of such scribes, lawyers, and teachers of the law,

ⁱ 2 Chro. xiii. 4, 9, 10.

xxxiv. 30.

ch. iv. 4.

ⁿ Ezek. i. 3.^q Mat. xxiii. 2.^k 2 Chro. xvii. 7, 8, 9.^o Ezr. ii. 36, 40, with Neh. viii. 9, & ch. xxi.^r Acts xxii. 3.^l 2 Chro. xxix. 7, 30.^m 2 Chro.^p Mal. ii. 4, 7.^s פֶּסֶד

in the *Gospel*. And that such teachers of the law were among the *Jews* till the destruction of the nation, is not questioned by *Jews* or *Christians*.

I AM very sensible, that the word שֶׁטֶט (*Gen.* xlix. 10.) which we translate *scepter* is by the LXXII. *Greek* interpreters rendred by Ἀρχων, i. e. a ruler or governor. And I do very well know the ill use, which some *Christians* have made of that rendring. I will not here so far digress, as to shew how unreasonably they have, on that occasion, been misled. Let the translation be admitted, our cause against the *Jews* will not suffer by it. For certain it is, that the *Jews* had rulers of their own, even then when they were under the *Roman* yoke. And even in this sense the place doth make against the *Jews*. When they had a *Roman* president, they had Ἀρχοντας or rulers of their own. These they had in our SAVIOUR'S time; the Ἀρχων was not then departed from *Judah*. We have abundant proof of this. We find a ruler applying to JESUS in behalf of his daughter. And that he was a *Jew*, we may learn from a parallel place, where he is named and called *A ruler of the synagogue*. Elsewhere^u we find, that JESUS went into the house of one of the chief *Pharisees*. We render it, chief *Pharisees*; but it is in the *Greek* τῷ ἀρχόντῳ τῷ φαρισαίῳ. i. e. he was one of the rulers of the *Pharisees*. It is plain, that he was a *Jew*, and a ruler among them. We read of another, who was certainly a *Jew* also. We read elsewhere of the^x chief priests and rulers; and they were unquestionably rulers over the *Jews*. And these *Jewish* rulers are elsewhere said to have delivered JESUS to be condemned to death, and to have crucified him. *Nicodemus* is^y expressly said to be a ruler of the *Jews*: And it appears from another place, that there were^z divers of these rulers among the *Jews*; and^a many of these rulers are said to have believed on JESUS. Before^b these rulers of the people St. *Peter* makes his defence. These rulers are said to have condemned JESUS, and to^c have persecuted his followers. So that if the words of *Jacob* were to be read thus, *A ruler shall not depart from Judah*, there would be no danger, in the *Christians* admitting it, from the *Jews*. But though what I said last is sufficient to satisfy any *Christian* in this matter; yet I must remember, that I have to do with the *Jews*, who will not think themselves concluded by proofs from the *new Testament*.

AND therefore I proceed to the testimony of^d a *Jewish* writer on this subject. I mean *R. David Gantz*, who tells us, that it was the custom at *Jerusalem*, that tho' the kingdom were in the *Hasmoneans*, and afterwards in *Herod* and his family; yet the *Nasi* or prince was always of the family of *David*. And though the king with his army took care of matters of state; yet matters of the law or of religion were always managed by the high-priest, and this *Nasi*. He tells us, that *Herod*, after some time of his bad reign, constituted *Hillel* and his sons princes or rulers of the house of *David*. And if this be so, the *scepter* was not departed from *Judah*, even then when the kingdom was departed; which is a matter of great importance in this subject, which I am now upon: I may afterwards have a fair occasion to resume this matter. I shall now only add, to what I have said upon this occasion, the testimony of two

^r Matth. ix. 18. with Luk. viii. 41.

^s Luk. xxiv. 20.

^c Acts xiv. 5.

^y Joh. iii. 2.

^z Joh. xii. 42.

^a Acts. iv. 8.

^b Acts xiii. 27.

^d Tzemah. David per Vorstium. L. B. 1644. pag. 84. & 86.

other *Jews* in this matter. *Josephus*^e gives an account of the *Jews* after their return from *Babylon*. He tells us, that they had rulers among them; and he names them that were "Ἀρχοντες or rulers; among which he reckons *Salathiel*, of the family of *David*. And *Aben Amram* allows, that^f there were *Præsidentes ex Juda*, or rulers of *Judah* even in the time of *JESUS*.

ANOTHER privilege peculiar to this tribe of *Judah*, and indeed the greatest, was that the *MESSIAS* was to be born of it. This the *Jews* grant, and do expect a *MESSIAS* the son of *David*; and consequently of the tribe of *Judah*. That by *Shiloh* here is meant the *MESSIAS*, many of the *Jews* grant. And that this privilege should be altogether omitted by *Jacob*, is by no means credible. If it be mentioned at all, it must be in these words of *Jacob*, which speak of the coming of *Shiloh*. And that a thing of this importance is not omitted, will be evident to him that considers it with due application. *Jacob* promiseth to tell his sons, what^g shall befall them in the last days. That expression the *Jews* are wont to apply to the days of the *MESSIAS*. *Jacob* doth foretel, what would happen to the several tribes; and the event was agreeable to his prediction, and is the best interpreter of his words. We shall find many things predicted, which are very minute in comparison with the birth of the *MESSIAS*. But whatever those things were in themselves, they were punctually fulfilled; and he that will compare the words of *Jacob* with other Scriptures, which relate the events in which his predictions were fulfilled, will be convinced of it. If he saith of *Reuben*, *Thou shalt not excel* (*Gen. xlix. 4.*) see it fulfilled afterward (*Judg. v. 15, 16.*) If he foretels the dispersion of *Simeon* and *Levi* (*ver. 7.*) it was exactly accomplished in them both (*Josh. xix. 1, 9.* with *1 Chron. iv. 39.*) What he saith of the situation of *Zebulun* (*ver. 13.*) was fulfilled (*Josh. xix. 10, &c.* with *Deut. xxxiii. 18.*) What he saith of *Dan* (*ver. 17.*) was verified in *Samson*, of that tribe (*Judges xiv. 15, 16.*) The oppression of the posterity of *Gad*, and their victory after this, are plainly predicted by *Jacob* (*Gen. xlix. 19.*) and they are as evidently fulfilled afterwards, (*Judg. x. 7, 8.* with *1 Chron. v. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.*) As for what he saith of *Asser* and *Naphtali* (*ver. 20, 21.*) see what account we have of these things afterwards, (*Deut. xxxiii. 24. Judges iv. and ch. v. 18.*) The fruitfulness of the posterity of *Joseph* predicted (*ver. 22.*) was eminently fulfilled (*Numb. i. 33, 35. Josh. xvii. 14, 15, 16, 17.* with *Deut. xxxiii. 17.*) And when he calls *Benjamin* a ravening wolf (*ver. 27.*) the off-spring of *Benjamin* made good the character (*Judg. xx, and ch. xxi. Esther ii. 5. and ch. ix. with Judg. iii. 15.*) Nay here are other things said of *Judah*, with respect to the power which his posterity should arrive to, and the fruitfulness of his country (*ver. 9, 11, 12.*) which received an evident accomplishment (*2 Sam. ii. 4.* with *Numb. xiii. 22, 23.*) compared with other forms of speech used in scripture; (*Deut. xxxiii. 14. Job xxix. 6.*) And do we think, that the birth of the *MESSIAS*, which was promised to the first man, and conveyed down to *Jacob*, is omitted here?

I KNOW very well, that the^h later *Jews* have with all their skill, endeavoured to avoid the force of this place. Andⁱ *Menasseh Ben-Israel*

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4.
ium, pag. 266.

^f Numb. 591.

^g Gen. xlix. 1.

^h Shevet Jehuda per Gen.
ⁱ Menasseh Ben-Israel quest. 65. in Gen.

hath found out no less than eleven several ways of expounding these words of *Jacob*. Some of these are transparently, nothing but *trick* and *subterfuge*; the rest groundless; and none of them able to bear up against what hath been said before.

BEFORE I proceed to examine the *Jews* pretences against the *Christian's* exposition of this place, I shall premise, that the *Christians* are not altogether to be excused. I do not think my self obliged to defend them, when they have not proceeded upon sound principles.

It is certain, that they who have affirmed, that by *scepter Jacob* means kingly power, and that he hath a respect to the kingdom of *David*, and his family, are in a gross error, and will never be able to defend this place against the *Jews*. These men betray the *Christian* cause, and give the *Jews* the greatest advantage against it. This kingdom did not commence till above 600 years after *Jacob* spake these words; and was intirely expired above 500 years, before *JESUS* was born. If this was meant by *scepter*, it was above 600 years before it came into the hands of *Judah*, it continued but 500 and odd years, and was removed before the coming of the MESSIAS about 500 years. *David* was the first king, *Zedekiah* the last. After this 'twas in the *Asmonæan* hands, who were of another tribe; and then in the hands of *Herod*, who was an alien. There is no shadow for this opinion, that is worth the taking notice of. The *Jews* are glad of this advantage; and there is hardly any thing, which they more insultingly throw in our teeth than this very inconsistent opinion. The truth of it is, this is not maintainable by any means. It is loaded with insuperable difficulties. We affirm, what we can never prove, and what the *Jews* can disprove with the greatest ease imaginable.

THE^k author of one of the *Nizachons* tells us, how the *Christians* expound this place, viz. of *JESUS*; and that they affirm, that upon his coming the kingdom of *Judah* should cease. But (says he) *this kingdom ceased long before JESUS was born; namely, from the time of Zedekiah*. This is also^l objected to the *Christians* by *Aben Amram*, and by *R. Isaac*, to name no more; and so far the *Jews* must be allowed to be in the right, and the *Christians* in the wrong. But then this is not to be imputed to all *Christians*, but to some only.

It is to be considered in the next place, that we do not produce (*Gen. xlix. 10.*) against the *Jews*, as a direct proof that our *JESUS* is the CHRIST. No, we are far from it. We produce it as a proof that, whereas they say the MESSIAS is not yet come, the time in which he was to come is long since elapsed; and that he was to come before the final destruction of the *Jewish* polity and state. We have other unexceptionable proofs, that *JESUS* is the CHRIST. So that the main cause doth not depend upon this place. And we readily grant, that though it be evident, that *JESUS* was born within that time predicted here, in which the MESSIAS was to come; yet we are not so vain as to infer from thence, that he is the CHRIST. Thus much however is certain, that whosoever shall, now the time is elapsed, pretend to be the MESSIAS, will be justly esteemed an impostor, because he doth not come in the appointed time. For though we do not conclude *JESUS* to be the CHRIST, because he was of the family of *David*; yet on the other hand, we do justly con-

^k *Nizachon vetus*, pag. 29. num. 585.

^l *Chizuk Emun. pag. 137.*

clude, that he who is not of that tribe, ought not to be received as the true MESSIAS. And that whoever shall hereafter set up for a MESSIAS, ought not to be received, because the *scepter* is already departed from *Judah*.

I SHALL now proceed to consider the *Jews* pretensions against what hath been said before. I will not trouble my self or the reader with what *Menasseh Ben-Israel* hath advanced to elude the force of this testimony ; because it hath been answered already by sundry of our learned writers ; and also because much of what he hath said is so vain and trifling, that I do not think it worth mine or the readers while to insist upon it. But yet what he hath said of moment shall not be passed by.

I WILL rather choose to consider what *Aben Amram* hath said on this occasion ; he having considered what *Menasseh Ben-Israel* had said before him, and insisting upon what he judged to have been said by him of the greatest weight and moment. Besides, I take him to be far the greatest man, that this age hath produced, of the *Jewish* people, and the sharpest and most considerable enemy to *Christianity*. He hath discoursed of this place, not occasionally, but separately, and with a design to wrest it out of the hands of *Christians* : And we may be sure, that he hath exerted his utmost force and wit to effect it.

I SHALL follow him in his own method, and endeavour to answer all that he hath to say in this matter. And this I the rather choose to do, not only because *Menasseh Ben-Israel* hath been answered by other hands, but because I think *Aben Amram* says more than any *Jew*, that I have yet seen, either in print or *MS*.

HE^m repeats the text, as it is in the *Latin* translation of St. *Hieronymus*. He owns the place to be meant of the MESSIAS, as the *Chaldee* paraphrast doth expound it, *Et est apud nos recepta sententia* : i. e. he owns this to be the received opinion among the *Jews*. This is frankly and honestly said ; though if he had not granted it we could have proved it abundantly. But so far I find we are agreed. But then he proceeds to shew, how the *Christians* argue from hence, *viz.* Thus. Since the *kingly scepter* is departed, the MESSIAS must be come : None appeared but JESUS ; therefore is he the MESSIAS. Thus untruly doth he represent the *Christian's* argument. Some weak *Christians* perhaps might have said something like it : But no wise *Christian* could ever argue after that manner. What we argue is, that if the *scepter* be departed, the MESSIAS must needs be come. But this is not all. He found in the *Latin* version the word *Sceptrum* ; and he, out of his own brain, puts *Regium* to it, in the *Christian's* argument, which he represents him to draw from this text. He doth unfairly all this while : He makes the *Christian* speak what he pleaseth ; and then, inⁿ one of his following numbers, he falls foul upon him. The observing this is a sufficient and full answer to what he there says upon this occasion.

HE next falls foul upon the *Latin* version : And first, because *Shebet* is rendred *Sceptrum*. For though it sometimes (he grants) signifies *dominion* or *empire* ; yet it doth not always signifie *regal* dominion. And we say so too ; and more, that it doth not signifie *kingly* dominion in this place ; nor is it by the *Latin* rendred so. He might therefore have spared himself this

^m J. Aben Amram *Porta veritatis* MS. numb. 585.

ⁿ Num. 591.

labour. He says, that the word hath other significations in *Holy Writ*, and quotes *Menasseh Ben-Israel* to prove it. But the *Jew* might have spared himself this trouble; for we *Christians* do grant it, and are far from denying it: Nor do we see any kind of danger in all this.

HE goes on, and says, It is still a greater fault, that the word מוֹקֵק should be rendred by *Dux*. For, he says, the word signifies one that makes constitutions, or a *scribe*; as the *Chaldee* hath it: That it is rendred by the *Latin*, elsewhere, by *doctor*; and he asks *Why it is not so rendred here?* I am content, for my part, it should be rendred *doctor* or *scribe*; if that will content the *Jew*, I am sure it will do the *Christian* cause no hurt.

BUT the most grievous fault of all in the *Latin* version (he says) is this; that what we render, *And unto him shall the gathering of the people be*, is in the *Latin*, *Et ipse erit expectatio gentium*. For (says he) in the *Hebrew* it is יְקוּרָה, which is as much as *Congregatio*; and therefore it ought to be *to him*, and not *be*. And then he would not have it *Gentium*, but *Populorum*. I am not bound to defend the *Latin*; though I think, that he hath not so much cause to complain of it, as he pretends. But I will not differ with him about it. Our *English*, even in this last clause, which he finds the greatest fault with, is exactly as he would have it. And for my part, I am so well satisfied in the question disputed between us, that as I would not lay hold upon little uncertain criticisms to uphold my cause; so I am ready to grant the *Jew*, what advantage he can possibly make of them.

THESE things the *Jew* premiseth; he after this begins his assault with all his force. And first he tells us, how the words may be turn'd into *Latin* from the *Hebrew*: And in that version, instead of *Sceptrum*, he puts in *Virga*, as that word signifies a *rod* for correction or castigation. He says, the text is diversly interpreted by the *Jews*: And refers us again to *Menasseh Ben-Israel*; who hath indeed laid before his reader a very great variety of interpretations. But he is so wary, as only to insist upon two of them, as most considerable. I will follow him; and examine whether they be considerable or not. If it should at last appear, that these are not considerable, the reader will easily believe, that the other interpretations in *Menasseh Ben-Israel*, which I thought fit to pass by, are very inconsiderable; and consequently, if I can answer these two considerable interpretations in *Menasseh Ben-Israel*, I may be presumed to have answered all that is considerable in him.

I. I BEGIN with his *first* considerable opinion, which he finds in *Menasseh Ben-Israel*: And that is the opinion of *R. Ben Sueb*, whose interpretation of the words is this: *Non deficiet virga [afflictio] Judæis, nec adversarii statuentes contra Judæos, donec veniat MESSIAS, i. e. The rod (viz. of affliction) shall not cease from the Jews, nor enemies decreeing against them, till the MESSIAS comes, &c.* Or, supposing this exposition, *Nec scriba inter pedes ejus* (according to *Abravenel*) i. e. *Nor a scribe from between his feet*, i. e. *Wise men* that shall teach them the law of GOD in their affliction. According to what we read *Psal. xlv. 17. All this is come upon us; yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falsely in thy covenant.* He adds, that this exposition doth not clash with

what we read, (*Gen.* xlix. 28.) where *Jacob* is said to have blessed the twelve tribes. For (says he) it was *Jacob's* intention to shew the end of their afflictions, *viz.* when the *MESSIAS* came; nor did he call his sons together only to bless them, but to predict what should afterwards happen to them. This is the most, that I can make of this considerable opinion. Before I proceed to his second, I will examine this.

1. As to his translating *Shevet* by *virga*, it is by no means to be allowed in this place. I say in this place: For I deny not, but the word sometimes imports no less. But the *Jew* cannot be excused for thus rendring it here: And that upon many accounts. For (1.) in that he departs from the *LXXII*, who were *Jews*, and they render it by *ἄρχων*. To the same sense it is rendred by the *Targumist*, whom he elsewhere calls *divine*. But I find he is not so fond of him, but he will depart from him to serve a turn, and to oppose the *Christians*. (2.) It is certain that this sense of the word bears no manner of proportion to the other senses of *scepter* or *tribe*, &c. which it hath in other places. So that as he departs from the ancients; so he takes it in a sense, that is far from being the more common sense of the word. (3.) Nor is it by any means agreeable to the context. They are *great* things, that are said of *Judah* in the context, and such as speak him *blessed*: There is nothing that imports *affliction* or *misery*; nothing that *lessens* him. (4.) Nor is the exposition agreeable to the event of things. If *afflictions* were predicted, they might better have agreed to the other tribes than him. There could be nothing peculiar to him supposed in such a sad prediction. Nay, of all the tribes, it least belong'd to him. The other tribes were scattered and lost. *Benjamin* was in after-times near extinct: The other tribes were obscure in comparison with *Judah*. *Judah* was preserved, when the other tribes were extinguished; he was kept separate, when the others were jumbled together; he governed, whiles the others were subject; he returned from his captivity, when the rest were lost; and continued a principal, when the others were but accessories. He by the *Jew's* confession gain'd a good part of the blessing of the primogeniture from *Reuben*; and it was not likely, that he should have the curse with it.

2. As for his rendring מוֹקֵק (which we render *law-giver*) by *Adversarii statuentes contra Judæos*, it is insufferable. I challenge all the *Jews* to shew me any such sense of the word in all the *old Testament*. *Judah* himself is called a *law-giver*; but sure the *Jews* will not allow him to have decreed any severe thing against himself. This is a lewd way of proceeding; destitute not of proof only, but of pretext. A strange liberty the *Jew* takes, when he puts a sense upon *Jacob's* words, and upon the *Christian's* opinion too. At this rate he may conclude what he will, if he may have the liberty of forging the premisses. But I must observe, that the *Jew* hath not effrontery enough to lay the stress of his cause upon this interpretation, which can never hold. And therefore adds, that supposing this exposition (it must be *supposed*, for it is impossible to prove it) then instead of *statuentes*, &c. he would have it be, *Nec scriba inter pedes ejus*. The cunning *Jew* could not but know, that the former exposition would not hold: For *between his feet* was left out quite; and besides, it would have spoiled all, had it been put in; for it would not agree. If
by

by *between his feet* were meant his offspring, it would be hard to conceive, that they should be supposed to decree severely against themselves. Take it in what sense we can, it will be hard to make it cohere with the rest of the text. And therefore he forsakes *R. Sueb* there, and endeavours to patch up his exposition with a fragment from *Abravenel*. To this lamentable shift is this wretch driven to make this exposition consistent. Thus unlucky is this *Jew* in his *first* considerable opinion, as he would have it thought to be.

II. His *second*° considerable opinion is that of *Abravenel*. And thus he delivers his exposition of the text: *Non deficiet ex Judâ [ejus semine] aliquale dominium, aut aliqua jurisdictio, donec veniat MESSIAS, cui erit regnum continuum, perpetuum & monarchicum, i. e. There shall not cease from Judah [viz. from his seed] some sort of dominion or jurisdiction, till the MESSIAS come, whose kingdom shall be continual, perpetual and monarchial*. He explains himself afterwards, and says, that even after the coming of *JESUS* there were certain presidents and makers of constitutions out of *Judah*, and that so there are to this day; and consequently, the *MESSIAS* is not yet come. This is his *second* considerable opinion, which I now proceed to examine.

Ans. 1. THAT it lies upon him to prove, that there is in *Judah* to this day some dominion and jurisdiction left, that can amount to that which may answer to *scepter* in the text. He affirms this indeed roundly, with his *ut notum est, as it is known*. But a *Christian* will expect some proof of this: And the several princes under whose protection the *Jews* are permitted to live, will not allow, that they have any dominion or jurisdiction in their countries. The *Jews* had not best pretend to it; if they do, they will soon find themselves deceived. They will find, that they have very much to prove on this occasion. They must first prove, that *de facto* they do exercise any such dominion and jurisdiction; and then that they do it *de jure*; and last of all, that they are descended from *Judah*. And this last may be the hardest task of all, since their *genealogical* books or tables are lost. I do not know, what reason *Christians* have to take all this upon trust. In the mean time it is by the *Jews* confessed, that there was in *Judah* something of this dominion and jurisdiction to the times of *JESUS*. So much is owned on all hands; but as for the rest, the *Jews* are to prove it before we can believe it.

2. WHATEVER the *Jews* may say in their disputes with *Christians*, I am sure at other times, this, which they here affirm, is denied by them. I will appeal to ^P *Menasseh Ben-Israel*, and to *Abravenel*, to whom *Amram* refers us in this question. The first of these, in his preamble to his question on *Gen. xlix. 10.* inquires into the cause why, if *Shilo* be the *MESSIAS*, how *Jacob* could say, *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shilo come*; when *GOD* had threatned the *Israelites*, that for their sins he would send them and their king into an unknown land? *Quam pœnam* (says he) *nunc patimur, sine rege, sine principe, sine regimine agentes, i. e. Which punishment we now suffer, living without king, without prince, and with-*

° Num. 591, 592.

^P M. B. Israel *Quest. 65. in Genes.*

out government. *Abravenel*^a is as exprefs in this matter ; for where he reckons up the feveral kinds of mifery of their captivity ; the third he fays is this, that they were *without kingdom, and without dominion*, and without שבט משפט, i. e. *the fcepter of judgment*. I need not cite any other testimonies to this purpofe : But the reader, that is curious, may find more in *Const. L'Empereur's differtat. ad lectorem in Benjamini itinerarium*.

THE Jew^r proceeds and falls upon *Lyra*, for affirming, that the fcepter did not depart from *Judah* till *Herod's* time. But I am no ways concerned in that matter, nor obliged to defend *Lyra*, if he has not managed his argument as he ought : And the fame I fay as to what he objects againft *Adrichomius* and *Thomas Biatensis* in his^t following numbers.

IN his following numbers he mifreprefents the *Chriftian's* doctrine, and repeats what hath been fufficiently confidered before ; and therefore I do not think it worth my while to follow him. He translates *Shevet* by *Regnum* ; in which he deals very infincerely, He makes *Jacob* fay what he never did, when^t he affirms that he faid, *The kingdom fhall not depart from Judah*.

THE Jew^u pretends afterward, that *Chriftians* do not underftand thefe words of *Jacob*. He fays, that thofe words, *until Shilo come*, cannot be underftood, as if the MESSIAS came with a defign that the kingdom fhould ceafe from *Judah* upon his coming, becaufe the MESSIAS was to be himfelf a king, of the family of *Judah*. Befides, the MESSIAS was promifed to the *Jews* in *favour* ; and not to *ruin* their kingdom. This is the fubftance of what he fays ; to which I anfwer : (1) That we do not affirm, that the end of the coming of the MESSIAS was to deftroy the *Jewish* policy and power. It is enough to us, that he came before it was deftroyed ; and that he was to do fo according to this prediction of *Jacob*. (2) That he was promifed in *favour*, none more firmly believe than we *Chriftians* do. (3) That if by the MESSIAS his being a king, he means a temporal king or prince (as the *Jews* believe in this matter) we deny it ; and fo did JESUS, who own'd that his kingdom was not of this world. And 'tis a temporal power (which the *Jews* contend for, and which they fuppofe fometime lodged in *Judah* ; and which the *Jew* elfewhere allows) that fhould ceafe upon the coming of the MESSIAS.

The Jew^x goes on. If (fays he) the MESSIAS is to be a king, why doth *Jacob* fay, *The fcepter fhall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until the MESSIAS come* ? He ought to have faid, *It fhall never depart*. The Jew fays fo it is. He tells that וְיָ hath a double fignification in *Holy Writ*. Sometimes it fignifies *for ever* ; fometimes, *until* : And on that fuppofition, he takes the liberty to tranflate the words of *Jacob* thus ; *Non auferetur fceptrum de Judâ & fcriba inter filios ejus (in æternum) quia veniet MESSIAS, cujus erit regnum omnium populorum*. This expofition (he fays) is confirmed, becaufe the accent *Jethib* follows the adverb וְיָ, which feparates it from what follows, and joins it to what goes before ; and then follows וְיָ which fignifies *quia*. He adds that וְיָ alone fignifies *until*, and then וְיָ is fuperfluous, when added to it, and is fuppofed to fignifie no more. He adds, that the *Chaldee* para-

^a Abravenel in *Ifa*. Liii. fol. 80. col. 2. Edit, *Amstel.*
595.

^t Num. 602.

^u Num. 605.

^r Num. 593.

^x Num. 606, 607, & 608.

ⁱ Num. 594, &

phraft, which is to him of divine authority, takes the adverb *וְ* in this double sense, and expounds *Gen. xlix. 10*, thus; *Non auferetur dominium de Judâ, & scriba inter filios ejus unquam: donec veniat MESSIAS, cujus erit regnum; & ei aggregabuntur populi.* In which (says he) he only varies the *species* and continuance of dominion in the seed of *Judah*, before and under the MESSIAS; but he doth not vary the *genus dominantis in æternum*; it must always be in *Judah*. Before the MESSIAS it was various and interrupted: But under the MESSIAS it will be perpetual, &c. *Cujus erit regnum*, &c. cannot belong to JESUS; as appears from *John xviii. 36*. The *Jew* goes ^y on and tells us, that the repetition of *וְ* twice by the *Chaldee* paraphrast, the latter of which signifies *Donec*, is for great reason: It implies (1) that the dominion should not pass from *Judah* to another tribe. And (2) that it shall continue there for ever. He ^z adds, that this overthrows the *Christian's* exposition; and subjoins, that in JESUS the kingdom of *David* is not restored, according to the prediction of *Amos*; and that *Jacob* predicts the coming of the MESSIAS in the *last days*; Which cannot agree to JESUS. What ^a he adds under his next number, is of little moment, it being only a repetition of what he had said before. In this last number, after all this pother he leaves his reader at liberty (if he think fit to take it) to follow both the opinion of *R. Sueb*, and *Abravenel* joined together; tho' they be very different, as distant as *rod* and *scepter*, or *ruling* and *being scourged*: And admires *Jacob* for using such an equivocal word as *Shevet* is. To these things I answer,

1. As for what the *Jew* says of the adverb *וְ*, that it hath two several significations in *Holy Writ*, I admit it; let him make the most of it. It doth not follow, that because it sometimes signifies *for ever*, sometimes *until*, it must in this place be taken in the first sense. Such words are always interpretable *pro subjectâ materiâ*, i. e. according to the subject matter. He had done something, if he had given any example where *וְ* signifies *for ever*, when 'tis followed with the particle *וְ* as it is here. I can give him several examples where it signifies *until*; as, *Gen. xxvi. 13. 2 Sam. xxiii. 10.*

2. As for his dividing or separating *וְ* from *וְ* it is unreasonable: And the reason, which he offers for it, is trifling. He says, there is a *Jethib* upon *וְ*; and that separates it from what follows, and annexeth it to what goes before; and then it must necessarily signify *for ever*. Thus he may amuse his ignorant reader; but will never convince him that understands these matters. That there is a *Jethib*, I deny not; but that that accent hath any such power I utterly deny. This fond opinion is easily confuted from (*Gen. l. 15. 1 Kings xiv, 23.*) From these places (I doubt not but from many more) it will appear, that that accent hath no such force. It is farther evident, that it hath no such power in this place, *וְ* is it self here separated from the preceeding word by an *Athnach*, which is equivalent to a *Colon*. So that now there is no pretext left for this division, which this *Jew* contends for. This ^b was well observed by a converted *Jew*, in a book, which he wrote against the *Jews*

^y Num. 609.
in Anno Dom. 1500.

^z Num. 610.

^a Num. 611.

^b De Confutatione Hebraic. Secta. Argent.

about two hundred years ago. He concludes his observation with these words ; *Idcirco eorum falsa inventio, seu malitia, deridenda atque rejicienda est : Præcipue cum à nullo vestrorum expositorum id dictum reperiatur.* He calls this a false invention, and a piece of malice to be derided ; and not warranted by any of their expositors. The truth of it is, nothing can be more transparent than the artifice of this *Jew* in this matter. It is very hard to think, that a man of his great wit and learning should ever think, that there was any strength in what was in this matter affirmed : It might serve indeed to amuse a weak *Christian*, but could never convince a wise one. But he is more inexcusable still, for affirming that this exposition is necessary ; and that because *ו* he fancies would be superfluous if *ו* must be joined to what follows ; whereas he could not but know, that elsewhere these two particles are joined, and signifie no more than *Until*.

3. WHAT he offers from *Onkelos* is next to be considered. He says, that the *Chaldee* paraphrast is *Supreme authoritatis*, i. e. *Of supreme authority*. He may think him so, when he serves his turn ; but at other times he departs from him, as we have seen before. I doubt not, but to make it appear, that whatever his authority be, he hath said nothing, that will either help the *Jew*, or hurt the *Christian*. I will however follow the *Jew* closely, and consider with all possible care and application, whatever *Onkelos* offers.

I HAVE always had a great opinion of *Onkelos*. But I still believe, in questions of this nature, the *Hebrew* text only to be of *supreme authority*. But I shall proceed to consider, what is offered from *Onkelos*. The *Jew*^c says, that *Onkelos* takes the adverb *ו* in both the senses mentioned above. This he thinks appears from his paraphrase on the place, which he turns into *Latin* thus. *Non auferetur dominium de Judâ, & scriba inter filios ejus unquam ; donec veniat MESSIAS, cujus erit regnum ; & ei aggregabuntur populi.* I will not quarrel with the *Jew* for his version ; though I do not think it an unexceptionable exposition of the *Chaldee*. But I will admit it for once : What doth the *Jew* infer from hence ? viz. That there always must be a government in *Judah* before the MESSIAS and under him. But all that *Onkelos* says is, that there shall be always some government in *Judah*, till the MESSIAS come, whose is the kingdom. The *Jew* pretends, that JESUS renounced the kingdom, and therefore he cannot be the MESSIAS : But that has been answered above. JESUS only says, his kingdom was not of this world : He was not such a king as the *Jews* expected. Let us then grant, that *Onkelos* teaches us, that the dominion should not pass from tribe to tribe, and that in the MESSIAS it should be perpetual : I do not see how this can bear upon *Christians*. We own our JESUS to be a king, and that his kingdom will have no end : Are we therefore obliged to think him a temporal king ?

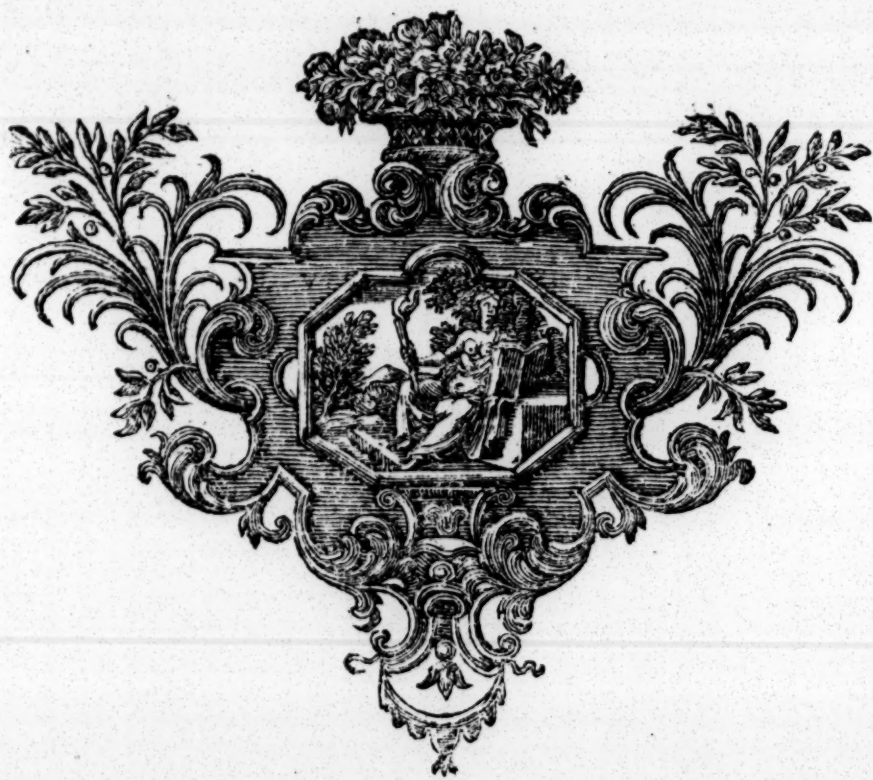
HE pretends, that ^d this account given before hath ruin'd the *Christian's* exposition. But I confess I cannot see it. He pretends likewise, that this text cannot belong to JESUS ; because he hath not raised up the kingdom (it is *tabernacle* in ^e *Amos*) of *David*, according to the predic-

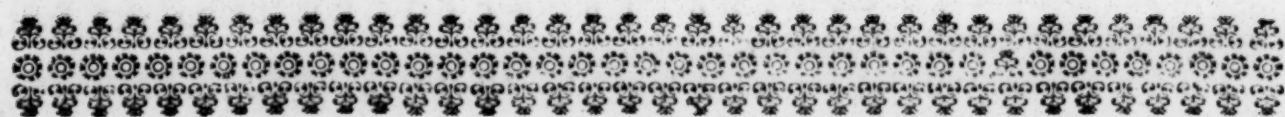
^c Num. 608.^d Num. 610.^e Amos ix. 11.

tion of *Amos* : And again, because the *MESSIAS* was to come in the *last days* ; which *JESUS* did not, those last days not being yet past, though near at hand. I answer,

THAT others will judge, what hurt the *Christians* have received from this *Jew* : For my own part, I see nothing of it. As for what he says of the prediction of *Amos*, I do not know, what he would have. Had he formed thence any argument against *JESUS*, I should have thought myself obliged to answer it : And shall not fail to do it, if any such thing be laid in my way. I shall be so far from declining it, that I shall be glad of the occasion. What he says of *JESUS*, that he did not come in the *last days*, shall be considered fully in its proper place.

HE is very courteous, after all this stir, which he has made, to leave his reader the liberty (if he thinks fit) to believe with *Sueb*, and *Abravenel* likewise. Their opinions are so distant from one another, that it will be very hard for the same man to believe them both. But he that believes, what the *Jew* hath said on this occasion, may do much.





C H A P. VIII.

That the MESSIAS is come is proved from Haggai ii. 6, 7, &c. The occasion of those words. Of the desire of all nations. Of the greater glory of the second temple. What accounts the Jews give of that matter. The vanity of what they offer upon that occasion. A pretence that this latter house is not to be meant of the second temple. Abravenel is justly exposed for advancing an observation to that purpose. Several arguments to prove that the latter house is to be understood of the second temple. Some pretences of J. Aben Amram considered. His first pretence, with an answer thereunto. An answer to his second pretence. An answer to his third, fourth, fifth, and sixth. The interpretation of J. Aben Amram upon the words of the prophet. The vanity of his interpretation shewed in several particulars.

THAT the MESSIAS is come, may be farther proved against the Jews from the words of the prophet *Haggai*; in which his coming is foretold during the standing of the *second temple*: That temple hath been destroyed for above these 1600 years; and consequently the MESSIAS did come above 1600 years ago. The words of the prophet are these: *For thus saith the LORD of hosts, Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth, and the sea and the dry land: And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come; and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts: And in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts*; Haggai ii. 6, 7, 8, 9. For the better comprehending the design of these words, it is to be considered, that the temple, which *Solomon* built, was destroyed by the *Chaldees*; and that the people were now newly returned from the *Babylonian* captivity, and were upon building another temple to the LORD. To the doing of this they are quickened and encouraged by this prophet; *ch. i. 8*. And his endeavours to this purpose are successful, *v. 14*. But then so it was (and 'twas a discouraging consideration) that the *second* temple, that was building, was short of that which *Solomon* built. Under this discouragement

agement they are required *not to fear*, v. 5. *For thus saith the LORD of hosts, &c.*

I SHALL not in this place enter upon the consideration of all the words, which I have cited out of the prophet, both because I have ^a elsewhere had an occasion to make use of them, and because I have had a farther occasion to reflect upon them in my preceeding discourse, where I have treated of the *perpetuity of the law of Moses*. At the present it shall suffice, that I insist upon that part of them only, in which my present argument is concerned: And that is, the promise that is here made; that the MESSIAS shall come in the time of the *second temple*; and that his presence in it shall render the glory of this house greater than the glory of the *former temple*, which *Solomon* built. 'Tis expressly said, *That the desire of all nations shall come*; and that God will fill this house with glory; and that the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former.

THAT by the *desire of all nations* is meant the MESSIAS, no Christian questions, and no Jew can reasonably deny. For though he was to be born of the nation of the *Jews*, yet not for *their* benefit only. He was ^b at first promised as a blessing to *humane* race, before there was any nation of the *Jews*: And again, after this, to ^c *Abraham*, as one in whom *all the nations of the earth* should be blessed; and spoken of by ^d *Jacob*, as the *Shiloh*, to whom should be the gathering of the people. Many prophecies there are in the *old Testament*, that speak of the blessings, which the *nations* should receive from the MESSIAS; and from whence it may fairly be concluded, that he was designed to be a light to lighten the gentiles, as well as the glory of his people *Israel*. Agreeably whereunto the angel proclaimed to the shepherds, upon the birth of *Jesus*, saying, *I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people*. Luke ii. 10. 'Tis enough that by the *desire of all nations* in this place be meant that person that was most desirable, and would be the greatest blessing to them. It is not supposed, that the nations had an expectation of him, but that he was worthy of all acceptance when he did appear.

God promiseth also to fill this house with glory; and that the glory of this house should be greater than that of the former, i. e. of *Solomon's*. Now this could not be in splendor and riches, or in respect of the symbols and tokens of God's special favour to that *second temple*. For, as it hath been observed elsewhere, it came much short, in this respect, of the temple of *Solomon*. And therefore it is to be considered, in what respect the glory of this house should exceed the glory of that.

AND that can only be upon the account of the presence of the MESSIAS, who was to come not only in the time of this *second temple*, but was to come into it, and honour it with his presence. And for the proof of this, I may well call in the testimony of the prophet *Malachy*, who speaks expressly to this matter. *The LORD whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in*. Chap. iii. 1. By the LORD, in this place, several ^e of the *Jews* themselves understand the King MESSIAS; and indeed the place must be

^a Part I. pag. 83.
xlix. 10.

^b Gen. iii. 15.

^c Gen. xii. 3. Ch. xviii. 18. & xxii. 18.

^d Ch.

^e v. Dr. Pocock on Malac. iii. 1.

understood of him ; as will appear to him, who considers the context. And thence it was, that the wiser *Jews* expected him about the time, that our *JESUS* was born ; as I have ^f elsewhere shewed. And in this temple was our *JESUS* presented by his mother ; there at twelve years old he sat among the doctors. We find him often there : *Wist ye not* (says he) to his mother, who sought him sorrowing, *that I must be* ^g *τῷ πατρί* i. e. *in my father's house* ? as 'tis in the *Syriac*, and as the words are ^g thought to import. As the *MESSIAS* was to come before the dissolution of the *civil polity* of the *Jews*, according to the prediction of *Jacob*, Gen. xlix. 10. so he was also to come before the dissolution of the *ecclesiastical polity* of the *Jews*, or before the destruction of the *second* temple. And our *JESUS* did come according to these predictions.

I SHALL now consider, what the *Jews* say to this, and how they interpret the words : And here I shall with all sincerity represent their pretences, and shew the vanity of them.

I ONLY premise, that they ought to alledge somewhat very material in this matter, *viz.* to prove that the glory of this house was greater than that of *Solomon's*. (1) Because 'tis very certain, that it was in many particulars very short of it. They who had seen *Solomon's* ^h wept, when they saw the foundation of this ; so far did it come short of it. And we may learn from this prophet, that this temple in comparison of *Solomon's* was ⁱ *as nothing*. Besides the *Jews* tell of several things of great moment wanting in this temple ; *viz.* The *ark*, the *urim* and *thummim*, fire from *heaven*, the *Shechinah*, and HOLY GHOST : The *spirit* of *prophecy* ceased under it : It was defiled by *Antiochus*, and *Romans* ; and the succession of the high priests disturbed. It must be something very considerable, that can make up these great defects. (2) The people of the *Jews* are in this prophet supposed to be under great fear and discouragement, and the prophet is sent to put them in heart : *Be strong and fear not*, says ^k the prophet. 'Tis but reasonable, that what he offers from *GOD* to encourage them, and discharge them of their fears, must have weight and force enough to that purpose : And therefore the *greater glory*, which is promised, *v.* 9. must be so explained, that it may be a *comfort* and *encouragement* to them to whom these words are spoken,

LET us see now, what the *Jews* have to offer to us upon this occasion. Three things they have to say :

I. THAT the glory of the *second* house was greater than that of the *first*, because it continued *longer*. *Solomon's* temple (say they) continued but 410 years before it was destroyed by the *Babylonians* ; but this *second* temple stood 420 years before it was destroyed by the *Romans* ; and in that respect, and upon that account, the glory of this *latter* house was greater than the glory of the *former*.

BUT could this be any comfort or encouragement to these *builders*, who cannot be presumed to know before, how long this house would continue ? Is the continuance of *ten* years such a mighty thing ? Will this make a compensation for the defects before mentioned ? Doth *GOD* say, he will *shake the heaven and the earth* for *this* ? Is *this* all that *GOD* designed or

^f Part I. pag. 27.

^k Hag. ii. 5.

^g Fuller Miscell. lib. 4. ch. 17.

^h Ezra. iii. 3, 22.

ⁱ Hagg. ii. 3.

promised,

promised, when he said, that he would *fill this house with glory*? Will *this* make it more glorious than the house, which *Solomon* built? If the bare continuance of a few years longer be such an addition of glory; the *tabernacle* of *Moses* was more glorious than the *temple* of *Solomon*: And if the *Romans* had chanced to have destroyed the *second* temple ten years sooner, all this promised glory had been lost; and so it would have been if *Solomon's* temple had stood ten years longer. What encouragement could this be? Of what force to animate the people, and to dispel their fears? Could the *people of the land* tell how long precisely *Solomon's* temple stood, and how long this should stand? If they did not understand this, how could it be of any force to encourage them? Is there any thing in the text, that speaks of the duration of this house? There is something to this purpose, or there is not: If there be, let the *Jew* shew us where to find it: If not, they must excuse us, if we do not give credit to it. *

II. THE *Jews* pretend, the glory of *this* house to have been greater than that of *Solomon*, upon account of the *cost*, which *Herod* bestowed upon it, and of the *gifts*, with which it was enriched by the kings of the earth.

BUT it is to be considered, what *proof* they can produce that this *second* temple was more *enriched* than that of *Solomon*: We require them to *prove* this; and to produce greater evidence than that of the testimony of *Ben Gorion*.

BUT suppose this *was* proved; yet it would be to no purpose. What encouragement could this be to the people of the land to build this house? Will the gold and precious gifts of the *gentile* kings fill it with a glory beyond the glory of *Solomon's* temple? Will the loss of the *ark*, the *fire* from *heaven*, the *holy oyl*, and *spirit* of *prophecy*, &c. which were wanting in *this* temple, and were in the time of *Solomon's*; will these defects be made up and compensated with *Herod's* expence, and the gifts of some heathen princes? Is silver and gold fit to be put in the balance against those symbols of the divine favour? Doth GOD regard gold and silver?

*Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros immittere mores,
Et bona diis ex hac sceleratâ ducere pulpâ?*

Is it likely, that GOD should in such solemn words promise no more to this people, to encourage them to build, than such things as these? Because *we* are fond of gold, do we think that GOD is so likewise?

THESE things are so vain, that several of the *Jews* themselves have been forced to quit these pretences; and have therefore stretched their

* To this may be added, that the prophet *Haggai*, chap. ii. 6, 7. gives a reason, why the glory of this latter house, shall be greater than of the former, viz. Because in some time after, whilst this house is standing, GOD will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land. And he will shake all nations; and the desire of all nations shall come, and he will fill this house with glory. How can we imagine, that GOD shall shake the heavens, the earth, the sea, and the dry land, and indeed all nations, and that the design of this wonderful commotion is for no other end, but to cause this latter house to continue ten years longer than the former? He saith, that the desire of all nations shall come to this house. And can we suppose, that it was the desire of all nations, that this house should continue ten years longer than the former? If the *Jew* can prove this, he may prove whatever he pleaseth. If not, all that he offers, can only be a perverting of the text. The *Jews* might desire, that this house might continue for ever; but it is certain, that other nations cared not, how soon it was destroyed.

wits to find out something else to say ; and have frankly owned, that these things want weight, and are insufficient in this present argument.

III. THEY do therefore pretend, that by *this latter house*, v. 9. is not meant the *second* temple, that was then building, when these words were spoken, but a *third* house, that is still to be built when the long captivity, which the *Jews* are now in, shall come to an end. *Abravenel*¹ and others have betaken themselves to this shift, not being able to defend those which I have named before. This *third* temple ('tis pretended) is that which *Ezekiel* describes, and is to be built in the days of the MESSIAS : And then those things which were wanting under the *second* temple (*viz.* the *ark*, the *holy oyl*, &c.) shall be restored.

Abravenel^m pretends, that the words of the text require, that *this latter house* must be understood, not of a *second*, but of a *third* house at least. And to this purpose he affirms, that the *Hebrew* word [האחרון] which we translate *latter*, with the word [הראשון] which we render *former*, can by no means be understood of *two only* ; but must of necessity import *three* at least. And to that purpose he appeals to the first chapter of *Genesis* ; where the first and the second day are not expressed by ראשון and שני, but by אחד and שני ;

INDEED if what he says was true, it would be of great moment in the present question : But it is so far from being true, that it is manifestly false, as I shall make appear. When GODⁿ sent *Moses* to *Egypt*, *Moses* objected, that the people would not believe, that GOD had sent him : But GOD gives him a command to shew two signs of his mission, by turning his rod into a serpent ; and by putting his hand into his bosom, and turning it into another colour, or as leprous as snow. It follows, *If they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign* [האחרא] [That they will believe the voice of the latter sign] [האחרא] i. e. of the *second* sign, as 'tis in the ° *Greek*. This doth abundantly confute, what *Abravenel* would advance to serve his turn. For here we find ראשון and אחרון to denote *two* only : This is evident from what goes before ; and also from what follows, v. 9.—*If they will not believe these two signs*, &c. Again, the divorce^p of a wife was allowed by *Moses* : The divorced woman might marry to another husband, but might not return to her former. The *First* husband is called ראשון, the *second* אחרון : And therefore these words (which are the same with those in the prophet) do not necessarily imply more than *two*. And for his allegation out of the first of *Genesis*, 'tis of no moment in this case : And he that will look into 2 *Kings* vi. 28, 29. will find, that no certain rule can be made from them.

I SHALL therefore proceed to make it appear, that the words, v. 9. do belong to the *second* temple. If this be made good, I have intirely, and beyond all contradiction, gained my point : As for the *other* pretences, the *Jews* themselves have been forced to quit them ; and have run to this as their last hold and refuge.

AND to make it appear, that the words v. 9. where the glory of *this latter house* is promised, and that it shall be greater than that of *Solomon's*,

¹ *Abravenel in Hagg.* ii. R. Isaac Chizuk *Emanah*. pag. 289.
ⁿ Exod. iv. 8, 9.

° Τῶ Ἀντίφω Lxxii.

^p Deut. xxiv. 3.

^m *Abravenel in Hagg. Quest.* 4.

do belong to the *second* temple, and not to a *third* still to be built ; I offer the following particulars to be considered, for proof hereof.

I. THE main *design* of this prophecy : And that may soon be learned from the prophecy it self. It was to encourage the *Jews* to build their temple upon their return from the captivity of *Babylon*. Of this there can be no question. We see the prophet reproves their backwardness, *Ch. i. 2, 4.* puts them upon building : *v. 8.* lets them know, that the calamities which befell them, were sent for their negligence in not building this *second* temple, *ver. 9, 10, 11.* 'Tis evident, that this part of this prophecy can have no reference to any *third* temple, but of necessity must refer to the *second* temple only.

II. THE *discouragement*, which the people were under at this time. They were but poor, and had many enemies, that had hindred them : And after all, they were not like to build such a one, which could answer to the temple of *Solomon*, which the *Chaldeans* had destroyed. It was not, for glory, to be compared to it. *Ch. ii. 3.* This must be understood of this *second* temple, and cannot possibly belong to a *third*.

III. THE method taken by the prophet (*GOD's messenger. ch. i. 13.*) to *encourage* them in the building this *second* temple : And 'tis reasonable to suppose, that the messenger whom *GOD* sends, should offer some *encouragement*, which would be suitable, and bear some proportion to the *discouragement* and *difficulty*, which they were then under. The *discouragements*, which they were under, were partly from their *enemies*, and partly from the *meannefs* of this house in comparison with the *glory* of *Solomon's*. (*Ch. ii. 3.*) With respect to the *first*, the prophet assures them, that *GOD will be with them*, *ch. i. 14. ii. 4.* And then they need not *fear* their enemies. (*v. 4, 5.*) But then as to the *meannefs* and *despicableness* of this *second* house, which they were building, in comparison with the *glory* of *Solomon's*, *GOD* assures them, by his prophet, that he will make that up : *That he will fill this house with glory. (v. 7.)* Nor is this all : For whereas some of them remembred the *glory* of *Solomon's* temple, he farther assures them, that *the glory of this latter house* (or, *second* temple) *shall be greater than that of the former.* It was very proper to encourage their diligence, by assuring them that the defects of this *second* house should be some other way made up : But according to *Abravenel's* exposition, the words of *v. 9.* could not have encouraged the *Jews* to build the *second* temple. Supposing the *latter house* signified a *third*, which should be built some thousands of years afterward, and many hundreds after this *second* house should be destroyed, which now they are exhorted to build ; what *encouragement* could this be to build this *second* house ? Why should they build that which was so mean, and that which would be destroyed to make room for a better, that should be built they know not when, or by whom ? We have little *encouragement* to build what is designed to be taken down again.

IV. THERE is no mention of a *third* house in any other part of the prophet ; and the words *v. 9.* will by no means justify this interpretation of *Abravenel*. For, as I have shewed, there is no connexion between

tween the sense of the words, which this *Jew* contends for, and the words that go before, and the main design of the prophecy ; no manner of mention before of a *third* house ; no reason from the words, as they lie in the *Hebrew*, to put this interpretation upon them, as I have demonstrated already : Besides all this, the words themselves, as they lie in the *text*, are very emphatical ; and considered with the *context*, deliver to us a certain sense that excludes this interpretation of the *Jew*, and must be understood of the *second* temple. The words are הבית הזה האחרון. *This latter house*, as we render it. The words manifestly point at some house, that was spoken of before : And if we had translated them by *this second house* (as ^a *Diodati* hath done) we had given the true sense of the words ; and the text it self would have born us out. For if what we render by *former*, signifie the *first*, what we render *latter* may well be rendred by *second* ; especially since the *Hebrew* words signifie thus in other places, as I have observed before. To which we may add, that the *Hebrew* words are accompanied with a demonstrative particle, three times repeated ; that we might thereby be out of doubt what house is meant ; and might not fancy the words to speak of an house not mentioned before.

To what hath been said before, I add, that the temple built by the *Jews*, after their return from the captivity of *Babylon*, was the *same* temple (or *second* house, as the *Jews* always call it) which was destroyed by the *Romans* in the days of *Vespasian*. The *Jews* consent with the *Christians* in this matter, as is well known to those, who are conversant in their writings ; who constantly call it בית שני, the *second house*. It is true, it was profaned by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and otherwise damaged ; and the continual sacrifice was taken away for some years : After this it was repaired and cleansed, and dedicated anew in the time of the *Macca-bees* ; and the *feast of the dedication* (mentioned in *St. John's* gospel) was annually kept in remembrance thereof, on the twentieth fifth day of the month *Casleu* (called also the *feast of lights*) which answers to our month *November* : Yet after this change, it is owned still to be the *same* house. After this it received great alteration in the days of *Herod* the great. I will not call in question the truth, of what *Josephus* relates upon this occasion. Admitting all that he says to be true, that ^r *Herod* laid a new foundation, and that he enlarged its courts, and raised the fabrick higher ; yet was it still allowed to be the *same* temple ; and is constantly called the *second house* by the *Jewish* writers. They own but a *first* and a *second*. We reckon thus in *other* matters. We reckon *that* the *same* *river*, which yet in process of time is much enlarged, and swells over a larger compass of ground than it did before. The *same* may be said of *houses* and *cities*, which retain the *same* name after very many additions and enlargements. And an *infant* is the *same* person, and is justly called by the *same* name in his infancy, which belongs to him, when he is arrived to his full age.

AFTER I had written the foregoing lines, I met with a ^f *MS.* written by a *Jew*, intituled *porta veritatis* ; of which I have made mention before. That *Jew* labours hard to wrest this prophecy of *Haggai* out of the hands of the *Christians*, and to prove that it makes nothing to their purpose. I did expect from him great matters, and shall consider, what

^a *Quæsta Secunda Casa.* ^r *V. Selden de Synedr. lib. 3. cap. 13.* ^f *J. Aben Amram. num. 677. &c.*
he

he hath offered upon this occasion, which hath not been considered before. And the reader may take his pretences in the following particulars.

First, HE pretends, that JESUS could not be called in truth the *desire of all nations*; because the *Jews* (to whom the MESSIAS was promised) rejected him when he appeared, and continue to do so still: Nor did the *Romans*, who were the greatest nation when he appeared, desire him; and therefore *all nations* desired him not.

BUT if what hath been said before be duly considered, there will be no weight in this pretence. The *Jews* indeed generally rejected him; but yet some of them received him also: And the *Roman* empire did afterwards embrace his religion; and soon found, that it was the greatest blessing, and that the author of it was of all the most desirable one.

Secondly, HE pretends that those words, *Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens*, &c. v. 6. cannot belong to this matter. And that because it was about 400 years after this, that JESUS appeared; which is too long a space to be called *a little while*: And also because we have no account of this *shaking* predicted by the prophet.

I ANSWER, that both *Abravenel*, and this other *Jew* endeavour to apply this prophecy to a *third* temple still to be built. And if *a little while* cannot suit with the *Christian's* interpretation, I would fain know, how it can consist with that of the *Jews*?

As for the *shaking* predicted by the prophet, I have accounted for it elsewhere; and shall not repeat, what I have there said, upon this occasion.

Thirdly, HE pretends, that those words v. 9. *And in this place will I give peace*, forbid us to understand this prediction of the *second* temple; because during the standing of this temple, and that which *Herod* built, there were wars between the *Jews* and *Greeks*, among the *Maccabites* with *Herod*, and against the *Romans*.

BUT this is of no weight in this place; because it is manifest, that the greater glory of this house above that of *Solomon's* consisted in this, that the MESSIAS (called *Shiloh*, Gen. xlix. 10.) the prince of peace, appeared here: Who was not only the preacher of peace; but the great procurer of it between GOD and man; as well as among men with one another.

Fourthly, HE pretends, that by the *desire of all nations* is meant, either persons of quality and condition, that came to this temple out of honour to it; or that it is to be understood of the gold and other precious things with which in aftertimes it was adorned: And he lays a stress upon this, that the word *Come*, in the *Hebrew*, being plural, agreeably to it he supposeth, that *desire* may comprehend *desireable persons* or *things*.

ALL which is so trifling and unproved, that it requires no answer at all. The *Enallage* of number is very frequent among the *Hebrews*.

Fifthly, HE pretends, that JESUS did not come during the standing of the *second* temple; but in the time of the temple of *Herod*, which he calls the *third*; and then his presence could not be the glory of the *second* house, spoken of by the prophet.

BUT in this he goes against the sense of all the *Jews*; and this matter hath been also considered above.

Sixthly, THIS *Jew*^c pretends, that on supposition that the prophet doth not speak of the MESSIAS in this place, that then he treats of the *second* temple: Which in that case he pretends to be greater, than that

^c Num. 685.

which was built by *Solomon*, upon these three accounts. (1) In respect of its duration. Whereas the temple of *Solomon* stood but 410, this continued 420 years; or more, if *Josephus* may be credited. Again, (2) They did not come to *Solomon's* temple from the ends of the earth, as they did to the *second* temple: The *Romans* offered continual sacrifice in the *second*; as, he says, *Josephus* affirms in several places. (3.) Because the structure of the *third* temple, in the room of the *second* by *Herod*, was more magnificent than that of the *first*: And according to this exposition the prophet (he says) encouraged *Zorobabel* and the other *Jews*, to proceed in their building this *second* temple. I answer,

1. THAT whether the prophet speak of the MESSIAS or not, (as it is certain he doth) 'tis manifest that he speaks of the *second* temple; as hath been shewed before: And therefore the *Jews* ought to shew, how the glory of that *second* house could be said to be greater than the glory of the *former*.

2. What the *Jew* says of the duration of the *second* temple 10 years longer than that of the *first*, doth not prove it. (1.) Because that wants proof it self. He hath not attempted to prove, that it stood longer; and we are not obliged to take it upon his word. (2.) That if he could prove this; yet would this be no argument of its greater glory, as hath been shewed above. (3.) What the *Jew* affirms under his *third* head, quite overthrows what he affirms under the *first*. For he reckons the magnificence of *Herod's* temple, as an argument of the greater glory mentioned by the prophet: And yet he calls *Herod's* temple the *third*, built in the room of the *second*. If it was really the *third*, how can that prove the greater glory of the *second*? Again, if it was the *third*, then his first reason from *duration* is utterly destroyed: For according to this account, the *second* temple stood less time than the *first* by very many years. So that the *Jew* overthrows his own work, and hath entangled himself before he is aware.

3. As for the *Romans* offering sacrifice, it is nothing to the purpose. How could the offerings of heathens add glory to the house of GOD? Besides, that was a contingent thing, and if they had *not* done it, according to the *Jew's* opinion, the glory of the *second* house had failed; which is very unreasonable to suppose. After all, what *encouragement* could these things afford to *Zorobabel* and the *Jews* to build the *second* house, who could not know of these events? And if they could have foreseen them, they could not have been encouraged by them.

THESE things are so transparently shifts, that this *Jew* thought fit not to rely upon them; but betakes himself to another exposition of these words. I shall follow him, and see what he hath to offer worthy of notice.

To do him right, he doth allow ^u that the אֶחָד, in the text, doth signify sometimes no more than *second*; and he produceth instances to prove it from *Exod.* iv. 9. and *Gen.* xxxiii. In this he shews greater sincerity, than *Abravenel* had done. I proceed to his *new* exposition; which he thinks, as he says, may be better than his former.

HE would ^x have us understand the prophet predicting the building of the *last* temple, which the *Jews* expect hereafter in the days of their long expected MESSIAS; and this he adheres to, as probably the truest meaning of the prophet *Haggai*. And then he makes the prophet's mean-

^u Num. 687.

^x Num. 688.

ing to be this : (*Haggai* ii. 6.) *Yet once it is a little while, &c. q. d. Adhuc unum modicum illa*, which he says is according to the *Hebrew* text ; and the meaning is, that, for the *illa*, i. e. *illa domus secunda*, i. e. that *second* house, which the *Jews* were then building, it should continue but a little while ; and not for ever, as they hoped the *last* house, which should be afterward built in the days of the MESSIAS, would do : *I will shake the heavens, &c. i. e. I will shake the universe, &c.* In the last days, when the MESSIAS shall come, and reduce, and redeem the scattered *Israelites*, and build the *last* temple : *And the desire of all nations shall come*, i. e. When this *last* temple is built, and the nations subdued to their MESSIAS, then shall the best of the *gentiles* come to worship the LORD of hosts at *Jerusalem* : *And I will fill this house with glory*, i. e. Then will I fill this *last* house with glory. *Istam domum*, i. e. not the house which *Zorobabel* built, which was to endure but a little while ; but this *last* house. But then the *Jew*, being sensible that this would seem a little harsh, that that should be called an house, and *this house* which was not then built, he adds, that *Istam*, This refers to the *place* or *Area*, where the *second* house stood, but not to the *structure* which was built upon it. He lays great stress upon the word *Novissima*, v. 9. used by *St. Hierom* ; which he is willing to understand of this *last* house still to be built ; though he was before displeased with him for using that word, when it did not seem to serve his purpose. This is the main of what the *Jew* hath to say, and his last effort.

I SHALL make some reflections upon what this *Jew* hath offered upon this occasion.

First, WHAT he says here destroys his *second* pretence or exception, which I mentioned above.

Secondly, THIS account is very far from being consistent with that *encouragement* which the prophet gives to *Zorobabel* and the builders to go on with their building. They would have little heart to build, when they are told (as they are by this *Jew* supposed to be) that their building shall stand but a little while.

Thirdly, HIS interpretation of those words, *The desire of all nations shall come*, is dogmatically delivered ; but without any offer of *proof*, that that is the meaning of the words.

Fourthly, HIS interpreting *this house* of an house, that was to be built hereafter, is the most extravagant conceit imaginable. 'Tis inconsistent with the *context*, with the letter and plain meaning of the *text*, with the purpose of the prophet ; and in truth with common sense. This house was not *then* built : 'Tis not *yet* built, after above 2000 years expired ; Nor doth the *Jew* pretend to know *when* it *will* be built. And when the prophet is speaking of an house, that was building, and encouraging the *Jews* to go on with it, and pointing all along at it, to affirm that by this house is meant an house hereafter to be built, is beyond all belief. But thus will men blunder, who oppose the truth, and would wrest so noble a prophecy out of the *Christian's* hands.



C H A P. IX.

The promise of the MESSIAS is absolute, not conditional. The Jews give up their cause, when they deny this. The MESSIAS was promised as a great blessing to the gentiles. There is no condition annexed to the promise of the coming of the MESSIAS. The time is fixed, within which he was to come. The impenitence of the Jews could not hinder his coming. That the coming of the MESSIAS is a fundamental article of the Jewish faith; and therefore the promise cannot be conditional. An enquiry for what sins of the Jews they can pretend; that the coming of the MESSIAS is delayed. That the Jews in this matter are inconsistent with themselves. The Jews are not all of one mind in this question. Of the different case of the prophets, who foretold good; from that of them, who foretold evil. Of the last days, in which the MESSIAS was to come. In what terms the days (or time) of the MESSIAS are expressed by the ancient Hebrews: How it is expressed by the Chaldee paraphrasts, and how by the writers of the new Testament. Of the true sense and importance of the last days, when applied to the time of the MESSIAS. They are the same with the world to come; and that to be explained with reference to the Jewish polity. Times, in holy writ, are divided with regard to the church, or to the world. With respect to the church they are to be considered as before and under the law; and under the MESSIAS. Times with respect to this world are reckoned by the four kingdoms in Daniel. This may be called the greater Kalendar. Of the less or provincial Kalendar in Daniel. That the Jews have no cause to object against the time, in which JESUS did appear. That the time, in which JESUS appeared, was the same with the last days; both with respect to the Jewish church, or Mosaick oeconomy, as also with respect to the four great kingdoms in Daniel.

II. **I** SHALL now prove, that the promise of the MESSIAS is an *absolute* and not a *conditional* promise, and therefore an *unalterable* one: And that it doth not depend upon the condition, that the *Jews* repent them of their sins. Nor shall I pass by this pretence of the *Jews*; because they do not produce any probable grounds for the support thereof. For since it is so commonly received among them, and is of a most dangerous consequence, I shall take the more pains to expose, and shew the vanity thereof. And to that purpose I shall commend to serious consideration the following particulars.

I. THAT the *Jews*, in affirming the promise of the coming of the MESSIAS to be *conditional*, do in truth give up their cause. The *old Testament* is express as to the time of his coming: He was to come before the *Jewish* polity was quite dissolved, during the standing of the *second* temple; and within the compass of *Daniel's* weeks. All these times are long since lapsed; and this subter-fuge, which the *Jews* betake themselves to, is a tacit confession, that the time set for the coming of the MESSIAS is expired. For this pretence being attended with no grounds, which the *Jews* are able to produce in its defence, is only an argument that they are not able to keep their ground, when they are by the *Christians* press'd with proofs, that are beyond exception, that the time appointed for the coming of the MESSIAS is past. They would have no need to fly to this refuge, were they not forced out of the field.

II. THIS vain pretence of the *Jews* supposeth that, which cannot be granted; *viz.* that the MESSIAS was to come only upon the account of the *Jews*; whereas he was to appear on behalf of the *gentiles* also: It is therefore ridiculous to suppose, that the impenitence of the *Jews* should hinder his coming. He was promised, before there was such a people as the *Jews* in the world; in the days of *Adam* the common parent of mankind; and after that, to *Abraham*, as that *seed*, in which, not only the *Jews*, but all the *families* of the *earth* should be *blessed*. It is true, that he was to arise from the *Jews*; but in the very place whence that is collected, it is also said, that ^a *to him shall the gathering of the people be*. This is so evident a truth, that *Abravanel* ^b reckons this among the characters of the MESSIAS, that the *gentiles* shall seek him; and that not only the *Israelites*, but all people shall be subject to him: And to this purpose he applies several passages in the *old Testament* belonging to this matter. I have ^c elsewhere produced many testimonies hereof; which I shall not need to repeat here. The *gentiles* being concern'd in his appearance, 'tis not reasonable to suppose, that the impenitence of the *Jews* should retard it. He was to be *a light to lighten the gentiles*, as well as the *glory of the people of Israel*.

III. THE promise of the time, when the MESSIAS should come, hath no *condition* annexed to it; and is therefore an *absolute* promise. 'Tis great sawciness in *us* to annex a condition, where *GOD* hath made no mention of any. There is not in those three famous places, which I have mentioned above, any intimation of a condition annexed to this promise: And 'tis not credible, that the time should be delayed. Four hundred and thirty years were ^d allotted for the sojourning of the *Israelites*, and their forefathers, and for the finishing their oppression: Did *GOD* delay this time of their deliverance? By no means. *It came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the self same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the LORD went out from the land of Egypt*. Again, after seventy years captivity, *GOD* restored his people from *Babylon*, because he had promised no less; *For thus saith the LORD, that*

^a Gen. xlix. 10.
with Exod. xii. 41.

^b Abravanel in Isa. 11.

^c Part I. chap. 9.

^d Gen. xv. 13.

after

after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place. Shall we affirm, that GOD failed in this promise, and that a condition, and such a condition too as may for ever obstruct the making this promise good, is to be understood, though no where expressed? Here is no shadow for this pretence. On the other hand, 'tis very evident, that the promise was *absolute*, and not *conditional*. For we have not only a promise of the MESSIAS; but the *time*, within which he was to come is precisely limited, the *place* is expressed where he was to be born, the *family* named out of which he was to arise, and many other particulars relating to his birth and life and death and burial, &c. are predicted, 'Tis very absurd to allow all this in a promise, which is *conditional* only.

IV. THIS condition, of the repentance of the *Jews*, can by no means be admitted: For, not to insist upon what hath been said before, that the MESSIAS was promised from the beginning of the world, and for the sake of the *gentiles*; certain it is, that the impenitence of the *Jews* could not obstruct his coming. For this very impenitence of the *Jews* is predicted also by those very prophets, which foretel the coming of the MESSIAS; and the very destruction of *Jerusalem*, which supposeth the great wickedness of the *Jews*, is foretold by *Daniel*, even then when he precisely lays down the time of the coming of the MESSIAS. There's the greatest need of a physician, when diseases are rife and raging. It cannot be denied, but that the MESSIAS, when he came, ^e was to bring men to a right mind: His fore-runner also was to prepare and dispose them to repentance. And 'tis therefore vain to pretend, that the MESSIAS did not come, because the *Jews* did not repent: For the MESSIAS comes to call men to repentance. And tho' repentance be a preparative for the reception of the MESSIAS; yet the impenitence of the *Jews* could not obstruct his coming, the main end of which was to bring men to repentance. *Abravenel* ^f tells us, that their wisemen say, that *the Son of David will not come, unless it be to a generation which is altogether pure, or altogether unclean*: If this be true, then the wickedness of the *Jews* cannot hinder his coming.

V. THE coming of the MESSIAS is reckoned by ^g the *Jewish* writers a *fundamental* point of their *law*; and is therefore placed among the articles of the *Jewish* creed: But this vain opinion subverts it quite, and undermines the truth of a great and fundamental point of their religion. For if the coming of the MESSIAS depend upon the *merit* or *repentance* of the *Jews*, what assurance can they or we ever have, that he will come at all? For supposing that the *Jews* will obstinately continue in impenitence, he will not come at all. So that we have no greater assurance, according to this principle, that the MESSIAS will come, than we have that the *Jews* will repent: And this is to suppose, that a main article of their religion may be false.

VI. I WOULD fain know, what are the sins, which the *Jews* continue in to this day; which, as they pretend, hinder the coming of the MES-

^e Jer. xxxi. 32. Mal. iv. 5, 6.

^f Abravenel *cap. fidei*, cap. 14.

^g Abravenel *cap. fid.* cap. 14.

SIAS? Before they were carried captive into *Babylon*, they were guilty of *idolatry*, and contempt of the law of *Moses*: They were, for their sins captives in *Babylon* seventy years. When that time was expired, they returned to their own land: There they continued some hundreds of years; there they dwelt some years, after they had put our JESUS to death: They were destroyed by the *Romans* about 1600 years ago; and ever since that, have been scattered over the face of the earth, and have been a scorn and by-word to them that are round about them. They never were able to form themselves into a distinct polity since: They have been so far from that, that they live dispersed among their enemies; and many, and almost innumerable, are the afflictions and oppressions, which they have been followed with, from the enemies among whom they have lived from age to age. A man would be apt to conclude, from these long and severe sufferings, that they are indeed great sinners: But whatever the sins of the *Jews* are, for which they are so severely chastised or punished, it is not for those sins, which sent them into *Babylon*. We cannot accuse them of *idolatry*; nor yet of a total neglect of the law of *Moses*. As for *idolatry*, they are far from it; and the worshipping any image is that which they detest, and upon all occasions declaim against. As for the law of *Moses*, they cannot be accused for a total neglect of that neither. Many of those precepts of *Moses* they do not indeed conform to: But they are excused from them by that law it self. For those precepts were annexed to the land of *Canaan*, or to the *temple*; and do not oblige them elsewhere. Such were their laws about tythings, first-fruits, sacrifices, and many other, which are now rendred unpracticable by the providence of GOD. As for the *other* precepts, they observe them still. They keep their sabbaths, and feast of unleavened-bread, and their other festivals, as far as they can. They circumcise their males, wear their phylacteries and fringes, and observe many other of the rites of their law. But yet they continue ^h *without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without a teraphim*. In a word, they are a people scattered and peeled, and who have for many hundreds of years been deluded with false *Christs* and prophets, and greatly afflicted in strange lands. I would know, What is their *sin*?

THEIR *crucifying* of JESUS they will not allow to be a *crime*: And if it was not a *crime*, it was a *virtue*. Their putting a false *Christ* to death (for so they believe JESUS to be) is so far from being a fault, that it was an acceptable service. This would be so far from obstructing the coming of the true MESSIAS, that it would rather hasten it.

WILL they say, they are thus severely punished for the idolatry of their forefathers before the captivity? Or will they affirm, as they sometime have done, that there is no calamity befalls them, there is but an ounce of the *golden calf* in it? Will they pretend, that upon consideration of the rebellion of these their ancestors, GOD delays to send the MESSIAS in his appointed time? There is no shadow for this pretence: For the prophets, who lived after the times of that idolatry, did not only predict the coming of the MESSIAS; but the precise time also when he should appear. It would be to question their authority, to suppose that they

^h Hof. iii. 4.

would have done this, if GOD had altered his purpose of sending the MESSIAS, upon the account of the idolatry of their forefathers.

VII. The *Jews*, at other times, are very inconsistent with themselves; and are so far from owning their sins to be the cause, why GOD doth not send the MESSIAS (under which consideration they ought to be very humble) that they justify themselves, and vaunt as GOD's peculiar. Thus *Abravenel*ⁱ interprets the 53d of *Isaiah* of the sufferings of *Israel*; and consequently, takes off the guilt from them that suffer. For certain it is, that the *sufferer*, in that chapter, is not the *sinner*; for he is represented as *bearing the iniquities of others*, and as one that had *done no violence, neither was there any deceit in his mouth*. And I find several of the *Jewish* writers giving such an interpretation of *Dan. ix. 24.* as is inconsistent with this pretence, that the MESSIAS is not sent, because the *Jews* continue in their sins. Thus ^k *R. Solomon*, upon those words, *To finish transgression, and to make an end of sins* (*Dan. ix. 24.*) hath these words, *i. e. That Israel may receive their full punishment in the captivity of Titus, and the bondage of Edom; that their transgressions may be finished, and their sins made an end of, and their iniquities expiated, and so everlasting righteousness introduced*. And to the same purpose another *Jewish* commentator speaks upon the same words. He tells us, that those transgressions and sins, which in the *captivity of Babylon* were not consumed or finished, shall be finished in *this long captivity*: For (says he) *such a great captivity shall expiate iniquity, and the house of Israel shall sin no more*. According to these men, these sufferings were to purify the *Jews*, and prepare them for the greatest blessings: They have been 1600 years already in this furnace of affliction; and one might justly expect, that in this time their filthiness might have been consumed, and that their *sins* should not still obstruct the coming of the MESSIAS.

VIII. The *Jews* themselves, though they use this pretence when they are pressed by *Christians*, are not constant in it: Nor doth the whole nation agree, that the promise is conditional. *Abravenel*ⁱ tells us, that, according to *Hillel*, there is a two-fold term of the coming of the MESSIAS; one of which is *contingent* and *alterable*; namely, if the *Israelites* repent; for then he shall hasten his work, and prevent the time of his coming: The second is *necessary* and *fixed*; this is known to GOD, and determined *absolutely*, whether the *Israelites* repent or not: Beyond this time, the MESSIAS will not tarry: And of both these the *Hebrew* doctors expound the words of the ^m prophet, *I the LORD will hasten it in his time*; *i. e. If they deserve, I will hasten it; if they deserve not, it shall be in its time*. So that they are forced after all to allow a *set* and *fixed* time; and consequently an *absolute* promise, that the MESSIAS should come. This is enough to my present purpose: Their pretence that it should be hastened, hath no shadow of ground to build upon. They are forced to acknowledge a certain fixed time. *Menasseh Ben-Israel*, in his epistle to his reader before his *Spes Israelis*, tells us, that the design of his book is to shew, that their hope, *in which they live*, of the coming of the MES-

ⁱ Abravenel, in *Isa. liii.*
c. 14.

^m *Isa. ix. 22.*

^k *R. Solomon and Jacchiades in Dan. ix. 24.*

^l *De cap. fidei*

SIAS, is as of a future good difficult but *infallible*, *Quia fundatur in absolutâ promissione dei benedicti*, i. e. *because it is built upon the absolute promise of the blessed GOD*. To the same purpose, R. Bechai tells us, ⁿ that *Redemption depends upon repentance; but if repentance do not intervene, the fixed time for it shall not be removed*. And to that purpose he applies that ^o law concerning the redemption of land. If a man sold his land, his kinsman might redeem it: If his kinsman did it not, he might do it himself: If he was not able, it would yet return at the year of *Jubilee*: So though repentance might hasten the redemption (says he) yet if that happens not, there is a time fixed, like the year of *Jubilee*, that will bring our release. Hence 'tis plain, that the *Jews* are forced at last to own, that there is a fixed and determined time for the coming of the MESSIAS; and I have already shewed, that the time fixed is expired.

IX. THAT the promise of the MESSIAS being a promise of a great good, according to the *Jewish* principles it cannot fail of being made good. The prophets might predict an *evil*; and though that *evil* came not to pass, they are for all that to be reputed *true* prophets. The reason is plain, and may be fetcht from *Jer.* xviii. 8. The threatned evil might be prevented by the *repentance* of them, who were thus threatned. But the prophet, who foretels good to them, if that good come not, is to be reputed a *false* prophet. For GOD doth not promise a blessing, (though it be a conditional promise) but it always comes to pass, says ^p *Maimonides*. Nor have we a sure rule unless this be admitted. (says the same author in ^q another place) to judge of the truth of prophecy. This was the case between *Hananiah* and *Jeremiah*: *Jeremiah* predicted evil to come, *Hananiah* good: Now *Jeremiah* might have been a *true* prophet, though the *evil* had not come to pass (as he is brought in saying to *Hananiah* by *Maimon*.) because GOD might have mercy on the people on their *repentance*: But if the good, which *Hananiah* foretold, did not come to pass he must needs be a *false* prophet, and nothing but the event could prove him to be a *true* one. This seems to be the meaning of *Jeremiah's* words to him, *Jer.* xxviii. 7, 8, 9. *Hear now this word, &c. The prophets, that have been before me, and before thee of old, prophesied both against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and of pestilence*. In this case, though the event followed not; yet they ought not to be thought *false* prophets: But he goes on and tells him, *The prophet, which prophesied of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, that the LORD hath truly sent him*. Whence it follows, that as we cannot conclude him to be a *false* prophet who threatens an evil, that happens not; so we cannot have cause to believe him to be a *true* prophet, who promises a blessing, till that blessing confirms the truth of the prophecy: And therefore to suppose the MESSIAS not come in the time foretold, is to reproach the prophets, who foretold this his coming.

AND thus I have exposed the vanity of that pretence of the *Jews*, that the promise of the MESSIAS was *conditional*, and depended upon the re-

ⁿ In *Pentar.* fol. 160. col. 4.
Mosis, pag. 25, 26.

^o Lev, xxv. 25.

^p H. Fund. Legis, cap. 1011

^q V. Port.

penitance of the *Jews* : Of which matter I have said, I hope, what is sufficient ; tho' not all that might have been said. I proceed to shew,

III. THAT allowing the *last days* to denote the days of the MESSIAS, this is no objection against our JESUS, whose coming was in these *last days*. And if this be made good, there will be no ground for the *Jews* on this account to expect a MESSIAS towards the end of the world, and near the time of the general resurrection. And for the better speaking to this whole Matter,

First, I SHALL shew, in what terms the ancient *Hebrews* do express the times of the MESSIAS ; where that of the *last days* will fall in.

Secondly, I SHALL consider the true sense and importance of this, of the *last days*.

Thirdly, I SHALL briefly shew, that the *Jews* have no cause from hence to object against our JESUS.

First, I SHALL shew, in what terms the days of the MESSIAS are expressed by the ancient *Hebrews*.

As for the writers of the *old Testament*, we grant readily, that the days of the MESSIAS are called the *last days*. *Jacob* tells his sons, what shall befall them in the *last days*, when he predicts the birth of the MESSIAS. Thus the *prophet Isaiah*, *And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the LORD's house, &c.* Thus *Daniel*, *There is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the last days.* Thus *Hosea*, *Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the LORD their God, and David their king, and shall fear the LORD, and his goodness, in the latter days.* Where instead of those words, *And David their king*, the *Chaldee paraphrast* hath these, *And they shall obey the MESSIAS the son of David their king.* By which it is evident, that by the *latter days* he meant the days of the MESSIAS. Thus *Micah*, *In the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the LORD, &c.* Where the *last days* refer to the days of the MESSIAS ; and *Kimchi* expressly says so upon the words. We have no controversy with the *Jews* in this matter.

LET us now see, how the *Chaldee paraphrasts* express the time of the MESSIAS ; which they do with some variety : By the *end*, or *extremity of days*, they mean the same with the *last days*. Thus the *Jerusalem Targum* on *Gen. iii. 15.* hath it ; *In the end of the extremity of days, in the days of king MESSIAS.* And the *Targum of Jonathan*, upon *Exod. xl. 9.* mentions the king MESSIAS, *who was to come, that he might redeem Israel, in the end of the days.* And the *Targum* on *Ecclesiastes i. 11.* by those that shall come after, gives us to understand, those that shall be in the days of the MESSIAS. Elsewhere the time of the MESSIAS is expressed by the *world to come*, Thus the *Targumist* on *Psaln cx. 4.* upon those words, *Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedeck*, hath paraphrased thus ; *Thou shalt be great in the world to come,*

^a Gen. xlix. 1. with ver. 10.
Targum.

^b Micah. iv. 3. with R, D, Kimchi,

^c Isaiah ii. 2.

^d Dan. ii. 28.

^e Hos. iii. 5. with the

because

because thou wast a righteous king. And to the same purpose the Targumist on the 1st of Kings iv. 33. where of Solomon 'tis said, *That he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree, that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop, that springeth out of the wall*: Upon which the words of the Targumist are these: *He prophesied of the kings of the house of David, that were to reign in this world, and in the world to come of the MESSIAS.* And among the other ^y Jewish writers, nothing is more common, than to call the times of the MESSIAS the עולם הבא, i. e. *the world to come.* Sometimes this time is called *the end of the world.*

AGREEABLY herunto our ^z new Testament speaks of the days of the MESSIAS, or time of CHRIST's appearance and kingdom: 'Tis called the *last days*, and the *last time*: The *eleventh*, and the *last hour*, which is the same with the *last time*, there being no new age and dispensation to succeed unto it: 'Tis sometimes called the *end*, or *ends of the world*, and also the *world to come*. Which expressions, as they are conformable to the Hebrew way of expressing this matter; so they being made use of by the writers of the new Testament, it evidently follows, that they who used them, looked upon them as very expressive of that, to which they applied them. And that they are so will appear by considering,

Secondly, THE true sense and importance of the *last days*, when apply'd to the days of the MESSIAS:

AND before I pass on to that, I shall say something to the other expressions of the *end of the world*, in which the MESSIAS was to come; and *the world to come*, by which the times of the MESSIAS are expressed. We need not from hence cast the coming of the MESSIAS to the close of this world, and begin his kingdom from thence. *The authors of the Jews law called Talmud* (as ^a a learned man observed long since) *treating of sacrifices in the chapter, פר החטאת*, i. e. *The bullock of the sin offering, contained the whole time of this life, from Adam the first-man to the last that ever shall be born, in two worlds; which in Hebrew they call עולם*: The first from the beginning of things created to the coming of CHRIST; the second from that time to the resurrection of the dead. This tradition of the Hebrews made an end of the old world in the coming of CHRIST. This opinion of the Jews was the sense of their wise-men. For hence it was, that they called the time of the MESSIAS the *world to come*: For that expression must refer to some world or age, that went before it, and to which this was to succeed; and that must be the Jewish state and oeconomy. And 'tis certain, that with respect thereunto our JESUS did appear in the end of the world, i. e. of the Jewish state and polity. And that by the *end of the world*, when it refers to the coming of the MESSIAS, cannot be meant the destruction of this lower world, is evident; not only from the ^b confession of those Jews, who grant some thousands of years for the continuance of this kingdom of the MESSIAS in this world, but also from the express testimonies of the Holy Scriptures. For thus the Psalmist speaks of this time of the

^y See Targ. Hierosol. in Exod. xii. 42.

ii. 18. Heb. ix. 26. Heb. ii. 5. 1 Cor. x. 11.

pag. 250.

^d Psal. lxxxix. 36. 37.

^z Heb. i. 2. Acts ii. 17. 1 Pet. i. 20. Mat. xx. 6. 1 John

^a Mr. Lively's Chronology of the Persian Monarchy,

^b V. G. Vorstii. not ad. cap. 14. Abravenel cap. fid.

^c Psal. lxxii. 5, 17.

MESSIAS: *They shall fear thee, as long as the sun and moon endure, throughout all generations. His name shall endure for ever, &c.* And ^d again, *His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven.* And that those places belong to the MESSIAS, I appeal to the *Jews* themselves.

THAT the times of the MESSIAS are expressed by the phrase of the *world to come*, is evident; hardly any thing is more common than this way of speaking among the *Hebrew* writers: The state of the *Jews*, or oeconomy of *Moses*, must therefore be the *age* or *world* to which this succeeded. So that by the *end of the world* (in which the MESSIAS was to come) must of necessity be meant, either the *final close* and *dissolution* of this material world, or else the end of the *Jewish polity*: For no man can be so stupid as to understand it of the end of the *world to come*, as that imports the days of the MESSIAS: it cannot be understood of this *lower and material world*, consistently with the doctrine of the *Jewish* writers; and therefore the *end of the world* (when that expression relates to the coming of the MESSIAS) must be understood of the *end* of the *Jewish polity*.

AND this *end* of the *Jewish polity* is ^e very fitly expressed, in the *new Testament*, by συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος, the end of that *Seculum* or *age*, when the *Jewish polity* was to be dissolved. This seems to be the meaning of that question, *Matth.* xxiv. 3. if we compare it with the parallel places. And because several ages were run out, from *Moses*, to that time when the *Jewish polity* and *Mosaical* oeconomy was near its end, therefore that time is elsewhere ^f called τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων, and in another ^g place συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων: The *ends*, or *end* of the several ages of the *Mosaical* oeconomy. Sometime it is called the *end*: *But the end is not yet.* (*Matth.* xxiv. 6.) This is very fitly expressed after this manner. For we find this time by *Daniel* called ^h the *consummation*, or *end*: And the destruction of the *Jews* is expressed elsewhere, after the same manner. (*Ezek.* vii. 2, 6.) And the times preceeding the dissolution of the *Jewish polity*, I am now speaking of, are called by *Tobit* (ch. xiv. 5.) Καταρτιστὶς αἰῶνος. And this time by *Moses* is called the *latter days*.

AND now, it will be no hard matter to give an account of the importance of the phrase, *the last days*, when it refers to the coming or kingdom of the MESSIAS.

TIMES are divided in the *Holy Scriptures* with regard to the church, or to the world:

WITH respect to the church, the most remarkable times are these three: *First*, The time before the law, from *Adam* to *Moses*: *Secondly*, The time under the law, viz. from *Moses* to the dissolution of the *Jewish polity*, and that dispersion of the *Jews*, which rendered them incapable of practising those laws, which were annexed to their land and temple: *Thirdly*, The times of the MESSIAS, which the *Jews* are wont to call the *world* or *age* to come.

^d Psal. lxxxix. 36, 37. ^e Matth. xxiv. 3. with Mark xiii. 4. Luke xxi. 7. ^f 1 Cor. x. 11. ^g Heb. ix. 26. ^h Dan. ix. 27. Καὶ ἕως τῆς συντέλειας καὶ συντέλεια δοθήσεται, LXXII. V. Tob. Heb. P. Fag. c. 14. v. 5. N. B. Deut. xxxi. 29.

THE times may also be considered with reference and respect to this world, and the kingdoms of it. *Daniel* ⁱ gives us a particular account of the four great kingdoms of this world, succeeding one to another: And they are that of *Babylon*, that of the *Medes* and *Persians*, that of the *Greeks*; and the last that of the *Romans*: And with this reference and respect, whatever fell out in the time of the *Romans*, might be said to happen in the *last days*. So that speaking in general, the *last time* is the time of the *last kingdom* or *empire*; the *latter time*, as a part of it, is the *latter part* of this kingdom.

AND as the four great kingdoms in *Daniel* are the great *Kalendar*, by which the times are, to be distinguished, with reference to the world; so there is to be found in the same prophet a *less* and a *provincial Kalendar*, with reference to the *legal worship*, or *Jewish state*: And that is the *seventy weeks* of *Daniel*, or 490 years: In which time the MESSIAS was to come; after which the *Jewish* polity was to be dissolved.

Thirdly, I SHALL now briefly shew, that the *Jews* have from hence no cause to object against our JESUS.

THAT time, in which JESUS did appear, was the *last time* or the *last days*, both with respect to the *Jewish* church, and the *Mosaical* oeconomy; and with respect to the great kingdoms of this world, mentioned by the prophet *Daniel*.

WITH respect to the *Jewish state*, it was the *last days* when JESUS did appear. It was not long before the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the temple, and the miserable dissolution of their polity. JESUS lived in that very age, when that lamentable destruction happened to the *Jews*: He did not only foretel it; but he said also that it should ^k come to pass in that age; *Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled*. And that time was the *last days* of that state; and 'twas within the time of the standing of the *Jewish* polity, city, and temple, that the MESSIAS was to come, according to the prediction of *Jacob*, of *Daniel*, of *Haggai*, and of *Malachy*.

AND then, with respect to the world, or the four great kingdoms in *Daniel*, the time when JESUS appeared was also the *last days*, or the *last time*. He was baptized in the ^l reign of *Tiberius Caesar*; and his forerunner preached in the fifteenth year of his reign, when *Pontius Pilate* was governour of *Judæa*. This was ^m the time, in which that kingdom was to be set up, *never to be destroyed*; and the GOD of heaven, says *Daniel*, shall set it up. And hence it is, that the kingdom of the MESSIAS is, by the ⁿ *Chaldee* paraphrast sometimes called the kingdom of GOD; and conformably hereunto in the gospel it is called sometimes the kingdom of GOD; and elsewhere in a parallel place, the kingdom of heaven: It being set up, as *Daniel* expressed it, by the GOD of heaven.

ⁱ Dan. ii. 44.

^k Matth. xxiv. 34.

^l Luke iii. 1.

^m Dan. ii. 44.

ⁿ V.

^o V.

^p Chald. Paraphr. on Isa. lii. 7. with ver. 13.



C H A P. X.

An historical account of the false CHRISTs that have appeared since our SAVIOUR'S time in the several ages, according to the prediction of JESUS, John v. 43. The history of Bar Cochab: An account of Moses Cretenfis, and Dunaan and Julian: Of Mahomet, and a Syrian impostor, and another in France. Of another that appeared in Persia, A. D. 1138, and another, in the same century, who appeared at Corduba in Spain: Of one, mentioned by Maimonides in the kingdom of Fez; as also one in Arabia, and another beyond Euphrates. Another disturbs Persia: Another arises in Moravia: Another mentioned by the author of Shevet Jehuda. An account of David el David. Of several others that appeared in Spain, Germany, and East-India. A more particular account of Sabatai Sevi. Of R. Mordecai. The usefulness of this account in several particulars: To which is added an account of the destruction and extirpation of the Jews out of the empire of Persia. The relation of Antonius Montezinus made to M. B. Israel, concerning the ten tribes. The stress which M. B. Israel laid upon it. The great vanity thereof. The great variety of opinions among the Jews, concerning the coming of the MESSIAS; and their inconsistency.

I SHALL in the next place give an account of the many impostors, which have imposed upon the Jews, since the time of our JESUS, to this very age in which we live; and shall afterwards say something of the usefulness of this account.

IT is very well known (and a most surprizing consideration it is) that the Jews rejected JESUS, and to this day continue so to do: Yet was JESUS born at the very time, and in the place, and of the family, and after the supernatural manner, which were predicted by the prophets. His birth was foretold by an angel, declared and published by an heavenly host, signified by a star, and owned by the eastern sages, as well as by the devouter persons of the house of Israel. He lived a most holy and heavenly life, a most innocent and useful one: And as he spake as never man spake; so he confirmed his words by works, which none but

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GOD could do. He sealed his doctrine with his blood, he rose from the dead, and sent the HOLY GHOST from heaven, and spread his holy religion in the world, not only without human aid and power; but in despite of all the opposition and force, which the world could make against it. In a word, he gave sufficient proof, that he came from GOD; and yet *when he came unto his own, his own received him not.*

AND yet this people, in after-times, and even to this very age in which we live, have been and are so very *credulous*, that they suffer themselves to be deluded with cheats and impostors, who have led them aside, to their great loss and destruction. They who were obstinately bent upon the rejecting of our JESUS, have been very prone ever since to embrace and entertain false people and impostors. The words which JESUS^a said unto them have been abundantly verified, *I am come in my father's name, and ye receive me not: If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.*

I HAVE elsewhere given some account of the deceivers, which appeared in the very first times of *Christianity*; especially of those, who are mentioned by *Josephus*. I shall now proceed to give a short history of the false *Christs*, and those who pretended to be at least his fore-runners, and such impostors, as have from time to time imposed upon the *Jewish* people.

I. I BEGIN with *Bar Cochab* (which signifies the *son of a star*) in the reign of *Adrian*. He was the head of the *Jews* in their rebellion; he pretended to be the MESSIAS, and bore the title of *the son of a star*, with allusion to what we read *Num. xxiv. 17*. He would be thought a star from heaven, to give light and ease to his afflicted country-men. He pretended to a miracle, and made ostentation of sending forth a flame out of his mouth. He was one of great cruelty; which he exercised especially against *Christians*, to make them renounce their SAVIOUR. Incredible numbers were slain by him, and by his followers; and he occasioned at the last a vast slaughter of the *Jews*. The *Jews*^b crowned him; and *R. Akiba* proclaimed him to be the MESSIAS. Upon this the *Roman* forces were raised, and besieged a place called *Bitter*, and destroyed it with an incredible number of the rebellious *Jews*. This deceiver was by the surviving *Jews* afterward called בר כוזב *Bar Coziba*, i. e. *the son of a lie*. This is said by the *Jews* to have happened about fifty two years after the destruction of the *Jewish* temple by *Titus*. So soon were they encreased, and returned to their rebellion. Mighty expectations were raised in the *Jews* upon the appearance of this false CHRIST. He was cried up, and applauded by a vast multitude of deluded *Jews*: But he brought an incredible destruction upon the whole nation, and lost his own life. He was so far from delivering his people, that he was the occasion of rendring the condition of those of them who survived much worse, than it was before. For whereas before the *Jews* enjoyed the liberty of living in their own land, and enjoyed there a vast number of synagogues, for the worship of GOD, they were after this debarred of this liberty, and excluded from their own land. We have many^c testimonies

^a John v. 43.

^b R. David Ganz, *Zem. David*, pag. 101. *Juchasin fol. 35.*

^c Gr. Abul-

Pharagii, *Hist. Dynast.* pag. 77.

to this purpose. *Adrian commanded, that the ears of the surviving Jews should be cut off; and made a law, that none of them should for the future, though at a distance, be admitted so much as to see Jerusalem.* *Eusebius*^d relates much to the same purpose from *Aristo Pellaus*. They were now prohibited so much as to come into their land, and forced to wander about into countries, to which they did not belong. After this the *Jews* met with great reproaches, and hardships, were scorned and ill used; and suffered for their folly and too great credulity.

II. ANOTHER great impostor appeared in the days of *Theodosius* the younger, in the year 434. This *Jew* was of *Crete*, now called *Candia*; and is commonly known by the title of *Moses Cretensis*. He pretended to a divine mission, and that he was sent from heaven to the *Jews* who were in that island, to make a passage for them through the sea, as *Moses* of old had done by the *Israelites*. He went to all the cities of that island, and gained belief of the *Jews*, who gave him credit. He promised them to carry them into their own land, and to dry up the sea, which lay in their way. The *Jews* believed him so far, as to lay aside their business, and to leave their goods to any one, that would lay hold of them. The impostor appointed them a day, and when the time was come, they met together, and he march'd before them to the sea-side. They followed him universally, with their wives and children, to a promontory upon the sea-side. He commanded them thence to throw themselves into the sea; and was in that obeyed by those, who had gotten to the top of the promontory, who forthwith perished by the rock, or in the waters. Many more, it^e hath been said, had perished, had it not been for some fisher-men, and some *Christian* traders who were at hand. They saved some out of the waters, who were ready to perish, and hindred others from throwing themselves into the sea. The *Jews* hereupon condemn'd themselves for their folly, and sought to destroy the impostor, but he escaped their hands: And, which was the greatest advantage, some of them hereupon renounced their *Judaism*, and turned *Christians*.

III. As the last impostor pretended to be *Moses*; so there followed another in the days of the emperor *Justin*, who professed himself to be the son of *Moses*. The name of this *Jew* was *Dunaan*: He went into a city of *Arabia Felix*, and oppressed the *Christians*, and among them *Arethas* the bishop: But he did not go long unpunished for his cruelty; for he was taken captive, and put to death.

IV. IN the year 529 the *Jews* with the *Samaritans* in *Palestine* rebell'd, and endeavoured to shake off the *Roman* yoke. They set over them one *Julian*, they crowned him, and armed themselves to destroy the *Christians*: And because he succeeded in this attempt, they owned him for the MESSIAS; this success being among the *Jews* a mark or note of the true MESSIAS. It was not long, before the *Romans* opposed them, and destroyed an innumerable company of them, together with their captain or leader.

^d *Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

^e *V. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 37.*

V. IN the year 571 was *Mahomet*, that grand impostor, born into the world. I do not pretend that he was a *Jew*; however he may well be mentioned in this place, as a false prophet, and one that misled the *Jews*, as well as others. As for his religion, it is indeed a mixture: But there is a great deal of *Judaism* in it, as appears from their practice, viz. circumcision, washings, polygamy, &c. Besides, 'tis well known that a cunning *Jew* had a great hand in contriving the imposture: After all he professed himself to be the MESSIAS, which was promised in the *old Testament*; and was by the deluded *Jews* owned as their MESSIAS; of which^f we have several testimonies collected by a late learned writer. To which I may add, that the *Jews* have too often, both of later times, and from the beginning, renounced their own religion, and embraced that of *Mahomet*. Upon which considerations he may justly stand in the catalogue of the impostors, which I am obliged to give an account of.

VI. ANOTHER impostor appeared in the time of *Leo Isaurus*, who professed himself to be the MESSIAS, in the year 721. He was a *Syrian*: This wretch was followed by the credulous *Jews*, and they were seduced by him. After this the *Jews* were in great affliction from the *Christians*. I will not examine, how it came to be so: But in great distress they were; and as it is natural for men in that case to wish for a deliverer; so the *Jews* were very credulous, when there appeared any shadow of such a one: And after they had suffered very severely, they were very easily imposed upon.

VII. IN the year 1137 there appeared an impostor in *France*, who professed himself to be the MESSIAS; he deluded the *Jews*, and brought destruction upon himself, and upon the *Jewish* people.

VIII. IN the^g year 1138 another impostor appeared in the kingdom of *Persia*, who professed himself to be the MESSIAS, and so far succeeded, as to get a great number of *Jews* to follow him. He with his numbers advanced towards the king of *Persia*, to wage war with him. The king was terrified with his attempt: He called together the *Jews*, which were in his kingdom, and told them, that if they did not divert this impostor from invading his kingdom, he would at once destroy them with their wives and children. Upon this the *Jews* apply themselves to the impostor, fall at his feet with groans and tears, beseech him to forbear to proceed, and not to bring destruction upon the *Jewish* nation. The impostor reply'd in this manner, *I am come to save you, ye will not be saved. Whom do ye wretches fear? Who can stand before my face? The king of Persia is formidable to you; I will make him fly at the very sound of my arms.* The *Jews* asked him, By what sign he could prove himself to be the MESSIAS? He answered, He would prove it by his prosperous successes, and that there was need of no other proof. The *Jews* reply'd, that many had pretended as much with ill success; upon which freedom he sent them away in great anger. These poor *Jews* return to the impostor the following day, which they had set apart for prayers and fasting: They set before him their little children, to mollify him and bring

^f Joan. à Lent. *Schediasm*, cap. 2.

^g Shevet Jehud. *vers. per Gentium*, pag. 169.

him to some measure of compassion. Upon the sight of them, he told them that out of compassion to them he would forbear fighting the *Persian* king, upon this condition, that he would defray all the charge, that he had been at in getting such an army together. Thus insolent was this impostor grown. Nor was this all: For when the *Jews* objected against this unreasonable demand, that so great a prince, as the king of *Persia* was, should stoop so low as to bear the expences of his army; the insolent impostor reply'd thus, *Let me no more hear such words; otherwise I will not only have my expences; but besides them I will not be satisfied with one moyety of the Persian kingdom.* The *Jews* report the impostor's answer to the king; and the king complied with his unreasonable demand: But this was an occasion of great sufferings to the *Jews* afterwards, and cost the impostor his head.

IX. IN the same century arose another impostor in *Corduba*, in the kingdom of *Spain*: He deceived the credulous *Jews* to the almost universal destruction of that nation throughout all the kingdom of *Spain*. He is mentioned by ^h *Maimonides* in one of his epistles.

X. *Maimonides* mentions another, who appeared not long after the above-named impostor in the kingdom of *Fez*; and so doth *Solomon Ben Virga*, in the place above cited.

XI. IN the very same year appeared another deceiver, who pretended to be the fore runner of the MESSIAS; and he appeared in *Arabia*. The history of this impostor is related by *Maimonides*ⁱ in one of his epistles: I will give the reader an account of what he relates on this occasion. *וְעַד יוֹם* i. e. *There arose* (says he) *a certain man two and twenty years ago, who professed himself to be the fore-runner of the MESSIAS, who was to prepare his way before his coming. He declared that the MESSIAS would appear in the south. Many both Jews and Arabians flocked unto him. He went about the mountains, and drew his followers aside, and frequently used these words: Come with me, and let us go forth to meet the MESSIAS; for he hath sent me unto you, to prepare the way before him. Our brethren of the south (says Maimonides) wrote to me largely, and acquainted me with his way and manner, and what alteration he made in the prayers, and what he said to them, and related to me, that they had seen his miracles, and asked my opinion: Upon the whole matter and information from their writing, I found that he was a poor man, unlearned (though he feared GOD) and of no wisdom; and that all, that he was said to have done or made use of, was altogether false.* He goes on and relates, that he wrote to the *Jews* on this occasion, concerning the subject of the king MESSIAS, of his marks, and the time of his appearing; and warns them, that they should admonish this impostor, that he might not bring destruction upon himself and upon the *Jews*. He tells us, that he was afterwards taken, and that his adherents forsook him, and that he was brought before the *Arabian* king, who questioned him for what he had done. To whom the impostor re-

^h Shevet. Jehud. pag. 169. *Vorstii observationes in D. Gantz, pag. 294.*
Marfilienfes.

ⁱ *Maimon. Ep. ad Judæos*

plied, *That he had spoken the truth, and had acted by a divine commission.* The king demanded a sign or miracle to confirm this commission. The impostor replied in these words, *Cut off my head, and I will rise again, and live as before.* The king told him, This would (if it happened as he said) convince him and the rest of mankind, who would then believe his words. His head was cut off, and he appeared no more, but brought great damage to the surviving *Jews*. This is a true account of what *Maimonides* relates on this occasion.

XII. The same^k author mentions another *Jewish* impostor, who appeared about the same time beyond the river *Euphrates*, who pretended to be the MESSIAS, and promised this sign for proof of it, That whereas he was leprous over night, he would in the morning be freed from that distemper; but he failed in his sign, and the poor *Jews* were so far from being delivered by him, that they soon fell into great afflictions.

XIII. *Persia* again is disturbed with another impostor, who professed himself to be the long expected and much desired MESSIAS. He appeared about the year 1174, to the very great misery of his country-men the *Jews*.

XIV. ANOTHER appeared in *Moravia*, who pretended to be the MESSIAS; his name was *David Almuffer*. He was a great *Cabbalist*, and endeavoured to hide himself from the king of the country. But the king obliged the *Jews* of the country to take the impostor, and deliver him up under a very severe penalty: He was at length taken and put to death, and the *Jews* underwent the mulct of a very great sum.

XV. *Solomon Ben Virga*^l mentions another of these impostors; but we are not so certain of the precise time of his appearing.

XVI. ANOTHER famous impostor arose also in *Persia*, and professed himself to be the MESSIAS: He was called *David el David*, and otherwise *Alroi*. The *Jewish* writers make a great mention of this false *Christ*, and from them I shall give an account of him.

Benjamin Tudelensis^m gives us this account of him, viz. That this *David Alroi* was of the city of *Amana*, and a disciple of *Hasdai*; that he was eminent for his knowledge of the law of *Moses*, of the constitutions, and of the *Talmud*, and all exotick sciences, and the *Arabick* language and writings, and not ignorant of magical books. He undertook to rebel against the king of *Persia*, and to bring the *Jews* to *Jerusalem*; and as he pretended, to deliver them from the yoke or bondage of the *Gentiles*, and gained belief among the *Jews* by certain signs and false miracles, which he wrought to confirm his mission, upon which the *Jews* owned him for their MESSIAS. The king of *Persia* hearing of this, sent for the impostor; and he came to him without fear. The king asked him if he was the king of the *Jews*? He replied that he was, The king upon that put him into prison; from whence he in a little time escaped, and presented himself again before the king; but in such a manner, that

^k V. Maimon. *Ep. de Australi reg. apud Vorstinum. Shevet Jehuda. pag. 169.*
^m *Itinerar. Benjamin. pag. 91.*

^l *Shevet Jehud.*

those, who were present with the king could not see him, they only heard his voice. After this he made his escape after a very surprizing manner: but was at last beheaded by the procurement of the king of *Persia*; and the *Jews* his country-men were forced to pay a very great sum, to pacifie the wrath of the king.

*Solomon Ben Virga*ⁿ gives us also an account of this impostor, and calls him *David el David*. He tells us, that in that city where this impostor appeared, there were no less than 1000 families of the *Jews*: That the *Jews* paid a tribute to the king of *Persia*; that this *El David* was not only a disciple to *Hasdai*, but to another great man, a rector of the academy of *Bagdad*, who was very skillful in the *Talmudick* learning, and the liberal arts, and greatly vers'd in the magical books of the *Chaldeans*. That this impostor was very proud and insolent, and resolved to rebel against the *Persian* king. That he perswaded the *Jews* to take up arms; and to gain credit, he did some prodigious works; which some imputed to his magical skill, others to divine assistance. That his followers called him the *MESSIAS*, and with praises extolled him to the heavens. The king was startled at this, sends for him, and examines him, before whom he owned himself to be the *MESSIAS*; upon which he was imprisoned, and made his escape, as is related above. But after his flight and wonderful passage over the water, he was at length killed by his father-in-law, and his head carried to the *Persian* king.

R. David Gantz, gives us also^o a short account of this impostor, by the title of *David el David*; and refers us to the *Shevet Jehuda* above-mentioned for a larger history of him.

It must be confessed, that the two last *Jewish* writers make this impostor to be the same whom *Maimonides* mentions in his epistle, and of whom I have given an account, *Numb. XI*. That, for what I can see, may be their mistake: But I shall not spend any time about that enquiry, nor do I think it worth my while. I am sure, that the account which is given of *El David* by the *Jewish* historians, cannot agree with the relation of *Maimonides*.

It is observed, that after this the *Jews* were greatly afflicted and oppressed in the several countries, where they lived; and consequently were very desirous of a deliverer. Hence it was, that they were very prone to believe impostors and deceivers; for we are naturally prone to believe what we mightily desire.

XVII. IN the year 1222 an impostor appeared in *Germany* as the king *MESSIAS*, whom the *Jews* called the son of *David*. And in the same year the *Jews* about *Worms* in *Germany* expected one to be born of a young woman, who was then big with child: But so it happened (against the vehement desire and expectation of the *Jews*) the young woman was delivered of a daughter. For the truth of this^p a late writer hath produced several testimonies; to whom I refer the reader.

XVIII. ABOUT^q the year 1497, in the days of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, another impostor appeared, deluding the poor *Jews* with the hope

ⁿ *Shevet Jehud. pag. 162.*
cap. 4. S. 2.

^q *Joh. à Lent. Ibid.*

^o *Zemach David. pag. 135—*

^p *Joh. à Lent, Schediasm.*

of their MESSIAS. He was called *Ismael Sophus*, and with a company of miserable wretches, who followed him, prevailed in *Media*, *Parthia*, *Persia*, *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, infomuch that the *Jews* flattered themselves, that he would be their MESSIAS and great deliverer : But he was far from giving them any help.

XIX. IN the year 1500 another impostor appeared in *Germany*, pretending himself to be the MESSIAS : His name was *Lemlem* a *German Jew* of a principality of *Austria*. The *Jews* say, that he professed himself to be the fore-runner of the MESSIAS.

David Gantz ^r gives us this account of him, viz. That he foretold, that the coming of the MESSIAS would happen that year ; that all the dispersed *Jews* believed him, and many of the *gentiles* also. He pulled down hi soven, where he was wont to bake their cakes against the pass-over, being confident, that the following year he should bake them in the holy land. He adds, that *R. Eliezer* told him, that he did not only foretel what is said of him, but gave some sign or miracle to prove his prediction. Thus he.

XX. ABOUT ^r the year 1534, another impostor appeared in *Spain*, and gave out himself to be the MESSIAS ; but with very ill success, being burn'd for his imposture, by the command of *Charles* the fifth.

XXI. ABOUT ^r the year 1615, another false *Christ* appeared in the *East-Indies*, and was followed by the *Portuguese Jews*.

XXII. ABOUT ^u the year 1624 and 1625 there appeared another impostor, who pretended to be the MESSIAS, of the family of *David*, and of the line of *Nathan*. He appeared in the *Low Countries* : He gave out, that he would overthrow the kingdom of *Anti-christ*, and of the *Turk* ; and that *Rome* should be overturned. He was a great enthusiast, as appears from the accounts given of him.

XXIII. I PROCEED to ^{*} another impostor, who appeared in the year 1666. This was a year of great expectation, and some wonderful thing was looked for by many. This was a fit time for an impostor to set up ; and accordingly lying reports were carried about. 'Twas told about, that great multitudes marched from unknown parts into the remote deserts of *Arabia* ; and they were supposed to be the *ten tribes of Israel*, who have been dispersed for many ages. That a ship was arrived in the north-parts of *Scotland* with sails and cordage of silk ; that the mariners spake nothing but *Hebrew* ; that on the sails was this motto, *The twelve tribes of Israel*. Thus were credulous men possessed at that time.

THEN it was, that *Sabatai Sevi* appeared at *Smyrna*, and professed himself to be the MESSIAS. He promised the *Jews* a deliverance and a prosperous kingdom. This which he promised they firmly believed ; the *Jews* now attended to no business, discoursed of nothing but of their return. They believed *Sabatai* to be the MESSIAS, as firmly as we *Chri-*

^r Zemach David, pag. 150.
Lent. Ibid.

^r J. à Lent. ubi supra.

^{*} V. History of the 3 Impostors published by J. E. A. D. 1669.

^r J à Lent. Ibid.

^u J. à

stians

rians believe any article of our faith. A right reverend person then in *Turkey* told me, that meeting with a *Jew* of his acquaintance at *Aleppo*, he asked the *Jew*, what he thought of *Sabatai*. The *Jew* replied, that he believed him to be the *MESSIAS*, and that he was so far of that belief, that if he should prove an impostor, *he would then turn Christian*. It will be very fit, that I should be very particular in this relation, because the history is so very surprizing and remarkable; and we have an account of it from those, who were then in *Turkey*, and are now alive. I am so well satisfied as to the facts, that I dare vouch for the truth of the relation, and appeal for the truth of it to very many persons of great credit, who are now alive.

Sabatai Sevi was the son of *Mordechai Sevi*, a mean *Jew* in *Smyrna*. *Sabatai* was very bookish, and arrived to a great skill in the *Hebrew* learning. He was the author of a new doctrine; and for it was expelled the city. He went thence to *Salonichi* (of old called *Theffalonica*) where he married a very handsome woman, but was divorced from her. Then he travelled into the *Morea*, then to *Tripoli*, *Gaza* and *Jerusalem*. By the way he picked up a third wife. At *Jerusalem* he began to reform the *Jews* constitutions, and abolish one of their solemn fasts, and communicated his design of professing himself the *MESSIAS* to one *Nathan*: He was pleased with it, and sets up for his *Elias*, or fore-runner, and took upon him to abolish all the *Jewish* fasts, as not becoming when the bridegroom was now come. *Nathan* prophesies, that the *MESSIAS* should appear before the *Grand Seignior* (in less than two years) and take from him his crown, and lead him in chains.

At *Gaza*, *Sabatai* preached repentance (together with a faith in himself) so effectually, that the people gave themselves up to their devotions and alms. The noise of this *MESSIAS* began to fill all places. *Sabatai* now resolves for *Smyrna*, and then for *Constantinople*. *Nathan* writes to him from *Damascus*; and thus he begins his letter: *To the king, our king, lord of our lords, who gathers the dispersed of Israel, who redeems our captivity, the man elevated to the height of all sublimity, the MESSIAS of the GOD of Jacob, the true MESSIAS, the celestial lion, Sabatai Sevi.*

AND NOW the *Jews* throughout *Turkey* were in great expectation of glorious times: They now were devout and penitent, that they might not obstruct the good which they hoped for. Some fasted so long that they were famished to death; others buried themselves in the earth, till their limbs grew stiff; some would endure melted wax to be dropped on their flesh; some rowled in snow; others in a cold season would put themselves in cold water; and many whipped themselves. Business was laid aside, superfluities of household utensils were sold; and the poor were provided for by immense contributions.

Sabatai comes to *Smyrna*, where he was adored by the people, tho' the *Chacham* contradicted him; for which he was removed from his office. There he in writing stiles himself *The only, and first-born son of GOD the MESSIAS, the SAVIOUR of Israel*. And though he met with some opposition; yet he prevailed there at last to that degree, that some of his followers prophesied, and fell into great extasies: Four hundred men and women prophesied of his growing kingdom; and young infants, who

who could hardly speak, would plainly pronounce *Sabatai*, MESSIAS, and the *son of God*. The people were for a time possessed, and voices heard from their bowels; some fell into trances, foamed at the mouth, recounted their future prosperity, their visions of the *lion of Judah*, and the triumphs of *Sabatai*; *All which* (says the relator) *were certainly true, being effects of diabolical delusions, as the Jews themselves have since confessed unto me.*

Now the impostor swells and assumes. Whereas the *Jews* in their synagogues, were wont to pray for the *Grand Seignior*, he orders those prayers to be forborn for the future, thinking it an indecent thing to pray for him, who was shortly to be their captive; and instead of praying for the *Turkish* emperour, he appoints prayers for himself, as another author relates: And (as my ^v author goes on) he elected princes to govern the *Jews* in their march towards the holy land, and to minister justice to them, when they should be possessed of it. These princes were as follows,

I *Saac Silvera,*
Solomon Lagnago,
Solomon Lagnado, jun.
Joseph Cohen,
Moses Galente,
Daniel Pinto,
Abraham Scandale,
Mokiah Gaspar,
Abraham Leon,
Ephraim Araditi,
Salom Carmona,
Matassia Aschenesi,
Meir Alcaira,
Jacob Loxas,
Mordecai Jesserun.
Chaim Inegna,
Joseph Scavillo,
Conor Nehemias,
Joseph Del Caire,
Elcukin Schavit,
Abraham Ruvio,
Elias Sevi,
Elias Az ar,
Joseph Zevi,
Joseph Inernuck,

was King *David*,
was *Solomon*,
named *Zovah*,
Uzziah,
Josaphat
Hilkiah, or rather *Hezekiah*,
Jotham,
Zedekiah,
Achaz,
Joram,
Achab,
Asa,
Rehoboam,
Ammon,
Jehojackin,
Jeroboam,
Abia,
Zorobabel,
Joas,
Amasia
Josia,
King of the king of kings.
His vice-king.
The king of the kings of *Judah*.
His vice-king.

THESE were men well known in the city of *Smyrna* at that time. The people now were pressing to see some miracles to confirm their faith, and convince the *gentiles*. Here the impostor was puzzled; though any juggling trick would have served their turn. But the credulous people supplied their defect. When *Sabatai* was before the *Cadi* (or justice of peace) some affirmed, they saw a pillar of fire between him and the *Cadi*; and after some had affirmed it, others were ready to swear it, and did swear it also: and this was presently believed by the *Jews* of that city. He that did not now believe him to be the MESSIAS, was to be shunn'd as an excommunicate person. The impostor declares now, that he was called of *God* to see *Constantinople*, where he had much to do. He ships himself to that end in a *Turkish Saick*, in *Jan.* 1666. He had a long and troublesome voyage: He had not power over the sea and winds. The *Vizier* upon this news sends for him, and confines him to a loathsome

prison. The *Jews* gave him their visits ; and they of this city are now as much infatuated as those of *Smyrna*. They forbid traffick, and refused to pay their debts. Some of our *English* merchants, not knowing how to recover their debts from the *Jews*, took this occasion to visit *Sabatai*, and make their complaints to him against his subjects ; whereupon he wrote this following letter to the *Jews* :

TO you of the nation of the *Jews*, who expect the appearance of the MESSIAS, and the salvation of Israel, peace without end, Whereas we are informed, that you are indebted to several of the *English* nation, it seemeth right unto us to order you to make satisfaction to these your just debts ; which if you refuse to do, and obey us not herein, Know you that then you are not to enter with us into our joys and dominions.

Sabatai remained a prisoner in *Constantinople* by the space of two months. The *Grand Vizier*, designing for *Candia*, thought it not safe to leave him in the city, during the *Grand Seignior's* absence and his own. He therefore removed him to the *Dardanelli* ; a better air indeed, but yet out of the way ; and consequently, importing less danger to the city : Which occasioned the *Jews* to conclude, that the *Turks* could not, or durst not take away his life ; which had (they concluded) been the surest way to have removed all jealousy.

THE *Jews* flocked in great numbers to the castle, where he was a prisoner ; not only those that were near, but from *Poland*, *Germany*, *Legorn*, *Venice*, and other places : They received *Sabatai's* blessing, and promises of advancement. The *Turks* made use of this confluence ; they raised the price of their lodgings and provisions, and put their price upon those, who desired to see *Sabatai*, for their admittance. This profit stopped their mouths, and no complaints were for this cause sent to *Adrianople*.

Sabatai, in his confinement, appoints the manner of celebrating his own nativity. He commands the *Jews* to keep it on the ninth day of the month *Ab*, and to make it a day of great joy, to celebrate it with pleasing meats and drinks, with illuminations and musick. He obligeth them to acknowledge the love of GOD, in giving them that day of consolation, for the birth of their king MESSIAS, *Sabatai Sevi*, his servant and first born son in love.

I ONLY observe, by the way, the insolence of this impostor. This day was a solemn day of fasting among the *Jews* formerly, as I have shewed elsewhere², in memory of the burning of their temple by the *Chaldeans* : Several other sad things happened in this month, as the *Jews* observe ; that then, and upon the same day, the second temple was destroyed ; and that in this month it was decreed in the wilderness, that the *Israelites* should not enter into *Canaan*, &c. *Sabatai* was born on this day ; and therefore the fast must be turned into a feast : Whereas in truth it had been well for the *Jews*, if he had not been born at all ; and much better for himself, as will appear from what follows. But I return to my author.

THE *Jews* of the city paid *Sabatai Sevi* great respect. They decked their synagogues with S. S. in letters of gold, and made for him a crown

² *Serm. on Zachariah vii. 5.*

in the wall; and they attributed the same titles and prophecies to him, which we apply to our SAVIOUR.

HE was also during his imprisonment visited by pilgrims from all parts, who had heard his story. Among whom *Nehemiah Cohen* from *Poland* was one, a man of great learning in the *Kabbala* and eastern tongues; who desired a conference with *Sabatai*, and at the conference maintained, that according to the *Scripture*, there ought to be a two-fold MESSIAS; one the son of *Ephraim*, a poor and despised teacher of the law; the other the son of *David* to be a conquerour. *Nehemiah* was content to be the former, viz. the son of *Ephraim*, and to leave the glory and dignity of the latter to *Sabatai*. *Sabatai* (for what appears) did not dislike this. But here lay the ground of the quarrel: *Nehemiah* taught, that the son of *Ephraim* ought to be the fore-runner of the son of *David*, and to usher him in: And *Nehemiah* accused *Sabatai* of too great forwardness, in appearing as the son of *David*, before the son of *Ephraim* had led him the way. *Sabatai* could not brook this doctrine; for he might fear, that the son of *Ephraim*, who was to lead the way, might pretend to be the son of *David*, and so leave him in the lurch; and therefore he excluded him from any part or share in this matter; which was the occasion of the ruin of *Sabatai*, and all his glorious designs.

Nehemiah being disappointed goes to *Adrianople*, and informs the great ministers of state against *Sabatai*, as a lewd and dangerous person to the government, and that it was necessary to take him out of the way: The *Grand Seignior* being informed of this sends for *Sabatai*; who much dejected appears before him: The *Grand Seignior* requires a miracle, and chooses one himself, and 'twas this; that *Sabatai* should be stripped naked, and set up as a mark for his archers to shoot at; and if the arrows did not pierce his flesh, he would own him to be the *Messias*. *Sabatai* had not faith enough to bear up under so great a trial. The *Grand Seignior* let him know, that he would forthwith impale him, and that the stake was prepared for him, unless he would turn *Turk*. Upon which he consented to turn *Mahometan*, to the great confusion of the *Jews*. And yet some of the *Jews* were so vain, as to affirm, that it was not *Sabatai* himself, but his shadow, that professed the religion, and was seen in the habit of a *Turk*: So great was their obstinacy and infidelity; as if it were a thing impossible to convince these deluded and infatuated wretches.

AFTER all this, several of the *Jews* continued to use the forms (in their publick worship) prescribed by this *Mahometan-Messias*; which obliged the principal *Jews* of *Constantinople* to send to the synagogue of *Smyrna*, to forbid them this practice: The letter is to be seen in my^a author, with the names of those who wrote it.

DURING these things, the *Jews*, instead of minding their trade and traffick, filled their letters with news of *Sabatai* their *Messias*, and his wonderful works. They reported that when the *Grand Seignior* sent to take him, he caused all the messengers that were sent, to die; and that when other *Fanizaries* were sent, they all fell dead by a word of his mouth; and being requested to do it, he caused them to revive again: They added, that tho' the prison, where *Sabatai* lay, was

^a P. 94. &c.

barr'd and fasten'd with strong iron-locks; yet was he seen to walk through the streets with a numerous train. That the shackles, which were upon his neck and feet, did not only fall off, but were turned into gold, with which *Sabatai* gratified his followers. Upon the fame of these things, the *Jews* of *Italy* sent legates to *Smyrna*, to enquire into the truth of these matters. When these legates arriv'd at *Smyrna*, they heard of the news, that *Sabatai* was turned *Turk*, to their very great confusion: But going to visit the brother of *Sabatai*, he endeavoured to persuade them, that *Sabatai* was still the true MESSIAS; that it was not *Sabatai*, who went about in the habit of a *Turk*, but his *angel* or *spirit*; that his body was taken into heaven, and should be sent down again, when GOD should think it a fit season. They added, that *Nathan* (his fore-runner) who had wrought many miracles, would soon be at *Smyrna*; that he would reveal hidden things to them, and confirm them. But this *Elias* was not suffered to come into *Smyrna*; and though the legates saw him elsewhere they received no satisfaction from him at all.

XXIV. There appeared another impostor in the Year 1682, one *Rabbi Mordechai*, a *Jew* of *Germany*, a man famous among his country-men for his learning, and austere kind of life: He was also much cried up for his prophecies, which he uttered about five years before at *Prague* and other places. He was a very sharp reprover of vice, and was for that reason commonly called *Mochia*, i. e. the *reprover*. He was so vain, as to profess himself to be the MESSIAS; and not only to require the *Jews* to salute him as such, but, upon that matter, to adore him. The *Italian Jews* gave him credit, and so did many of the *Jews* in *Germany* also, whither he came out of *Italy*. We are told, that he was mightily carested in *Italy*, and received for the MESSIAS; though the *Jews* of that place, after they saw their errour, did not care to own him. A certain *Jew*, who by order of the *Jews* called him into *Italy*, tells us, that upon conversing with him he found him to be an inchanter and very silly; that he thereupon warned the *Jews* not to believe him: Upon which the credulous *Jews* were so enraged, that they treated their monitor very maliciously, and dismissed him from the place of his abode. They withall threatned him very severely, if he durst speak evil any more of their *Messias*: That this *Jew* continuing to disparage this impostor, the *Italian Jews* were so enraged, that they endeavoured to cast him out of the place, where he was settled, and declared, that whoever should do him mischief, or bear false witness against this person, who defamed their *Messias*, should be esteemed guiltless.

Thus I have given a very short account of the *false Christs*, who have appeared in the several ages of the World. It remains now that I represent to the reader, what this concerns my present argument and what are the advantages of such an account as this. Now the usefulness of this short history appears in the following particulars.

I. This confirms our LORD's prediction, who did foretel, that there would appear deceivers and false *Christs*, and did let the *Jews* know,

^b *J. à Lent.*

that

that they would be deceived by them, *John* v. 43. Those words of JESUS, have been often fulfilled: And the knowledge of it confirms us in the belief, that JESUS was a true prophet: And this is one great advantage, which we receive from the fore-going history. I have shewed before, that what our SAVIOUR foretold, did come to pass, and have given unexceptionable proofs of it; and made it appear, that whereas *Moses* is received as a true prophet, because what he predicted did come to pass, the *Jews* have the same and far greater reason to believe, that JESUS is so likewise. And what I have offered before to this purpose, will receive a farther confirmation, from what hath been related above. The *Jews* have believed those, who came in their own name, though they did refuse JESUS who came in the name of GOD. They have believed impostors to their own destruction; but refused JESUS who came to save them. They have been (which is very surprizing) at once the most *incredulous*, and the most *credulous* persons upon the face of the earth; hardly brought to believe the truth, and very prone to believe a lye.

2. We may learn, of what great use *miracles* are to beget faith in us. *Moses* wrought many in *Egypt* to prove his *divine mission*; but they are not to be compared with those, which JESUS wrought, as I have shewed before. But here these *impostors* failed; though this was expected from them by their own people, and by the *heathens* also, and some of the impostors attempted it. *Maimonides* doth affirm, that the MESSIAS shall not work *miracles*. He is singular in that opinion, and he sets up for it to undermine the belief of *Christians*. I have elsewhere exposed that opinion of his: And it is evident, from what has been related before, that it is destitute of any ground. The miracles, which JESUS wrought, were a mighty confirmation of his Doctrine; as those, which *Moses* wrought, were of his divine mission. But these impostors were not able to beget faith in their followers this way; which was highly necessary, when they pretended to be sent by GOD.

3. We may learn, how vain the *Jews* are, and how little to be credited; especially when they discourse of their MESSIAS, and the time of his appearance, and the end of their captivity. We see, how often they have been deceived and baffled in their hopes. And yet it is very certain, that some weak *Christians* have been too easily drawn aside to listen to their dreams. One would think, that the *Jews* should by this time bethink themselves. The former account ought to have that influence upon them: And yet what hath been said before, is not all that can be produced to shew the vanity of the *Jewish* People. We have several other accounts of them that are much to their Confusion. I will not think much to mention some of them.

And *First*, I will give an account of the destruction and banishment of the *Jews* out of the empire of *Persia*, which we have from a^b very good hand; and is as follows.

IN the reign of the famous *Abas Sophy* of *Persia*, and grandfather to the present emperour, (says my author) the nation being low, and somewhat exhausted of inhabitants, it entred into the mind of this prince, to seek some expedient for the revival and improvement of trade, and by all manner of privileges and immunities to encourage other contiguous nations to negotiate and trade amongst them: And this project he fortified

^c V. History of three Impostors, by J. E. Lon. 1669. p. 114.

with so many immunities, and used them so well who came, that repairing from all parts to his country, in a short time the whole kingdom was filled with multitudes of the most industrious people and strangers, that any way bordered on him.

It happened, that amongst those who came, innumerable flocks of *Jews* ran thither from all their dispersions in the *East*; attracted by the gain which they universally make, where-ever they set footing. And it was not many years, but they had so impoverished the rest, and especially the natural subjects of *Persia*, that the clamour of it reached to the ears of the emperour: And indeed it was intolerable; for even his own exchequer began to be sensible of it, as well as his people's purses, and estates, which they had almost devoured.

How to remedy this inconvenience, without giving umbrage to the rest of those profitable strangers now settled in his dominions, by falling severely upon the *Jews* on the sudden, he long consulted; and for that end called to his advice his chief ministers of state, the *Mufti*, and expounders of the law: After much dispute 'twas at last found, that the *Jews* had already long since forfeited their lives, by the very text of the *Alcoran*; where it is expressed, that if within six hundred years from the promulgation of that religion, they did not universally come in, and profess the *Mahometan faith*, they should be destroyed. The zealous emperour would immediately have put this edict in execution; but by the intercession of the *Mufti* and the rest of the doctors, 'twas thought fit to suspend it for the present: But that these growing evils might in time have a period, His Majesty commanded that all the *Chachams*, *Rabbins*, and chief amongst the *Jews* should immediately appear before his tribunal, and make answer to some objections that were to be propounded to them.

THE *Jews* being accordingly convened, the *Sophy* examines them about several passages of their law; and particularly concerning the prophet *Moses*, and those rites of his, which seem'd to have been so long annihilated amongst them, since the coming of *Isai* (for so they call *JESUS*) after whom they pretended their *Mahomet* was to take place, and all other predictions to determine.

THE *Jews* much terrified with the manner of these interrogatories, and dubious what the meaning and drift of them might signifie, told the emperour, that for *CHRIST* they did not believe in him; but that they expected a *MESSIAS* of their own to come, who should by his miraculous power deliver them from their oppressors, and subdue all the world to his obedience.

At this reply, the *Sophy* appeared to be much incensed: How! says he, Do you not then believe *CHRIST*, of whom our very *Alcoran* makes so honourable mention? As that he was the *Spirit* of *GOD*, sent down from him, and returning to him, &c. If we believe him, why do not you? What say you for your selves, you incredulous wretches? The confounded *Jews*, perceiving the emperour thus provoked, immediately prostrated themselves on the ground, humbly supplicating him to take pity on his slaves, who acknowledged themselves altogether unable to dispute with his majesty; that for the *Christians*, they seem'd indeed to them to be gross idolaters; men who did not worship *GOD*, but a crucified malefactor and deceiver: Which still the more displeased the *Sophy*; not enduring, that they should so blaspheme a person, for whom their *Alcoran* had so great a reverence. However for the present he dissembles his resentment: 'Tis well

well (says he) you do not believe the *G O D* of the *Christians* : But, tell me, What think you of our great prophet *Mahomet* ? This demand exceedingly perplexed them, not knowing what to reply : And, indeed, it was contriv'd on purpose, that convincing them of blasphemy (as they thought it) against their prophet, the *Sophy* might find a specious and legal pretence to ruin and destroy *them*, without giving any jealousy or suspicion to the rest of the strangers, who were trafficking in his country of several other religions, but who were not in the least obnoxious to his displeasure.

AFTER a long pause and secret conference with one another, it was at last resolved among them, that though they had denied *CHRIST* ; yet they would say nothing positively against *Mahomet* : Therefore they told the *emperour*, that though their religion forbade them to believe any prophet save *Moses* ; yet they did not hold *Mahomet* for a false prophet, inasmuch as he was descended of *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham*, and that they desired to remain his majesty's humble vassals and slaves, and crav'd his pity on them.

THE *Sophy* easily perceiving the cunning and wary subterfuge of their reply, told them, this should not serve their turn ; that they were a people of dissolute principles, and that under pretence of their long expected *MESSIAS*, they persisted in a false religion, and kept off from profelyting to the true belief ; and therefore requir'd of them to set a positive time, when their *MESSIAS* was to appear ; for that he would support them no longer, who had impos'd on the world, and cheated his people now so many years : But withall assuring them, that he would both pardon and protect them for the time they should assign, provided they did not go about to abuse him by any incompetent procrastinations, but assign the year precisely of his coming ; when, if accordingly he did not appear, they were sons of death, and should all of them either renounce their faith, or be certainly destroyed, and their estates confiscated.

THE poor *Jews*, though infinitely confounded with this unexpected demand and resolution of the *Sophy*, after a second consultation among themselves (which the *emperour* granted) contriv'd to give him this answer : That according to their books and prophecies their *MESSIAS* should infallibly appear within seventy years ; prudently (as they thought) believing, that either the *emperour* or they should be all of them dead before that time ; and that in the *interim*, such alterations might emerge, as all this would be forgotten or averted ; and that at the worst, a good sum of money would reverse the sentence : But that something was of necessity to be promised to satisfy his present humorous zeal.

THE *emperour* accepts of the answer, and immediately causes it to be recorded in form of a solemn stipulation between them : That in case there was no news of the *MESSIAS* within the seventy years assign'd (to which of grace he added five more) they should either turn *Mahometans*, or their whole nation utterly be destroyed throughout *Persia*, and their substance confiscated : But with this clause also inserted, that if their *MESSIAS* did appear within that period, the *emperour* would himself be obliged to become a *Jew*, and make all his subjects so with him. This, drawn (as we said) in form of an instrument, was reciprocally sign'd and seal'd on both parts ; and the *Jews* for the present dismiss'd, with the payment yet of no less than two millions of gold (as my author affirms) for the favour of this long indulgence.

SINCE

SINCE the time of this *emperour Abas*, to the present *Sophy* now reigning, (says my author) there are not only these seventy years past, but one hundred and fifteen expired: During which time the *Persians* have been so molested by the *Turks*, and by continual war in the *East-Indies*, &c. that the succeeding princes no more minded this stipulation of their predecessors; till (says he) by a wonderful accident in the reign of the second *Abas*, father of him who now governs, a person extremely curious of antiquities, searching one day amongst the records of his palace, there was found this writing in the journal of his father, intimating what had so solemnly pass'd between him, and the *chiefs* of the *Jews*, in the name of their whole nation.

UPON this the *Sophy* instantly summons a council, produces the instrument before them, and requires their advice, what was to be done; and the rather, for that there began now to be great whispers, and some letters had been written to them from merchants out of *Turkey*, of the motions of a pretended *MESSIAS*; which was the famous *Sabatai Sevi*. This so wrought with the *emperour* and his council, that with one voice, and without longer pause, they immediately conclude upon the destruction of the *Jews*; and that this wicked generation of impostors and oppressors of the people were no longer to be indured upon the earth.

IN order to this resolution, proclamations are issued out and published to the people, and to all that were strangers and inhabitants amongst them, empowering them to fall immediately upon the *Jews* in all the *Persian* dominions; and to put to the sword, man, woman, and child, except such as should forthwith turn to the *Mahometan belief*; and to seize on their goods and estates without any remorse or pity.

THIS cruel and bloody arrest was accordingly put in execution, first at *Ispahan*, and suddenly afterwards in all the rest of the cities and towns of *Persia*: Happy was he that could escape the fury of the enraged people, who by virtue of the publick sentence, grounded upon the declared stipulation, and now more encouraged by the dwindling of their pretended *MESSIAS*s, had no commiseration on them, but slew and made havock of them, where-ever they could find a *Jew* through all their vast territories; falling upon the spoil, and continuing the carnage to their utter extermination. Nor did the persecution cease for several years, beginning from about sixty three till sixty six, at *Ispahan*, the cities and countries of *Seyra*, *Ghelan*, *Humadan*, *Ardan*, *Tauris*, and in short throughout the whole empire, without sparing either sex or age; excepting (as we said) such as turn'd *Mehometans*, or escaped through the deserts into *Turkey*, *India*, and other far distant regions; and that without hopes of ever re-establishing themselves for the future in *Persia*, the hatred of that people being so deadly and irreconcilable against them. And, in truth, this late action and miscarriage of their pretended *MESSIAS*s, had rendred them so universally despicable, that nothing but a determined obstinacy, and an evident and judicial malediction from heaven, could possibly continue them in that prodigious blindness, out of which *GOD* of his infinite mercy, deliver them, that they may at last see and believe in *him*, whom they have pierced; and that so both *Jew* and *gentile* may make one flock under that one *shepherd* and *bishop* of our souls, *JESUS CHRIST* the true *MESSIAS*. Thus far my author.

I SHALL

I SHALL next give a short account of the relation of *Antonius Montezinus*, which he made to *Menasseh-Ben-Israel* at *Amsterdam*, A. D. 1644. which made a great noise in *Europe*, and raised in the *Jews* at that time a great expectation of their *MESSIAS*, to deliver them from their present captivity, and to take upon himself the government of the world. This *Montezinus* was a *Portugese Jew*: He had travelled into the *West-Indies*, and after that came to *Amsterdam*, in the year above written; and makes the following relation before *Menasseh-Ben-Israel*, and some of the principal *Portugese Jews* in that place. I shall not transcribe the whole relation, as it is printed by *Menasseh-Ben-Israel*, but content my self with so much of it only, as is sufficient to my present purpose. The curious reader may see the whole in a book written by *Menasseh-Ben-Israel*^d upon that occasion, which is called *Spes Israelis*. *Montezinus* relates as follows:

THAT two years and an half were elapsed, since he left the port of *Honda* in the *West-Indies*, and went thence into the province of *Quito*. That he hired the mules of a certain *Indian*, who was called *Franciscus Castellanus*; and that there was in his company another, who was called *Franciscus Cazicus*. It fell out, that as they were passing over some mountains, so great a tempest happen'd, as threw down their laden mules. The *Indians* were much concerned at that misfortune: but yet owned, that their sins were such that they deserved greater calamity. *Francis* perswaded them to take heart, and assured them that they should meet with quiet at length. They replied, that they deserved it not; and added, that they looked upon the great cruelty, which the *Spaniards* had exercised upon them, to have befallen them very justly from the hand of *GOD*, because they themselves had evil intreated *GOD's* holy and innocent people. *Montezinus* reproved *Francis* for speaking so hardly of the *Spaniards*: He replied, that he had not related one half of their cruelties, and that they intended to be revenged on them by the help of an unknown people. Hence *Montezinus* went to *Carthagera*, where he was imprisoned by the inquisition: And that in prayer to *GOD* these words slipped from him, *Blessed be the name of GOD, that he hath not made me an idolater, a barbarian, a Black, or an Indian*. And that upon his saying *Indian*, he was angry with himself, and said, that the *Indians* were *Hebrews*. And that upon consideration he own'd his mistake, in affirming that the *Indians* were *Hebrews*; yet repeating the same prayer again twice or thrice, he repeated the word *Indian* as before; which put him upon thoughtfulness, how he should slip so often in this matter, and therefore resolved, when he should be released from prison, as he was after a while, that he would discourse with his fellow-traveller *Francis*, and renew that subject, which he began with him on the mountains. To that purpose he goes to *Honda*, finds *Francis*, engages him to travel with him, and to him he owns himself to be an *Hebrew*, and that *Adonai* was his *GOD*, &c. And when the *Indian* asked him, Who were his parents? He answered *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*; and being farther asked, if he had no other father, he answered, that his father's name was *Ludovicus*. After this the *Indian* told him, if he would follow him, he would shew him what he desired. He followed him to the bank of a river, where the *Indian* told him, that

^d *Amstelodami* 1650.

he should see his brethren. Upon a sign given, he was fetch'd over to the other side of the river, where he met with men that repeated to him *שמע ישראל יהוה אחד יהוה אחד* *Hear, O Israel, the LORD our GOD, is one LORD.* Or the fourth verse of *Deut. 6.* And that then they told *Montezinus*, that *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob* were their parents, and afterward named *Reuben*; and they promised a place to them, that were disposed to live among them; That *Joseph* lived in the midst of the sea; that shortly some of them should go out to see and tread underfoot; that they should some time talk together and pronounce *Ba, Ba, Ba*; and that their going out should be, as if they had come out from their mother the earth; that a messenger should go; that *Francis* should say more: They craved leave to prepare themselves, and prayed, saying, *Ne differ*, i. e. *Delay not*; and desired that twelve men should be sent to them, &c. They repeated the same things on the two following days, without adding any thing. Upon this *Montezinus* took boat, but escaped narrowly; and they told him after that, that he must expect no more than what he had been told before. He relates, that the boat which brought him over never stood still, for the three days which he spent among this people: But as it took four off, so it return'd four others, who spake all the very same things mentioned above; and that in that space of time there were not less than 300 comers and goers in that boat. He tells us, that he was, when he took leave of this people, dismissed very courteously, and presented with necessaries for his journey. He tells us, next, what the complexion, the habit, &c. of these men were (in which I am not concern'd to follow him) and of his taking his journey with the *Indian*: And upon the way he examined the *Indian*, what he had to relate to him farther, since his brethren had intimated, that he should tell him more. Upon which after some condition interposed, the *Indian* told him, that those men were *Israelites*, brought thither by the providence of GOD, who wrought great miracles for them even beyond his belief; that the *Indians* had treated them worse, than they were afterwards treated by the *Spaniards*: That by the instigation of the *Magi* they had waged war with them three times; but their armies were each time intirely destroyed, not a man escaping. Upon this the *Indians* slew their *Magi*, sparing some few who pretended, that they had some secret to impart: That these *Magi* (who were spared) declared, that the GOD of these *Israelites* was the true GOD; that the inscriptions upon the stones among them were true; that these *Israelites* should be lords of the earth, towards the end of the world. They advised the *Indians* to make a league with them; which they accordingly did upon certain terms mentioned. In a word, *Montezinus* parted with great assurance, that his brethren, who commanded the *Indians*, would, when they had brought under the *Spaniards*, set the *Jews* at liberty, and put an end to their long captivity.

THIS is the substance of the relation; and this was the occasion of the book called *Spes Israelis*, written by *Menasseh-Ben-Israel*, about 50 years ago. That *Jew* was infinitely fond of this relation: He now expected the MESSIAS to deliver them, and thought this a fore-runner of that deliverance. This part of the world rang of this matter: But alas! All this came to nothing. The relation is refuted by a learned *Christian*: And he might have spared his pains; for it would soon have fallen of it self, as in truth it did.

THE

THE reason why I mention this, is to shew, how little credit is to be given to the wisest and most learned *Jews* in matters of this nature. They ^e that would not believe JESUS, do easily believe a lye, and an imposture; and this they are, and have from time to time been very prone to do.

I WILL add one relation more, which ^f the author of *Fortalitium Fidei* relates from *Cæsarius*: And in short it is this; That a certain man of the city of *Limoges* had been too familiar with a young *Jewess*. She being with child, and he fearing her parents, used this artifice to divert their displeasure. He gets an hollow reed, goes to the door of the chamber, where the parents slept, puts one end of his reed into the key-hole, and through it he spake these words, calling the parents by their proper name; *O ye just persons and beloved of GOD, your daughter, remaining a virgin, is with child of the MESSIAS*. The old-man heard the words, and asked his wife, if she did not hear them. They prayed that they might hear these words repeated. Upon this he repeated them again through his reed: The parents examined the daughter, by whom she was with child? The daughter replied (as she was instructed by him, who had defiled her) that whether she was with child or not she could not say; but this she could affirm, that she never had the knowledge of a man. Upon this there was great joy, and the *Jews* were big with expectation. But to their great confusion, the young woman was delivered of a daughter.

BE this as it will; this is very certain, that the *Jews* are in these matters of easie belief. And it is no wonder, for they have no steady and constant principles concerning the coming of the MESSIAS, and the end of their captivity. Now they have rejected JESUS, there is great a variety of opinions among them about the time, when the MESSIAS is to come. Of old it was believed, that he came about the time of the destruction of the *second* temple; but afterwards that he is not come yet. It hath been believed, that the promise of his coming was *conditional*; and at other times that it is *fixed* and *absolute*. There are those, who have *computed* the time, and been miserably *deluded*: At other times all *computation* of times hath been forbidden under a *curse*. The later *Rabbins* have said, the time is *near*; and others, that it is not to be, but when the world is near at an *end*. Sometime the belief of the coming of the MESSIAS hath been reckoned a *fundamental article* of their faith: At other times it is esteemed at most but a *probable opinion*. I should be too large, if I should count up the various opinions of their several doctors upon this subject. That hath been done by ^g several hands. GOD open the eyes of the *Jews*, and turn their hearts!

^e Spizellii *Elevatio Relat. Montezini*. Basl. 1661.

^g *Fortal. fid.* lib. 3. *Wagensel Tela ignea*, Part 1. pag. 614.

^f *Fortal. Fidei*, lib. 3. fol. 212. Lugd. 1525.



C H A P. XI.

What it was, which diverted me from treating of the general conversion of the Jewish nation. What methods are to be avoided by those, who attempt to convert any of them; viz. compulsion or force; professing any thing that is against sound reason; weak arguments, and ill words. A short account of the present condition of the Jews. What Christian princes and states may do toward the conversion of the Jews: The Jews may be obliged to hear our sermons, and submit to our conferences: They ought not to use in their synagogues what prayers they please: They ought not to be injured, but kept low: They may be obliged to give the government their reasons, why they reject Christianity: Of some other Matters that may be taken care of by the government. What may be done this way by others. What may be done by the universities, and what by men of estates, and men of learning. Of the best way of proceeding with them in sundry particulars. Mean men may do something this way. That the questions agitated between the Jews and Christians are things of the highest importance. That the Jews, of all men in the world, are the most considerable enemies of the Christian religion. The great advantages of gaining them to the Christian faith. Some Objections against attempting to convert them. Obj. 1. That it will be lost labour. An answer to it. Obj. 2. That it will bring many poor upon us. An answer to it. Obj. 3. That the converts from them are generally scandalous and insincere. An answer to that Objection. The conclusion.

I Did fully intend, in this place, to have made an enquiry into that belief, that the *Jewish* nation shall be converted to the *Christian* faith, and to have strictly examined the grounds, upon which it is built. I know very well, that very learned men are divided in that question, and that very much may be said on both sides. It so happened that, as I was come to that argument, I received a letter from a * very learned friend

* As this right reverend and learned Prelate, having mentioned in the Preface to this third Volume, that he intended to have given us an account of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, but was prevented from the same by receiving a letter from a learned Prelate, who assured him, that a work of this nature was ready for the Press, and would shortly be published, and being asked, Who this Prelate was? was pleased to answer, that it was the reverend Dr. *Lloyd*, then Bishop of *Worcester*, which account has been since exactly printed in *Chronological Tables*, by the reverend Mr. *Benjamin Marshall*, who was then his Lordships domestick chaplain: So upon this occasion being asked, Who that learned friend was, that intended

friend, who did assure me, that there was a book now in the press, that treated of that matter so fully, that there would be no need of my pains. I was very glad, that I had so just an excuse to my reader, having in my *preface* to my *second part*, signified my intention of doing something that way. Upon this I resolved to consider, in this chapter, what we are to do toward the conversion of the *Jews*; that being a matter, wherein we are more nearly and highly concerned. For those who are of each side of the other question, agree in this, that we are all bound, in our several capacities, to contribute what we can to so blessed a work. And those men, who do not believe, that the *Jewish* nation shall ever be generally converted; yet make no doubt, but some of them may, and that it is our unquestionable duty to promote their conversion what we can: And before I proceed to my main design, *viz.* to shew what we are obliged to do to that end, I shall shew what we are to forbear, or what we ought not to do.

AND it is certain, that we must forbear force and violence. We ought not to compel them into the *Christian* church by force of arms. This carries no conviction with it. It may make hypocrites; it will never make true converts. *Christianity*, where it is pure, doth not inspire its disciples with this spirit of persecution; 'tis the worst cause that is most fierce and cruel. *He that is born after the flesh, persecutes him that is born after the spirit.* The *Jews* will never be gained this way. This will rather alienate them from the *Christian* faith, and make them suspect, that we want *arguments* to evict the truth of our religion, when instead of them, we endeavour to bring them over by *blows*. Dragooning will never convince mankind: All the conviction it can carry is of a bad *cause*, and an *impotent* passion in them that use it. The primitive church did not proceed in this method.

NOR are we ever like to convert the *Jews*, while we teach any doctrines against common sense, and against the express letter of the law of *Moses*. The *Jews* are not such fools, as to be gained over in this case: The *worshipping of images*, and the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, are great stumbling-blocks to the *Jews*. The church, which teacheth these doctrines, is very unfit to bring over the *Jews*. Had JESUS delivered these doctrines, I should have absolutely despaired of the *Jews* conversion: For if things be duly weighed, this would have been a perpetual and an insuperable barr: But as we do not find these things taught by JESUS; so are they no where to be found in any of the sermons or writings of the *Apostles*. These things are indeed taught in the church of *Rome*; but are inconsistent with the scriptures, and repugnant to the reason of

intended to write concerning the belief, that the *Jewish* nation should be converted to the *Christian* faith? he was pleased to answer, that it was Dr. *Whitby*, who in the end of his annotations on the Epistle to the *Romans*, p. 100. hath a particular discourse on this subject. The Texts, which this learned author produceth to prove his assertion, are *Rom.* xi. throughout, particularly ver. 12, 15, 24, 36. *Isai.* liv. 9, 10. *Isai.* lix. 20, 21. *Isai.* lx. 15, 18, 19, 20. *Isa.* lxi. 7, 8. *Isa.* lxii. 4, 12. *Isa.* lxvi. 22. *Jer.* xxxii. 39, 40. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 28, 29. *Ezek.* xxxvii. 25, 26, 27. *Ezek.* xxxix. 29. *Hos.* iii. 4, 5. and to those might be added, *Gen.* xvii. 1, to 8. *Deut.* xxx. 1, to 10. *Isa.* iv. 2. and vi. 13. and xi. 11, to 16. and xii. 1, to 6. and xxiv. 23. and xxv. 1, to 12. and xxvii. 6, 12, 13. and xl. 9, 10, 11. and xliii. 1, to 7. and xlv. 17. and xlix. 8, to 26. and li. 1, to 11, 22. and lii. 1, 2, 3, 7. and lx. 1, to 9. and lxiii. 7. to 19. and lxv. 8, 9, 10. and lxvi. 8, 10, to 14, 19, 20. *Jer.* iii. 12, to 25. and xxiii. 3, to 8. and xxx. 1, to 8, 10. to 22. and xxxi. 1, to 17. 21, 23, 24, 27, 35, 36, 37. and xxxiii. 1, to 7, 19. to 26. and xlv. 27, 28. *Ezek.* xx. 33, to 44. and 28, 24, 25, 26, and xxx. 20, to 31. and xxxvi. 1, to 38. and xxxvii. 1, to 23. and xxxix. 25. and chap. xl. 1. to the end of the book. *Joel* ii. 21, to 32. *Zech.* viii. 7, to 15. and x. 5, to 12.

mankind. I know, that it hath been pretended, that *transubstantiation* is not more repugnant to reason, than the doctrine of the *trinity* is. This matter hath been in some measure considered before. I have said enough to prove, that *transubstantiation* is utterly repugnant to sound reason.

BUT on the other hand, the scripture doctrine of the *trinity* is no ways repugnant to it. They that think otherwise; have not yet been able to defend that belief. That there are three persons, and one nature, is what we believe: That is, that there are *three in one*. We do not affirm, that three persons are but one person, or that one nature is three natures. It is no ways against reason to affirm, that one individual nature is communicable to three persons: And while we believe one nature, we are sure there cannot be three Gods. Nor can we with reason affirm, that the *divine* nature cannot communicate it self after any other manner, than a *created* nature can. There are many things, that we have reason to believe, which yet we have not ability to comprehend. We believe that GOD is eternal: But to conceive, how a being should be from it self, is as hard to comprehend, not to say much harder, than it is to comprehend, how an individual nature should be communicated to three distinct persons. As for the ^a *first* of these, we have nothing to resemble it by: But as for the *other*, we have something like it: Allowing the soul to have three faculties, *understanding*, *will*, and *memory*, we may say here are *three in one*, and these three are not confounded one with another, and yet is there but *one* soul. Again, we believe GOD's *omnipresence*: And yet it is hard to conceive that attribute without *extension* and *divisibility*; which yet are by no means to be attributed to GOD. They who object against the *trinity*, should consider what account they can give of *these* things, which yet they have *reason* to *believe* (and do believe) but not *abilities* to *comprehend*. But this may be thought too great a digression: I therefore return.

I ADD, that the *Jews* are never like to be converted with *weak arguments*, and *hard words*. We must use them with great humanity, and dispute with them with *arguments* that are proper and cogent, and that carry with them great conviction and evidence. It is very certain, that too many *Christians*, who have written against them, have been very defective this way. Many have used arguments, that have no force; and have advanced many propositions that are void of truth. It would be too invidious a thing for me to produce any instances to this purpose; nor is it any way needful, that I should do it. This is certain, that this method will be so far from convincing them, that it rather serves to harden them. The *Jews* will be apt enough to conclude, that we have little to say, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling, or untrue. We do but lose ground, when we do this; and instead of gaining *them*, we expose *our selves*, and *our cause* also. The *Jews* do mightily triumph upon all such occasions. Thanks be to GOD, we do not want the most clear and solid arguments to prove our *Christian* religion against the *Jews*. We can prove the truth of our religion against all its enemies, but especially against the *Jews*; because we agree with them in many principles, on which we may proceed against them. We need not to use sophistry, or weak and insufficient *mediums*. But then I must add, that we must not give them

^a See Dialogue between a Protestant and Papist, 1687.

ill words neither. We must avoid all reproachful language, all that is sarcastical and biting. This never did good from the pulpit or from the press. The softest words will make the deepest impression. And if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excused when we imitate them.

NOR ought we to quit any article of the *Christian* faith, that we may gain the *Jews*. 'Tis a fond conceit of a late *Socinian* writer, that we shall upon *their* principles be most likely to prevail upon the *Jews*: It is not true in matter of fact. Let them shew, if they can, what proselytes they have made: Or if any, what proportion they bear to those, who have been gained by others. We must not give up any article to gain them. I say, not any *article*: But then the church of *Rome* ought to part with many *practices*, and some *doctrines* too; but they are such as were never in any ancient *creed*. We are not to design to gain the *Jews* over to a party, or a system of *dogmata*; but to the ancient and primitive faith.

BEFORE I proceed to shew, what we are to do toward the conversion of the *Jews*, it is fit, that I should premise some account of the present state of the *Jews*. And indeed their condition is very much to be pitied, and requires the greatest commiseration.

A VERY great number of them are in the countries of the *Mahometans*. There have been formerly great numbers of them in *Persia*. There are still vast numbers at *Constantinople* and *Salonichi*, and in other parts of the *Turkish* dominions. In these places there is nothing to be expected, as to their conversion to the *Christian* faith. Too many of them have, instead of turning *Christians*, turned *Turks*; and are under too great temptations so to do: For when it happens, that they fall into any great straits, and are become obnoxious to the government, this is the only way to gain relief and protection. The immunities and security, which they gain by this means, is a great temptation upon them.

THERE are a great number of them, who live in *Christian* countries, and many of them live undisturbed. But then as to the hopes of their conversion, they are not in circumstances all alike.

GREAT numbers are in the *Popish* countries, in *Poland* and in *Italy*, and particularly at *Rome*. But such are the stumbling-blocks, which that church lays in their way, that there is little hope of their conversion there. Besides that in *Rome* it self there is very little care taken of this matter. This is the more strange, because the bishop of *Rome* pretends to be the successor of *St. Peter*; and we know that he was the *apostle of the circumcision*: To which I may add, that whereas they have in *Rome* a famous college *pro propagandâ fide*, and they have made great attempts to convert other nations, and have a vast number of types for printing books in their several languages to that purpose; yet are the poor *Jews* neglected: And whatever *St. Peter* was; yet his successors do not manage matters, as if they had any concern for *the circumcision*: So that the unhappy *Jew* may truly say, *No man careth for my soul*. This is a very sad story; I wish still, that it was all the fault, which the church of *Rome* could be charged with in this matter. That church is so far from using all due means for the converting that people; that their doctrines and practices are such, that they hinder them from embracing of the *Christian* faith.

faith. Whatever pains they take to gain other profelytes, the care of the *Jews* is laid aside. A late learned writer, who well understood these matters, offers at the reason of this conduct of the church of *Rome*, in shewing a great concern for the conversion of other nations, and at the same time a neglect of the *Jews*. If they could convert any *Pagan* or infidel nation, they might from thence have a considerable accession to their church, both of glory and revenue also. But alas! the *Jews* are a scattered and a peeled people: Their conversion would add no new territory, or country, nor any revenue or preferments. Nay rather on the other hand, it would be a loss to the churches treasure. It cannot be supposed, but that the *Jews* pay some tribute into the churches treasury for the privilege of living securely in the pope's territories, which, if they should turn *Christians*, could not be exacted. If all the *Jews* in *Rome* were converted, the churches patrimony would not be enlarged by it, the tribute would be less, and the poor (who must be maintained) would be more. If this be the reason of this conduct, I am sure it is not derived from the *Christian* religion.

BUT yet after all I must own, that there is something done at *Rome*, that hath some appearance of care for the conversion of the *Jews*. The *Jews* are obliged to hear sermons at a certain place appointed; and so they do. There is an officer with a wand in his hand, who overlooks them, and doth not fail to strike them also, when they do not behave themselves decently. There is also a *Dominican* appointed to preach before them, and he doth preach. This is the care, that St. *Peter's* successor takes over this *his peculiar* flock. All this amounts to very little; and it cannot be thought, that it should have any great effect, all things duly considered. What the *Dominican* is, I know not: I'm sure of this, that he had need be a man of great learning and skill: And after all, there is little hope of doing much good, till that church shall remove the stumbling-blocks, which she has laid in the way of the *Jews*.

FROM what hath been said, we see the sad condition, in which the far greater part of the *Jews* are.

SOME of them indeed are in *Protestant* countries, where the *Christian* doctrine is truly represented. Some numbers of them are in the *Low countries*, where they are used with great humanity: Others there are in *Hamburg* and other cities. We have a small number in *London*. After all I fear we have not taken that care of their souls, which well becomes us to do. Much might be done to this end by princes and states; something by persons of estates and of learning; and indeed somewhat this way by men of low condition.

I WILL first shew, what *Kings* and *States* may do towards so blessed a work. I am well aware, that this is a tender argument, and to be handled with great caution, and all due submission: And I hope, that I shall offer nothing, which can give offence. I am sure of this, that I shall not offend any of those, who are the genuine followers of *JESUS*, who was content to take our nature upon him, and to die upon a cross, that he might seek and save that which was lost.

I. First,

I. THOUGH I am not for compelling the *Jews* to turn *Christians*; yet *Christian* kings and states may oblige them to hear our Sermons, and admit of our conferences. This is what they have submitted to at *Rome*, and elsewhere. Their law doth not forbid them thus much. They read our *new Testament*, and other books; and can out of curiosity hear our sermons also. And 'twill be no hardship at all to oblige them to thus much at least. I remember, that *Aben Amram* complains greatly, that they have not the liberty of the press, and that for want of it they are hindred from producing their force, as they would otherwise do. Far be it from me for pleading for any such liberty as that: But if some men were appointed to preach to them, and at certain times to confer with their teachers, and more learned men, they would have no cause to complain for want of the press. They might have liberty to draw out all their force upon such occasions; and that also before their own people. This course would be sufficient for them, and much better than to grant them the liberty of printing. If they have a mind to draw up their forces, let them do it, when their enemies are within sight. In a conference *they* will be present, that are ready to answer and best able; their prints may fall into other hands: And *Christian* kings will think themselves obliged to preserve their subjects in the true faith. If the *Jews* were called at certain *fixed* times before the prince, or some deputed by him, to give in the reasons why they reject the *Christian* religion, those reasons in a fair conference might be discussed, and satisfaction given to them, and then the *Jews* might have a fair occasion to shew their full strength. Such a settled course as this might be of great use; and by the blessing of GOD, might bring them into the church upon conviction. I say upon conviction: For it is much to be feared that some that have formerly come into the church, have not come in upon conviction, but for bread or for preferment, out of some great fear, or in hopes of some worldly benefit: And this hath manifestly appeared afterwards in some of them. Certain it is, that it is a very great favour in *Christian* kings and states, to permit the *Jews* to live in their several kingdoms and countries without disturbance. They do very well know, that the *Jews* are professed enemies to the *Christian* faith, that they are also the most bitter enemies, that the *Christians* have in the world, and that they repute JESUS, whom we worship, as a deceiver and an impostor. They can never expect such humanity which they find: And therefore it is highly reasonable, that they who permit them to live securely, should put such terms upon them, as their law doth not forbid, and use all imaginable ways to bring them over to the true faith. This is the greatest charity, that can be shewed them, and the greatest imitation of the love of GOD in CHRIST JESUS. GOD of his mercy inspire all *Christian* princes and states with this *Christian* spirit.

II. THOUGH I am not against the liberty allowed to the *Jews*, of reading their law, and using their prayers and hymns in their synagogues; yet I humbly offer, that all *Christian* princes and states should not permit this liberty without some restraint and conditions. It is not reasonable, that they should have the liberty to use what prayers they please, or to blaspheme the holy name of JESUS; or to do any thing reproachful

ful to our holy religion. 'Tis fit, that the government should be secured as to these things. To curse the *Christians* (under the name of *Edomites*, or *Minim*, i. e. hereticks) is not to be allowed; nor is it fit, that they should revile JESUS, either in their publick offices, or in their conversation, and blaspheme the *Holy Trinity*. I will not take upon me to prescribe to my superiors in this case: They may use their own wisdom in appointing an inspector, or requiring such security, as they in their wisdoms shall think fit. But this I will dare to say, that it cannot consist with the honour of *Christian* princes and states, to allow the *Jews* an absolute and unrestrained liberty, to use what prayers and stated offices they think fit. For though they do not believe our doctrine, nor yet our JESUS to be the CHRIST; yet it is highly reasonable, that they should not be permitted to revile and reproach them. As for their belief, we cannot hinder them of that; nor is it always in our power to bring them over to believe as we do: But they ought not to be permitted to blaspheme, and speak evil of our SAVOUR. For this is an high immorality, which is to be chastised: And as this practice of the *Jews* is against good manners, so it is (as I have elsewhere observed out of *Josephus*) also against the letter of their own law. And that ^b grave author tells us elsewhere, *That it becomes those, who are wise to continue stedfast in their own laws, which concern their religion, but not to revile the laws of others.* This is a profaneness, which is to be punished severely, and would not have gone unpunished among the *heathens* themselves. I very well know, that the *Jews* will not own, that they are guilty in this kind. But we can prove it upon them very easily. And though I have that charity to believe, that the *Jews* are not guilty of all those ill practices with which they stand charged; yet they have been very guilty in this matter.

III. THOUGH the *Jews* ought not to be injured and oppressed; yet I verily believe nothing can be more advisable than to keep them low. They cannot bear great prosperity: Nothing can be more disagreeable to their present captivity. *Christian* princes and states cannot be blamed for protecting them from rude assaults and from oppression: But they cannot think themselves obliged to advance them to dignities, to cares and court them, to grant them uncommon favours, or vest them with great privileges, or any kind of power and jurisdiction. This course would rather obstruct, than any way promote their conversion; which yet is that, which all *Christian* kings and states should aim at. They cannot reasonably expect such favours, who crucified the holy JESUS, and profess to believe, that he was an impostor. These favours and preferments will render them insolent and untractable; and they will soon conclude themselves the favourites of heaven, when they meet with such great prosperities on earth. They have always judged thus: Besides, they will think themselves in a safer condition, than they are, when they find themselves caressed by *Christian* states. I have heard of a rich *Jew* at *Amsterdam*, who treated a *Christian* very splendidly. When the *Christian* mentioned to him the present captivity of the nation, the *Jew* smiled at it; and said, *What is this captivity?* and protested, that he should not be willing to return to the land of *Canaan*, where he could not expect the conveniencies, which he enjoy-

^b Josephus Contr. Appion. lib. 2.

ed where he was. The truth is, they are wedded to this world : And though they do *magnifie* their law in their books and sermons ; yet it is wealth and worldly splendor, which they drive at. And when a *Jew* was told of the prophets, he replied frankly ; that he cared not for the sayings of the *prophet* ; it was only his *profit* that he regarded.

It is very well known, that their books are full of relations of the dignity and glories of their nation : That they had even in the *Babylonish* captivity their *princes*, which were the governours among them. They brag to this day of the favour, which they have in the courts of princes : And *Benjamin* in his *Itinerary* relates wonderful stories of the greatness of this people in some parts of the world (no man can find where) even during this captivity : And *Montezinus* related a blind story of the ten tribes to *Menessab-Ben-Israel*, which that learned *Jew* believed, and made a great stir about it. So vain are this people, and prone to believe a lye. But if any *Christian* prince or state should grant them any power or jurisdiction, even over their own people, in matters of small concernment, they would exult upon this occasion, and make a very ill use of it. A learned friend of mind assures me, that he hath had the experience of this : He relates, that when he was at *Worms*, A. D. 1682, the *Jews* of that city did, before the magistrates and clergy, when they were met together, make their exception against the *Christians* urging of *Gen. xlix. 10. The scepter shall not depart from Judah, &c.* They affirmed, that they had the scepter among them still ; and they grounded it upon this, *viz.* Because they were permitted by the magistrates of that place to punish some of their own people in lesser crimes, or injuries, to the value of fifteen-pence of our money. Of so dangerous a consequence it is to grant them any degree or shadow of authority and jurisdiction, who make so ill an use of it. The liberty, which the *Jews* are permitted among us, is as much as they can reasonably expect, and as much as they can bear, and a great deal more than they do deserve. They are the greatest enemies of our religion ; and I have reason to believe, that the *deists*, and enemies of all revealed religion, have received the main of their artillery from the *Jews* themselves, with which they have attacqu'd it. The *Jews* endeavour with all their might to run down the *Christian* belief ; and consequently the *Christian* life and devotion : Nor do they, in the room thereof, give us any pattern of any devotion at all. If any man would take the pains to go to their synagogue, and observe their behaviour, he will strongly be tempted to believe, that they are so far from being of the true religion, that they are of none at all. They do indeed read the law and the prophets, and make use of several hymns and ancient forms of prayer : But all this while they shall discourse with any stranger who comes to them, about any trivial and trifling matters, as if they were altogether unconcerned in the publick worship of God. This is their constant practice in their synagogues on their sabbath-days. Such men as these are not to be carested and favoured, who revile *our* religious worship, and at the same time cast a contempt upon their *own*.

IV. *Christian* princes and states may oblige the *Jews* to appear before them or their commissioners, at certain fixed times (as they shall think fit to appoint) and by their *Chachams* and wise-men to exhibit their reasons

in writing, and signed, why they continue in *Judaism*, and reject *Christianity*. These papers they may order to be delivered to such learned men, as are fit to draw up an answer to them; which may be returned to the *Jews*; to which they should be obliged to give an answer in writing, as before, at a limited time. After this a publick conference may be appointed, and the *Jews* permitted to defend themselves without molestation, and to answer the *Christians*, who shall be deputed to dispute with them. The *Jews* will then have no cause to complain of the want of the press; nor have any ground to say, that they have many things to say for themselves, had they but liberty to produce them. This course would intirely remove that pretence. Nor could they under this method complain, that they were surprized; for they would have time enough to consult and premeditate and put all their force in order. Nothing can be offered, that is more fair and reasonable than such a method as this. But then these papers, between the *Christians* and the *Jews*, ought to be preserved in some safe repository; as also all the minutes of the conferences well attested; that it may appear to future ages, what care has been taken by the government to bring them over to the true faith; which will be much to the honour of it, whatever other success this method may have. And verily, it is much to be hoped, that this course, if steadily pursued, will not want good success.

V. AND in that case the government may appoint learned and fit men, farther to instruct these converts, in the doctrine of the *New Testament*. And after they are baptized, to prepare them for a solemn confirmation, and the receiving the holy communion. And by this time, the governors of the church will think it reasonable to consider of some form of confession, to be constantly used before their admission into the church by baptism; and what methods are fit to be used afterwards, for the confirming them in their holy faith,

VI. To this purpose it will be needful, that the *Oriental* learning, especially of the *Hebrew* tongue, should be encouraged and revived; that men may be this way fitted and prepared to encounter the *Jews*. The time hath been, even in this last age, that our kingdom hath been furnished with men as eminent this way, as any that ever appeared in the world; men that understood the *Jewish* learning incomparably better than the most learned of the *Jews* themselves. But these men are dead, and those studies have been too much neglected, and by too many despised also. 'Twill be a very easy thing for *Christian* princes and states to take care to encourage these studies: I must not presume to tell them by what methods: That must be left to their great wisdom. I am sure it is high time, that something should be done this way. Especially since the *Jews* endeavour now to deprive us of all the needful instruments, which we should use in our disputes with them. For (as I have elsewhere observed) since we have intermitted these studies, they have bought up the *Rabbinical* Books of the learned *Christians* deceased. And we are dealt by, as the *Israelites* once were by the *Philistines*, who deprived them of the instruments of war; so that in the day of battel there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people, 1 Sam. xiii. 22.

VII. THE

VII. THE government will think it needful to protect the converts from the insults and oppressions of the synagogue. And that must be done by some severe penalty. It is hard to conceive, how much they detest an *Apostate*, as they are pleased to call the convert to *Christianity*. They curse him bitterly, and persecute him where 'tis in their power. Their people are under great dread and slavish fear on this consideration. And this is a great barr to many, who might otherwise be wrought upon. It is but reasonable to secure those that come over to us.

WHAT I have said under this last head concerning conferences with the *Jews*, is no novel project or conceit of my own. It was practised in the earliest times of *Christianity*. Thus we read of *Apollos*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, that he mightily convinced — Acts xviii. 28. And of St. *Paul*, that the *Jews* had appointed him a day — Acts xxviii. 23. And it appears from v. 24. that this conference was not without success. I mention it under this head, because it is very fit, now *Christianity* is the religion of the nation, that the *Christian* prince or state should appoint the time and place for such publick meetings: And also because the countenance of the government will give these meetings the greater authority and power, render them more regular, and more likely to prevail and gain their end. And I make no doubt, but that *Christian* kings and states will readily give countenance and assistance to so blessed a work, if they be applied to, with that regard, which is fit, by their ministers and especially by ecclesiasticks. But this may suffice at present as to this head, what *Christian* kings and states may do in so good a work.

I COME next to consider, what *others* may do in this matter. For certain it is, that much may be done this way by our united studies and endeavours. I will presume, that the governors and instructors of the church will not be wanting in promoting so good a work. And next to them,

THE *Universities* may do very much. What they do, and may do, will be of a mighty influence in this matter. They are furnished with all the instruments and weapons to be used in this holy war. They may easily raise a very sufficient number of men, well fitted on all occasions to engage in it. The *heads of houses* can easily engage men in these studies, and encourage and reward them. They, who are in those places, have vast advantages: They have all manner of books relating to these studies (which are no where else to be had) and have the advantage of conversation and mutual assistances. They may with their united strength easily search into all the *Jewish* antiquity, examine nicely into all the main questions agitated between *Christians* and *Jews*, digest the whole controversie under its proper heads, and bring into their service whatever hath been said by *Jews* or other writers, which will make to their purpose. They may sometimes in their publick *Schools*, and frequently in their several *houses*, dispute these questions, and by that practice become very expert in the controversie: They have leisure and time, and all the helps imaginable. Others who live remote from books, and have a multitude of business, can do but little; when nothing can be too hard or knotty for those in such fair circumstances. And nothing can be more agreeable to the end of these foundations,

and the pious intentions of their *founders* and *benefactors*, than to endeavour to bring men to the true *faith*, and defend our *revealed religion* against its opposers.

MEN of *estates* also may do very much this way: And 'twill be hard to find any other way of bestowing them, that can vye with this. For this is to lay them out for the propagating that faith, and defending that holy religion, by which we hope to be saved. And if that be considered duly, we shall need no other motive to excite us. What is bestowed this way, can never miss of a reward. And was it not for this advantage of wealth, that it enables us to encourage virtue and advance religion, it would be a very contemptible thing. There are some young men (even at this time) who would be able to make vast progress in those studies, which tend immediately to this end, was it not for want of some assistance this way: And many very great men have been lost for want of such help. Very many, who have a *great genius*, have but a *narrow purse*: And no man can arrive at any perfection in these studies without considerable supplies. Many things might be offered under this head; as, great benefactions to those who are able and disposed; *e. g.* The founding a lecture in the city, on this condition, that the *Jews* were obliged to be present, wherein all the controversies between them and us should be handled by several persons yearly chosen: The founding some *Hebrew scholarships* in the *university*, to be enjoyed by none before they had taken their *first degree*, and could give some *Specimen* of their skill, and who should enjoy it no longer, than they give good proofs of their proficiency: The assigning some reward to him, that should translate some part of the *Misna*, which hath not been done before: Or to him that should turn the whole with short notes; which hath been attempted by several learned men, but hath been performed by no man.

I COME next to shew, what *learned* men may do toward the conversion of the *Jews*. I am very far from excluding any sort of learning: All that deserves the name is of great use: But the *Jewish* learning in this matter is especially so. He that hath good skill in the *Biblical Hebrew*, the *Chaldee Paraphrasts*, and the other *Jewish* learning, will certainly be much fitter to confer with the *Jews*, than he that wants it. The *Jews* are a very subtle people; and (which is worse) not fair in their disputes with *Christians*, as I have abundantly proved before. They will advance propositions void of all truth; and lay hold of an accent, or a little *Grammatical criticism*, to amuse the *Christians*, and to serve their cause. And though there be no weight in what they say, and ('tis to be feared) they know it; yet they will endeavour to blunder their adversary, and put him to a stand, and triumph and insult over him. This makes it much more difficult to deal with them; and next to impossible, without some competent skill in their *learning*. Besides, he that is skilled in *their* books hath this advantage against them, that he can thence be furnished with a great many *argumenta ad hominem*; which is of great moment in this case. The more the things are, which the *Jews* grant, the greater is the advantage which we have against them. They pay a mighty reverence to the *Targums*, and some other old books; and though they make no scruple to depart from them to serve a turn; yet

yet they do not care to have them urged against them. Their great design is to run down *Christianity*; and they care not if they depart from the belief of their forefathers to gain that end, though otherwise no people in the world are more tenacious of the traditions of their ancestors. Upon these accounts it is very needful, that those who are employed in publick conferences with them, should not be altogether strangers to *their* learning: The learned *professors* of the *Hebrew* tongue, and others skilful in those matters, will be fit persons to be chosen on this occasion.

I SHALL now proceed to consider the best way of proceeding with the *Jews*, in order to bring them over to the *Christian* faith: In this I am far from prescribing, and shall be most ready to submit to better judgements. In the mean time,

I. I CANNOT but admit of the advice of a certain learned person, who hath been an instrument of converting more *Jews* (among which are a considerable number of *Rabbins*) than perhaps have ever been converted by any one person in the world, since the age of miracles: It is the reverend *Esdra* *Edzard S. Th. L. of Hamburgh*. He tells me (in a Letter dated *Sept. 13. 1698.*) that he generally begins with the *Jews* from *Deut. xxvii. 26. Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them, and all the people shall say, Amen. And Chap. xxviii. v. 58. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD; it follows v. 59. Then the LORD will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed; even great plagues, and of long continuance; and sore sickness, and of long continuance.* And though I will not say, that the very same method is to be used in all cases; yet I cannot but think, that generally speaking it is very fit to begin here. For here we begin with an avowed principle: We make use of the *law* to the best purpose, as a *school-master to bring men to CHRIST*; and use the same topick, which *St. Paul* used, *Gal. iii. 18. As many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one, that continueth not in all things, which are written in the book of the law, to do them.* On which place I have, in the foregoing part of this treatise, had occasion to enlarge against the pretensions of *Amram*. I always thought it to bear very hard upon the *Jews*, and think so still. They are certainly under the curse of their own law; and that is expressed by as plain words as may be. They could never pretend to have continued in *all* the words or precepts of the law, *to do them*.

THEY could not say this of themselves during their abode in their own land, and the standing of their temple. Then indeed they had some relief in this matter, because *GOD* allowed of an atonement by sacrifices, in some cases of failure; they might then hope, that though they have failed in obedience, they might upon their sacrifices be admitted to *GOD*'s favour. But they have not that hope now, they being *without a sacrifice*. (*Hos. ch. iii. v. 4.*) And though even under the law they were in some cases not permitted a sacrifice, but for the hei-

nousness of their sin were liable to excision (*Lev. xx.*) yet now is their condition much worse, they not being in any case permitted to sacrifice; and consequently they lie under the curse of their own law: And the providence of GOD, that hath excluded them from their own land; and from their temple, seems to direct them plainly enough to our MESSIAS, and the meritorious sacrifice of his death, who died for mankind. This topick may be so urged against the *Jews*, that with GOD's assistance it may have a good effect upon them. It may be so pursued and pressed, that the *Jew* will not find it an easy thing to bear up against the weight of it.

II. SINCE the *Jews* cannot but own a guilt, we may here press them with the necessity of some atonement or expiation, to quiet the mind, and set the conscience at ease. There is great need of this wherever there is guilt; and this hath been the general sense of mankind. Hence it was, that the *Gentiles* used sacrifices and other rites to appease an offended deity: A great number of the sacrifices appointed the *Jews* were upon this account, as appears plainly from the law of *Moses*.

III. THAT there is no atonement to be expected, but that, which the MESSIAS was to make, as is predicted and set forth in HOLY WRIT. Here we may urge them with *Psal. xxii.* with *Dan. ix.* and especially with *Isa. liii.* It will be no hard thing to prove, that *Isaiah* doth not in that place describe the sufferings of the prophet, or of the people of *Israel*.

IV. THAT JESUS is that MESSIAS, and consequently his religion is true. And this may be proved by all those ways, by which they are able to prove the divine mission of *Moses*; by an infinite number of testimonies out of the *Old Testament*; by many facts that are incontestable; by the miraculous success of his religion against all the wit and force, that could be used against it; by a conjugation of arguments, that bear down before them all cause of doubting in this matter. I consider, that it is not fit, that I should be very particular, because they who are supposed to be concerned, are men of learning, and do not therefore need any operose direction: And the more they confirm, what they urge against the *Jews* with authorities from their own writings, the more likely they will be to prevail.

IN this blessed work *meaner* men may be able to do something. They are not able to *dispute*, but they can *live*. They can adorn their religion; they can put up earnest prayers to GOD for the *Jews*; they can shew them great humanity, and deal and traffick with them with great integrity and simplicity. And certainly, if all private *Christians* would do this, they would be able to do much in so blessed a work: And 'twill be worth our while to do our utmost (according to our several abilities) toward so good an end. For

First, The questions debated between us and the *Jews* are things of the highest importance and concern whatever. It is at once the whole *Christian* religion, that the *Jews* call in question, and would overturn. We *Christians* dispute one against another with great heat and animosity:

animosity : We do it about trifles concerning rites and modes of worship ; about decrees, and the divine prescience, about things that we do not understand, and in which we may be safely on the wrong side ; here we are fierce and positive, fond of our several opinions, and uncharitable to one another : In the mean time in the main controverſie between us and the *Jews*, we are cold and indifferent : As if the skirts and fringes of religion were of greater care to us than the vitals and power of it. We seem to be willing enough, that the *Jews* should be indulged, even without any terms and conditions, when we think much of any kind of forbearance of one another : And if it be reasonable (and 'tis thought so by the *government*) that a liberty should not be granted to those, who dissent from our established forms and constitutions, but upon certain terms and conditions ; surely it is highly reasonable, that the *Jews*, who are enemies to our whole religion, should be under some restraints and conditions ; and more especially under such as tend to bring them into the church, and may secure us, that they shall not blaspheme our LORD and SAVIOUR. If the *Jews* be in the right, we are indeed in a very miserable condition ; our faith and hope are in vain, we are still in our Sins, without GOD, and without hope in the world. In our differences with each other many times such is the question, that we may be mistaken, and be safe ; be on the *wrong* side of the question, and yet in the *right* way to heaven. If we be wrong in this dispute with the *Jews*, we err fundamentally, and must never hope for salvation. So that either *we*, or the *Jews* must be in a state of damnation. Of such great importance are those matters in dispute between us and them.

Secondly, The *Jews* are of all men in the world the most considerable enemies of *Christianity*. They are so at this day, and I believe were always so. No doubt but the ancient *Pagans* did their utmost against *our* religion, and in defence of their *own*. Some remains we have of their attempts that way, and much is lost. We do not find any thing of that kind, that we can think formidable. And the ancient fathers of the church have baffled the pretences of that sort with great effect. They have not only gotten the *victory* ; but had a just claim to a *triumph* also. We have several ancient books on this argument, that can never be answered. As for the *Mahometans*, who are much spread, we may be secure of them. If we can keep out of the reach of their swords, we need never fear the edge of their arguments. The founder of their religion was lustful and cruel ; he did no miracles, and deserves no credit ; his followers are silly and stupid, rude and illiterate. That religion gives the loose to lust and cruelty, to sensuality and filthiness. It hath spread by violence and temporal interests, not by any force or energy of truth. It grew upon the follies and divisions, and profaneness of *Christians*. And yet after all, they of this religion speak honourably of our JESUS, and are more favourable to our religion, than the *Jews* are ; who speak of him in terms of contempt and scorn. Indeed the *Jews* are the most considerable by far, of all the enemies to the *Christian* religion. They are a people subtle and sharp, great natural wit, and some learning. They have been brought up from the breast in great prejudices against our religion. They were once GOD's peculiar people, to them he gave his *oracles*, which predicted the coming of CHRIST. Their *Sanhedrim* and fore-fathers consented to the death

of JESUS, and rejected him as an *impostor*. In this belief they have been educated; and as their late *Rabbins* expound their law, they pretend, that the predictions of it were not fulfilled in our JESUS. They look for a temporal prince, and for worldly greatness: And they bend their studies, and all their wits to disparage JESUS, and the holy *gospel*. The *Deists* among us, who would run down our revealed religion, and those among us, who oppose any of its fundamental articles, are but underworkmen to the *Jews*: Their tools and instruments, with which they labour, are to be found in the shops of the *Jews*; who are generally more dextrous in using them, than those men are among our selves, who trade under them.

Thirdly, THE bringing the *Jews* over to the *Christian* religion will be of great advantage. That it will be of great advantage to the *Jews*, no *Christian* can deny; for it will put them into a state of salvation. By this course we may save *souls* from death, and *hide a multitude of sins*. And we doubt not, but he that is the instrument of so good a work, shall receive a great reward. *They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever*, Dan. xii. 3. The *Christian* church will receive no little advantage likewise. This will be the way to enlarge its borders, and to confirm its faith, to lessen its enemies, and to strengthen its weaker members, and to baffle its opposers. I add, that it will be for the lasting honour and glory of *Christian* princes and states, who have encouraged and set forward so blessed a work. In a word, it will make joy in heaven, contribute to the peace of the earth, and bring glory to GOD on high.

Obj. 1. BUT some will *object* against this good work, and say, that to attempt any thing will be but lost labour. The *Jews* are obstinate, and past hope. That 'tis a folly to think to gain these men, when their fathers were not gained by the miracles, and sermons, and exemplary life and death of JESUS; by his glorious resurrection, and ascension, and the wonderful mission of the HOLY GHOST on the day of *pentecost*, &c.

Ans. 1. IT must be granted, that it is a work of great difficulty: But that may be said of many other things, which yet must not be declined. Who-ever tries, will find it an hard task to reform what is scandalously amiss among our selves, though he have the laws and government of his side; so rampant is vice and profaneness: But still I hope, that a good man will not therefore be discouraged from doing his utmost. For though he should suffer much in so good a cause (which often happens) and should at last be unsuccessful; yet he will not lose his reward. And a good man will rejoyce in suffering, and be willing to die in so good a work. The *Jews* are obstinate. Be it so. Yet this only speaks a difficulty: And that alone ought not to discourage us, either in that or any other good design. Besides, the *Jews* are not all alike. I have known a *Jew*, that hath professed to me, that though he was born a *Jew*, and brought up in that religion; yet he was willing to become a *Christian* upon evidence and conviction: And I hope, that he had done it, had he not been prevented by death soon after. I know very well, that the work is difficult; and two things especially make it so; *viz.* the slavish fear, which they

they are under from the synagogue ; and their general aversion from a solemn and fixed conference. I have had experience of this my self. But then the government may in great measure assist us herein.

2. 'TIS very certain, that though it be a difficult work ; yet it is not to be despaired of. There hath been much done this way in the several succeeding ages since the time of JESUS. It is true, that we do not pretend to that power of miracles, which was in the church in the first times of *Christianity* ; and (which is a sad consideration) we who call our selves *Christians*, are not exemplary in our lives, as the ancient *Christians* were. Besides this, a great part of those, who profess the *Christian* religion, have put bars in the way, by departing from the primitive faith and simplicity, and depraving the *Christian* faith and manners. These things cannot be denied, but we must confess them to our shame. Yet after all, much may be done still this way ; and I need no other proof of it than this, that in fact much hath been done. In the city of *Hamburg* in the last seven years, several hundreds have been brought over to the *Christian* faith : That reverend person mentioned above hath baptized several of the *Jewish* rabbins, whose names I could set down. I shall mention but one of them, and that is *R. Jacob Melammed*, whose confession is printed in the *German* language. If one man hath been the instrument of so many conversions, what might not a number of men do, if they were encouraged and assisted by publick authority ? The worthy son of this *Dr. Edzard* (now a preacher in *London*) hath of late years brought over several of the *Jews* to the *Christian* faith. And this is proof enough, that how difficult so ever this work may be thought ; yet it is not a desperate attempt. There may be very great hopes of success, if the government assist and encourage it. And that which hath been effected by private persons, cannot reasonably be thought unpracticable, when publick authority interposeth.

Obj. 2. SOME perhaps may object, that the converting the *Jews* will fill us with poor. 'Tis fit, that these converts should be kept, when they are in the church ; and we are already oppressed with our own poor. I answer,

1. THIS objection supposeth, that we shall gain no proselytes but of the poorest of that people, which is not to be supposed. For the rich and the learned will be applied to, according to the proposed method, as well as the poorest ; and will be principally concern'd in the defence of their religion. This care will bear heaviest upon them.

2. SUPPOSING we should gain none but some of the poorest ; yet if they come in upon conviction, there will not want charity enough among *Christians* to maintain them. I doubt not, but there would soon be some publick house erected (by voluntary contributions) to receive them. Such provision hath been formerly made for them in the city of *London*. Here they might live under strict discipline, and one might be appointed to instruct them more perfectly in the *Christian* religion, and to look narrowly to their morals, and keep them to constant prayers and holy exercises.

3. THE government may (without any shadow of injustice) oblige the synagogue to allow these poor converts the very same relief, which they did allow them, when they were *Jews*. This is not to add any new burthen: The synagogue cannot complain of this as any hardship: It might have very good effects: The poor, who are maintained by the synagogue, are now under a slavish fear; and though some of them should be inclined to turn *Christians*; yet their poverty and entire dependance on the synagogue for a maintenance is a snare and temptation to them to keep them in *Judaism* for bread. It is not fit, that these poor converts should *lose* their subsistence by turning *Christians*; and 'tis not fit, that the synagogue should be the only *gainers*. The poor, which the synagogue hath brought upon us, they ought to maintain: Nor do we think it reasonable, that the poor converts should lose by becoming *Christians*. But I need not insist on this. I leave it with all submission to the wisdom of my superiours.

Obj. 3. I KNOW very well, that it is commonly objected against attempting any thing this way, that the *Jewish* converts are generally very bad men, and a very great reproach to the *Christian* religion, which they have professed; and, more than that, have, often continued *Jews* in their hearts, and have declared no less by apostatizing to *Judaism* again, at or before their deaths; of which we have too much evidence from history. To this I answer,

1. I DO readily own, that there is too much truth, in what is affirmed in this objection. Too many of these converts have been very bad men, and some have revolted to *Judaism* again. But then it cannot be denied, but that very many of old, and some of later times, have not only been very sincere, but have proved very eminent lights and ornaments in the *Christian* church. This, as to the matter of fact, is undeniably true; and this doth in a great measure answer the force of the objection.

2. IT will be no hard matter to give an account of the miscarriage of some number of them in later times, since the great decay and corruption of *Christianity*. As for those of them, who have turned *Turks*, I am not oblig'd to account. They embraced a lye from the first, and nothing could be expected from them. As for those, who have turned to be of the *Roman* religion, it is no wonder, that they should prove bad men or relapse; because 'tis certain, that they could never come into that church upon conviction, whatever other considerations might move them. As for others (which are not many) they also cannot be excused: But it is to be feared, that we cannot likewise excuse our selves. We ought to be very scrupulously careful, whom we baptize; and to have a more competent assurance of their leading principle and sincerity: But all our care is not over, as soon as we have baptized them. There must be great care of their farther instruction, and to prepare them for confirmation, and the holy communion. Besides, if they be poor, they must be provided with means of a comfortable subsistence. 'Tis a shame that they should run about begging, and be

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be put to any hardship to get bread. Our great care must be to bring them over upon clear conviction ; and to take care after that, that they neither want *law* nor *meal* (as the *Jews* phrase it) that is, instruction, nor bread. If we would take due care in the whole matter, there will not be for the future so great an occasion for this objection. To conclude,

I HAVE in all this matter spoken my conscience freely. I might have added much more on this argument. I hope, that I have said what is necessary. May GOD incline the hearts of *Christian* princes and states to encourage so good a work ; and all others according to their capacities to contribute to it ! And may the same GOD take away the *veil* that is upon the hearts of the *Jews*, that they may be converted and saved !
Amen.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Part I. Page 11. Line 35. Read *being*. p. 20 l. 20. r. *is CHRIST?*. p. 21. l. penult. r. *it is*. p. 34. l. 15. after *named* r. *for the habitation of our SAVIOUR*. p. 35. l. 39. r. *tidings*. p. 41. l. 8. r. *argument*. p. 46. Margin r. *Fundamenta*. p. 46. l. 45. r. *of my own*. p. 52. l. 17. r. *It is so far*. p. 53. l. 33. for *obwed* r. *bowed*. *ibid.* l. 40. r. *seeing*. p. 72. l. 5. before *for* r. *as*. p. 88. l. 6. r. *this*. *ibid.* l. 43. dele *it*. p. 112. l. 40. r. *names*.

Part II. Page 45. Line 15. r. *call*. p. 71. l. 19. r. *these words were*. p. 84. l. 17. r. *only*. p. 89. l. 29. dele *q*. p. [94.] l. 18. for *did*, r. *determined*, l. 27. r. *were*. p. 122. l. 15. for *בוי* r. *בכי* p. 132. l. 30. r. *letter*. p. 158. l. ult. and p. 159. l. 1. r. *agreeable*. p. 159. l. 9. for *לחתברו* r. *לחתנר* p. 165. l. 8. r. *shews, that they were*. p. 166. l. 27. r. *captivity*. p. 171 l. 13. r. *that he*.

Part III. Page 4. Line 3. for *do* Read *doth*. p. 4. l. 13. r. *לרבות* p. 20. l. 42. for *made* r. *make*. p. 41. l. 39. r. *shalt*. p. 52. l. 5. r. *וכי* p. 63. l. 14. r. *χριστον*. p. 79. l. 40. r. *ברך* p. 79. l. 19. r. *that this one*. p. 95. l. 27. for *qis* r. *qis*. p. 107. l. 19. r. *לכון* p. 108. l. 19. leave out v. 9. p. 109. l. 10. for *makes, that, r. saith, that this is*. p. 123. l. 20. r. *αυτην*. p. 148. l. 25. r. *and the Romans*. p. 150. l. 9. r. *אח* p. 159. l. 42. r. *but there is*. p. 170. l. 25. r. *וכי* p. 184. l. 8. r. *see their enemies, and tread them under foot*. p. 199. l. 18. r. *our faith*. and p. 201. l. 3. after *in* read *a*.

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N. B. 2. That where Exp. is put before any Part, the Text is frequently explained in several Pages of the same Part, as Gen. 1. 26.

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